

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
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Read 11th and 18th June, 1846.

THE antiquities I have the honour, by the Duke of Bedford's permission, of transmitting an account of to the Society of Antiquaries, were found on two different parts of his Grace's estate during the spring of the years 1844 and 1845. Those to which the attention will be directed first are two small statues, with a sepulchral amphora and its contents, discovered together at the earlier period, by some labourers whilst they were engaged in cutting a drain betwixt Wansford^a and King's Cliffe, and upon the western side of an extensive wood, called Bedford Parlious. From the proximity of this spot to the Ermine Street, to Castor, Alwalton, and Chesterton, places whose names alone are indicative of Roman possession, and

^a The present mode of describing its locality as "Wansford in England" hardly agrees with its etymological reputation formerly; the name signifying, in the Suio-Gothic, a pleasant place to journey through; *wan*, amœnus; *fard*, iter.

whose soil has at various times disclosed abundant memorials of this early occupation, it might not unreasonably be expected that similar evidences would be extensively scattered throughout the district. The direct trending of the road by the side of which these remains were discovered, renders it far from improbable that it was one of those vicinal ways that fed the great military one traversing this part of England; and that funeral memorials should have been placed in such a locality is a circumstance far from unusual.^a

The statues, which are both nearly the same height in their present mutilated state, (Plate I. figs. 1, 2, 3,) as they want head and feet, bear evident proofs of having been originally intended as a pair, and are respectively two feet and two feet and a half high. They are both in the same attitude, holding whips in the hand, and, making allowance for their being intended to stand on either side of something central, the whip of one being in the left, they are the counterpart of each other. There can be little doubt of their intention being to represent some one whose office was of an inferior kind, as the costume is simply a tunic, girded under the breast, similar to that Quinctilian describes, "Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunice prioribus oris infra genua paullum, posteribribus ad medios poplites usque perveniat,"^b or, as Juvenal speaks of this kind of garment,

Crure tenus medio tunicas succingere discat.^c

They are both sculptured out of a single block of stone, which partakes of the geological character of this part of the county, being a compact shelly oolite, commonly known as Barnack rag, from the fact of an extensive quarry of it lying open in that parish, out of which great part of Peterborough cathedral, and several of the churches in Northamptonshire, were built. Nor is it altogether undeserving remark that even the church of Colly Weston, although standing on the very edges of the quarry supplying the Ketton stone, a material at the present day extensively employed from its excellence, and transported to great distances, is altogether constructed from the Barnack pits. This can only be accounted for under the idea that when Colly Weston church was erected, the architect was ignorant of the existence of the building materials so close at hand. Whilst the nature of this shelly oolitic limestone rendered it capable of withstanding the decomposing effects of the atmosphere better than any other of the oolites, being, with the exception

^a Quorum Flamini tegitur cinis atque Latinâ.—JUVENAL.

Di faciant, mea ne terrâ locet ossa frequenti,

Qua facit assiduo tramite vulgus iter.—PROPER. Eleg. iii. xvi.

^b Quinctil. Instit. Orator. I. xi. 3.

^c Sat. vi. 446.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

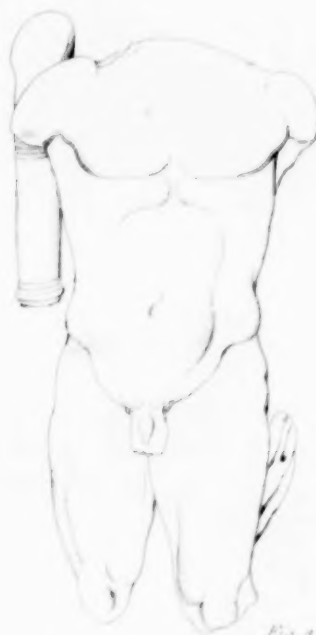


Fig. 4

Remains of Statues found at Bedford Park in Northamptonshire

of the magnesian deposits, the most durable, it became also, for the same reasons, proportionably difficult to manage under the hands of the sculptor. He, in the present examples, used the material that was at hand; and, considering its hard, uncertain, and occasionally schistous or laminated character, he has produced as fair specimens of his art as these natural circumstances would allow. Their actual merit, as well as that of the subsequent examples, has however been thus determined by the judgment of Sir Richard Westmacott, one of your Society, who has examined them, and some of whose works, adorning the same noble collection where these are placed, whilst they will bring their own author before admiring posterity, will also be the safest test of our forming a correct judgment upon the merits of the present ones.

As objects of antiquarian interest, or of classical inquiry, the whole of them present novel features for illustration: for it is a striking fact that the five specimens of Roman sculpture now introduced to the attention of the Society are presumed to be the only examples of this species of Roman art that have hitherto been found in Great Britain. Of cinerary urns, pottery, glass, weapons, personal decorations, household utensils, bronzes or altars, of miliary or monumental stones, there have been, as there are daily, numerous varieties brought to light: but of the stone gods, by which the heathens swore, or cursed themselves, of the deities to whom they entrusted the safety of their private dwellings and domestic peace, and of the Social Manes, an extensive search has only added one other example; and, even if the statement already made should turn out to be overcharged, and an exception ought to be made,^a the fact still remains that their rarity is excessive; and certainly the discovery of five such works, all executed on the spot, is no inconsiderable addition to our knowledge of the progress and state of Roman sculpture in one of its important colonies.

Yet in describing some of them, more particularly the two under immediate consideration, the confession may not be avoided, that the difficulty of determining their personification can only be met by conjecture.

The spot where they were discovered, and the minor facts connected with them, may in some degree throw light upon the subject. In the first place, from their being accompanied by remains of an undoubtedly sepulchral kind, it may be presumed that they belonged to and formed a portion of a Roman bustum. It does

^a I am informed by Mr. Ormerod, the able historian of Cheshire, that a small fragment of a statue, eighteen inches high, of Painswick stone, was found within the greater camp at Lydney in Gloucestershire, a few years ago, and is now in the collection of Mr. Bathurst.

not appear indeed that during any period of the empire there were either in the parent state or in its dependencies public burial-places generally assigned to the Roman population. The place where the kindred and friends of the deceased pronounced their lingering and last farewell, like Æneas over the remains of Pallas,

————— Salve æternum mihi, maxime Palla,
Æternumque vale, *

was either selected or purchased outside the city, according to the taste or means of the buyer. The lowest classes only, the "inops inhumataque turba," the men of obscure condition, had a common cemetery on the Esquiline, whilst the wealthy in every country chose the most conspicuous stations, constructing their tombs on the summit of some celebrated hill, as Acca king of the Albani and Tatius upon Mount Aventine; ^b or, as Drusus the father of Claudia, Hirtius, and Pansa, in the Campus Martius. ^c The majority fixed their sepulchres by the side of the great thoroughfares. Gallienus, ^d the Scipios, ^e the Servilli, and the Metelli, were buried on the Via Appia, which Statius distinguishes from the rest as the queen of roads, ^f and therefore the more honourable to receive the remains of men distinguished for aristocratic rank or personal valour. It was moreover the constant practice to inter the dead by the side of public ways, (might not the custom have been figuratively allusive to the long journey before them?) as has been perpetually evinced by the discovery from time to time of such cemeteries, by numerous mortuary inscriptions, and by frequent reference to the custom itself by classical authors. To bring forward no others, the lines of Tibullus ^g may be sufficient to elucidate it.

Nec taceat monimenta viæ, quem Tuscula tellus,
Candida quem antiquo detinet Alba lare.—TIBULL.

As regards the intention of these two statues, three conjectures have presented themselves for examination. The first, that they might have been intended as representations of the propitiatory Dii Inferi, who Pliny ^h narrates were evoked in necromancy by Anagogis, and their evoked shades again laid to rest by Synochitis. But we will rapidly pass from under the feeble gleam of this hypothesis, which has

^a Virg. Æneid. vi.

^c Varro de Ling. Lat. iv. 32.

^e Livii Epist. 119.

^b Livii Hist. i. 3.

^d Martian. Topog. Urb. Rom. v. 7.

^f ——— qua limine noto

Appia longarum teritur regina viarum.—Stat. Syl. ii. 2. 11; and Mart. ix. 104.

^g Tibull. i. vii. 57.

^h Plin. Hist. xxxvii. 11.

little beyond the number of the two methods to lend it support, and come to the second, where, in addition to the agreement of numbers, the characteristic attribute reminds us of Tisiphone and her fierce companions.^a The effigies being associated with the sepulchral OBRENDARIUM or vase, imagination is immediately carried to their supposed attributes, and it connects them with Virgil's description of the kingdom of Rhadamanthus; a description that extends itself also to the attitude of the female avenger herself, and which in part these two statues strictly exhibit. For like her they are furnished with the means of chastisement, though unfortunately the dress does not become the modesty of the goddess. Vainly, therefore, shall we apply to them the words with which he depicts her usual aspect:

Continuo sontes ultrix, accincta flagello,
Tisiphone quatit insultans.

Before entering upon the last supposition that has seemed relevant to the present inquiry, it may not be altogether undeserving remark, though it be a practice sufficiently known to all readers of classical history, that the ancients frequently instituted funeral games in memory of the dead. Such were established by Achilles in honour of Patroclus, when he reverently placed the bones of his friend in a golden urn. On this occasion the contests were of various kinds. In the first instance it was a trial of speed with horses and with chariots, when the prize was awarded to Diomedes. Epeus was the victor in pugilism; Ajax and Ulysses declared equal as wrestlers; the latter, by the aid of omnipotent Minerva, outsped Antilochus in running; Ajax divided the honour of casting the spear with Diomedes; Polypetus was the most successful quoit player, and Meriones the best shot with the bow. In a similar way Æneas decreed funeral games in honour of his father Anchises. These statues, consequently, if commemorative at all of such exploits as these, in which the dexterity of the deceased might be favourably represented, will allude to his equestrian skill; but there seems little pretext for the assumption, and therefore the last conjecture which is now offered may appear the most reasonable; namely, that they should be simply regarded in the light of emblematical decorations of the cenotaph, as figures of the Social Manes,^b placed on either side of the sepulchral amphora,

Afferet hæc unguenta mihi, sertisque sepulchrum
Ornabit, custos ad mea busta sedens,^c

to intimate to the passer by the existence of a protecting genius, who would drive

^a ——— Hecaten vocat altera sævam,
Altera Tisiphonen.—Hor. Sat. viii. 34.

^b Per Socios Manes, et conscia sidera juro.—Stat. Theb. xii. 393.

^c Propert. Eleg. iii. 16.

away and punish the violator of its contents. Such, indeed, were the functions of Hecate and Tisiphone; such, also, were those of the Deity, whom the poetic satire of Horace elevates from a state of worthless wooden rudeness to the power of terrifying mankind;

————— ut non testis inultus
Horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum;

or, as the dominion would be more closely depicted in the Thebaid of Statius:

————— stat pervigil illic
Umbrarum custos;^a

and again,

————— tuque, oro, veni, si manibus ulla
Effigies, errantque animæ post membra solutæ.

Propertius mentions the absence of such from the tomb as a mark of neglect and dishonour:

Nec sedeant cineri manes.^b

Meanwhile, the aspect of the figures themselves sufficiently sustains such a symbolical meaning,^c and indicates that the friends of the defunct were not unmindful of the universal sentiments of respect with which the Romans regarded the habitation of the dead, sentiments that were perpetually hinted at under the sanction of their laws, as well as observed by the concurrent and decent reverence of mankind.^d It may also further be added, that the maledictory language of several monumental inscriptions entirely accords with such an appropriation; for, not to dwell upon the pithy fable of Phædrus, in which the dog is consigned to everlasting hunger after riches, because, in rooting up the bones of the dead, he found a treasure, and violated the manes, and therefore paid the penalty of his sacrilege by dying of hunger whilst watching it, these monumental inscriptions imprecate the severest vengeance of heaven upon those who should either deface them, or in any way dishonour the sanctity of the grave. This is shewn by such constantly recurring epitaphs as these: "Perpetuæ securitati;" "Abite hinc pessimi fures;" "Quisquis hoc sustulerit aut jusserit ultimus suorum moriatur."

^a Stat. Thebaid. xii. 150.

^b Eleg. lib. iii. v.

^c Ausonius also refers to the custom of placing them over the bustum:

Nec satis est titulum saxo incidisse sepulchri;
Insuper et frontem mole onerant statuæ.—Epig. xx.

^d Quisquis et occurret, ne possit crimen habere,

Stet procul ante, alia stet procul ante via.

Sic fieri jubet ipse deus.—Tibull. Eleg. i. vi. 41.

The OBRENDARIUM, so termed according to the Latin etymologists from the verb *obruere*, was a large vase in which were carefully placed the bones of the deceased; it contained them in the present instance. It was different both in size and appropriation from the OLLA, which was smaller, and, strictly speaking, confined to the *Columbarium*, or larger cemetery, a place answering in great measure to a family vault, or modern mortuary chapel. The olla had usually an inscription incised upon its face: the OSSUARIUM, or TESTA, which was a still smaller vessel destined to hold the ashes, had seldom, if ever, such a distinguishing mark on its exterior, and is the one most commonly met with in this country.^a

It has already been stated, that with the two Social Manes a similar vessel was discovered, and the contents were of such a nature that they clearly shewed it had been devoted to a sepulchral use. The form is unusual, and the capacity larger than ordinary. There is nothing remarkable in the outline, whilst as regards any pretensions to elegance, it is much inferior to the general forms, as well as to another placed in the Woburn Gallery, an account of which, by his Grace the late Duke of Bedford, has already appeared in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries. The Obrendarium found at Bedford Purlieus is formed of the blue lias clay of the district, is seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, two feet six inches high, and five feet eight in circumference. Having been very slightly burnt, it readily admitted being broken, and fractured it must have been intentionally, to allow the admission of the various articles that were found within it. That this sort of damage was not unfrequent, may be gathered from the words of Cato, who says: "*Salem candidum sic facito. Amphoram defracto collo puram impleto aquæ puræ.*" Propertius describes the tomb of a procuress as being furnished with an inferior vessel of this kind:

Sit tumulus lenæ curto vetus amphora collo.^b

Amongst minor fragments of glass and pottery that were presented to view, were two very elegant PATERÆ of the rich red colour known as Samian ware, and having the maker's name stamped on the under side.^c (Plate II. figs. 4, 5, 6). They add a new name to the list of potters, but no new variety of form. Recent discoveries, united to a better knowledge of chemical analysis, have put us in possession of the methods adopted by the ancients to produce a colour and a surface so deserving of admiration.

^a Deinde, ubi suppositus cinerem me fecerit ardor,
Accipiat manes parvula testa meos.—Propert. Eleg. ii. xiii. 31.

^b Lib. iv. Eleg. v.

^c MA. and M. after the names of the respective artists, signify *manu*, that is, by the hand of AVITVS, METTVS, and RVIVS.

It is well known to artists, that vermilion, and all the mineral colours, are the most durable they can employ; and this durability, added to the richness of the pigments produced from the bisulphuret of mercury, which naturally occurs as cinnabar, occasioned its frequent use. Sometimes it exists in two states, the one red, the other black, known under the name of *Ethiop's mineral*. Both of these ingredients for glazing their ware seem to have been well understood by the potters of this district, though, from being a more expensive method than the common one, but few perfect specimens of Samian ware, or of the other, which I shall designate *Ethiopian*, are turned up by the spade. There does not, however, exist any impediment to the moderns producing ware equally rich in colour; in fact, it has not only been done by means of a fragment that has been found of the ancient glaze itself, but also by means of the same materials with which skilful analysis shewed it to be composed. There does not exist any reason why ware equally graceful in design should not be still manufactured, if the public taste were taught to understand its natural beauty, if it were led to withdraw its extravagant fancy from the grotesque forms of Mediæval art, and to imitate in their stead the simpler and more elegant ones that Greek and Roman works so profusely exhibit. It is, indeed, impossible for any one who has once become imbued with a correct and real feeling for what is in itself chaste and beautiful to recede from such a standard; it would be struggling against instinctive refinement if, having had free opportunity of examining the just proportions and the grandeur of ancient models, though bearing an idolatrous impress, he should attempt to withdraw himself from their study; and with sensations of deep regret he will cast his eyes over his native land, and observe that such examples of sublime conception and skill should excite but comparatively slight admiration, lamenting that there exists such an inadequate appreciation of their merits among our modern connoisseurs.

There was also found within the obrendarium one of those small vessels of glass usually known under the name of a *lachrymatory*, (Plate II. fig. 2,) from the idea that the ancients used it to hold the tears of their weeping friends and kinsfolk. This notion is so agreeable to the imagination that few persons would willingly dispel it from their mind as a mere creation of fancy. Yet it may be questioned whether there exists anything beyond it, still less a sufficient amount of proof to justify us in considering this to have been their legitimate intention. It is certainly allowing the ancients a more liberal share of sensibility than we can set forth claims to at the present day.

The Latin poets, who so copiously illustrate every thing else connected with funeral rites, are all silent on the precise use of these elegant accompaniments of the tomb; and certainly the words of Divine Writ, which have been hitherto adduced

Fig. 1

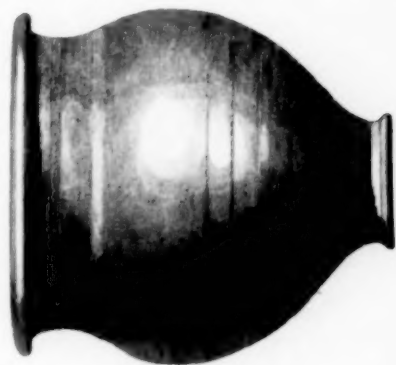


Fig. 2



Fig. 4



CAVITI·MA

Fig. 6



CAVITI·MA

Fig. 8

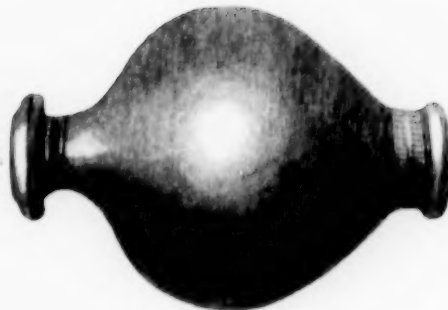


Fig. 7

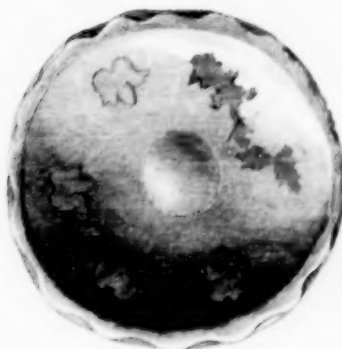


Fig. 3



Fig. 5



CAVITI·MA

Fig. 9



Found at Bagford, Cheshire

as an argument for such an appropriation, by no means prove it, since whilst neither the Septuagint or Vulgate recognise the word, but say simply, "Thou hast placed my tears in thy sight," the Protestant commentators Muis and Gejer, following the version of Pagninus, explain the passage metaphorically,—“Place my tears before thee *as* a bottle of precious liquid;” and such a metaphorical interpretation is sustained by the figurative language of the prophet Jeremiah,^a who says, speaking of the miseries with which the children of Israel should be drunken, “Do we not certainly know that every bottle shall be filled with wine?” An explanation confirmed also by the words that issued from the Temple to the seven Apocalyptic angels.^b Moreover, it is improbable that even the excessive sorrow of their kindred, united with the simulated grief of the *præficæ*, females who, (not unlike the monastic *Ascetriæ* of a more recent age,) were hired to chaunt the plaintive *nænia*, and to wail over the ashes of the deceased, could have actually converted these vessels to such an incredible use. Emblematical of the many tears that would be shed at the loss of the departed they probably may have been, but it is too hazardous an assumption to declare they were filled with those of his surviving relatives. Disclaiming then these notions that have been copied by one antiquary after another, it becomes the next duty to offer some other theory in their place.

We are told by Terence^c and other authors, that when the dead body had lain in state upon its last bed, and received the farewell kiss from the bystanders, it was brought forth and placed upon the *lectus*, or bier; that spices,^d garlands,^e and locks of hair having been cast upon it, it was then carried to the pyre and consumed.^f A loud and piercing lament was uttered by those around, and the glowing ashes were extinguished by wine.^g Bottles filled with odours were usually put inside the

^a Jerem. xlii. 12.

^b Revelat. xvi. 1.

^c ————— Funus interim

Procedit; sequimur; ad sepulchrum venimus.

In ignem posita est. Fletur.—Andr. i. 123.

^d Cur nardo flammæ non oluere meæ.—Propert. Eleg. iv. 7.

Pars calidos latices, et ahenâ undantia flammis

Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.—Virg. vi. 218.

^e Sertaque et Elysios animæ præsternere flores.—Stat. Sylv. v. 257.

^f Tum juvenem nondum facti flevire Quirites,

Ultima plorato subdita flamma rogo est.—Ovid. Fast. iv. 853.

^g Postquam collapsi cineres, et flamma quievit,

Reliquias vino, et bibulam lavere favillam,

Ossaque lecta cado textit Chorinæus ahenâ.—Virg. vi. 227.

Sparge mero cineres, bene olentis et unguine nardi,

Hospes, et adde visis balsama puniceis.—Auson. Epig. xxxvi.

tomb, which was itself also sprinkled with perfumes. According to such rites Cæsar ordered the head of his departed rival Pompey to be burned with the most precious aromatics that could be obtained :^a the Latin poets, in short, abound with allusions to the practice. It therefore appears the most reasonable supposition,—for it resolves itself into supposition at last,—that these vessels of glass were used for the purpose of holding the perfumes and aromatics already mentioned. Two Latin inscriptions have been preserved that seem to bear upon the question. The one, in the collection of Fabretti : “C. Lælio. C. F. ju. magna. omnium. expectatione. genito. et. decimo. octavo. ætatis. anno. ab. inmani. atropo. e. vita. reciso. Fusca. mater. ad. luctum. et. gemitum. relictæ. cum. lachrymis. et. opobalsamo. udum.” The other, given by Gruter : “D. M. Phileminię. P. L. Maximę. statuta. odoramenta. ex. H. S. . . . prima. mater. miserrima. filię. carissimę. an. xviii.” The lines of Statius are well known :

——— Quis carmine digno
Exsequias, et dona malę feralia pompę
Perlegat ? omne illic stipatum examine longo
Ver Arabum Cilicumque fluit, floresque Sabę,
Medorumque arsura seges, præreptaque templis
Thura, Palęstinique simul Phariique liquores,
Corycięque comę, Cinyreęque germina, &c.^b

So are those of Propertius :

Desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus, adsint
Plebei parvę funeris exsequię ;^c—

And again :

Me tegat arboreę devia terra comę.^d

The Egyptians were accustomed to anoint the bodies of the dead with honey, a custom alluded to by Statius in the following lines, where he refers to the preservation of the body of Alexander :

Duc et ad Emathios manes, ubi belliger urbis
Conditor Hyblęo perfusus nectare durat ;^e

and still more appositely by Silius Italicus, whose lines would lend a countenance to the idea that these reputed lachrymatories might have been used to hold this sweet preserve, as the paterę were for wine :

Duc prædicta sacris duro placamina Diti,
Mella simul tecum, et puri fer dona Lyęi.^f

^a Valer. Max. v. 1.

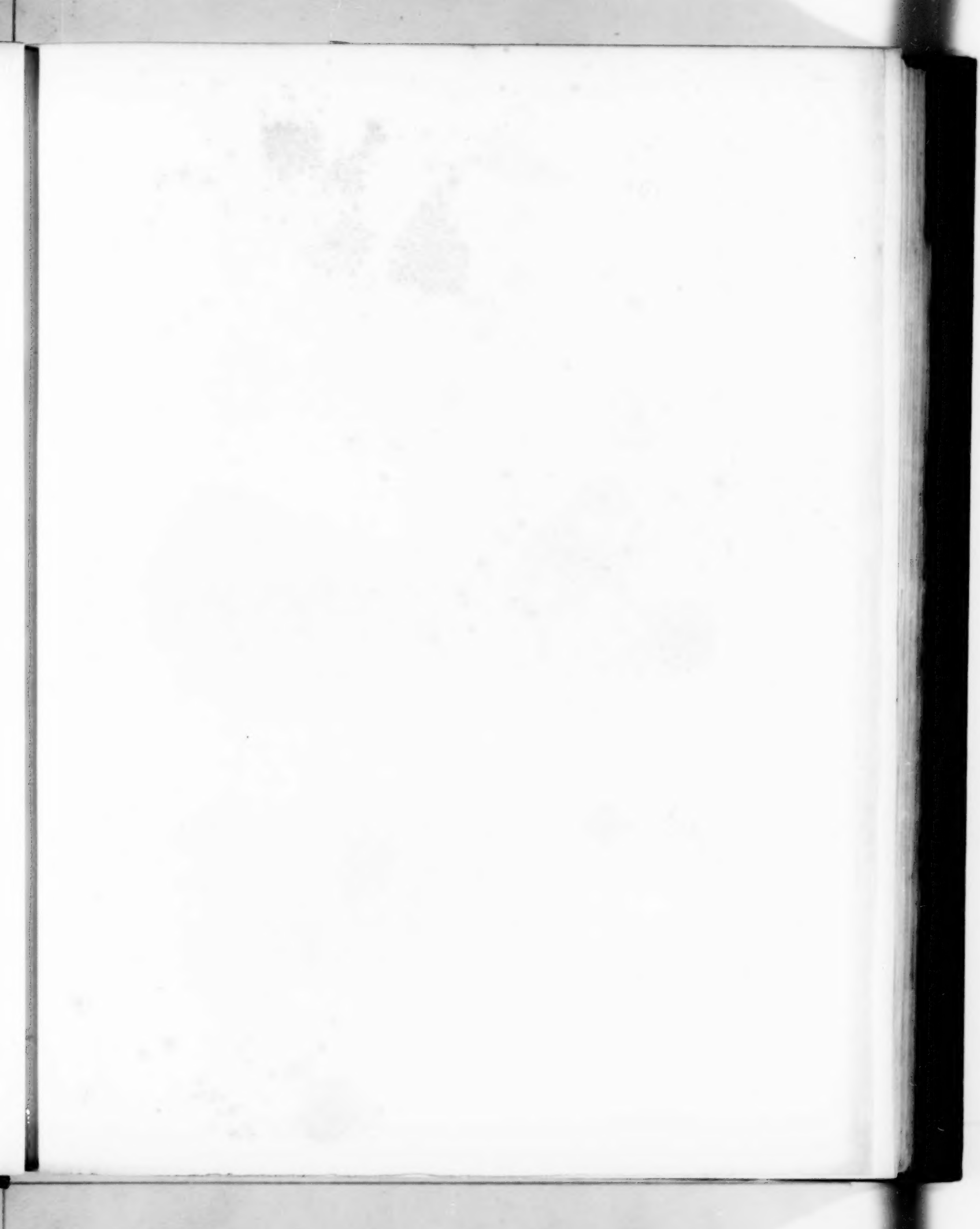
^c Propert. ii. xlii. 23.

^e Stat. Sylv. iii. 117.

^b Stat. Sylv. l. v. 208, 214.

^d Ibid. iii. xvi.

^f Sil. Ital. xiii. 415 ; see also, v. 434.





1/2 size of original.



Ornamented Vase discovered at Bedford Purlois.

Nor will the words of Callimachus afford less light on the subject :

Μὴ μῆρα λωτροχόαι τῇ Παλλάδι, μὴδ' ἀλαζίστρων,
Οὐ γὰρ Ἀθηναία χρίματα μικτὰ φιλεῖ,
Οἴσετε.

Besides the bottle just mentioned, the obrendarium contained another vessel of glass of unusual shape, being a *SIMPULUM* in the form of a truncated cone, the knob at the pointed end having been carefully ground away. It is in the most perfect state, of a bright, pellucid, azure colour, and so entirely free from efflorescence, or any of the usual marks of age, that it would be difficult to distinguish it from the best modern work of the same kind that could be produced.

The last article remaining for notice among the discoveries at Bedford Purlieus, found also within the obrendarium, is the vase figured in Plate III. Such a remarkable specimen of pottery has seldom before been met with in an equal state of preservation in this country, though small fragments of such a description have been at various times sparingly turned up by the plough in the same district. It is about 15 inches high, of a black-coloured ground, with the figures in relief. It is manufactured from the clay of the country, and appears by the costume of the figures to be evidently the work of the Lower Empire. Notwithstanding one of the minor Latin historians of the Augustan age^a thought fit to speak of the noble science of hunting as a servile occupation, he has found very few to join him in his opinions. Plato, Xenophon, Herodotus, Cicero, and Virgil alike have exerted their pens in its praise, because it both adds strength and vigour to the frame of man, and gives him skill and dexterity in using weapons of defence, whilst by its exercise he is habituated to fatigue and inured to the discipline of war. The philosopher Pliny considered it no mean recommendation to a villa that could place its occupier within reach of the varied and regular enjoyments of the chase. Even the rhetorical Symmachus,^b whose epistles, amid all the verbosity and dulness that pervades them, still shew their author to have been a person of observation, and who, uniting the sacred character of augur and pontiff with the civil dignity of an African proconsul, was certainly the exponent of the taste of the age in which he flourished, this writer, with more successful eloquence than he exerted before the Emperor Valentinian in behalf of expiring paganism, endeavours to rescue hunting from the unmerited reproach of his friend. Amongst the few facts that can be gleaned from his letters, we learn that the ancients were accustomed to sacrifice the antlers of captive stags to the honour of their deities ; and it would appear, from so much careful attention

^a Yet, Sallust speaks differently in *Bello Jugurth.* c. vi.

^b Symmach. *Epist. lib. v.* 68.

having been bestowed by the artist in producing an anaglyph illustrative of a stag hunt, which this vase represents, that the subject was a favourite one. And who can tell but that this district was as much celebrated for the sports of the field at the period when the vase was wrought as it still continues? We know, in fact, that from the days of William the Conqueror to those of the fourth Edward, the forests of this part of Northamptonshire furnished our English monarchs with the chief of their recreation; and it is not unreasonable to infer that their predecessors resorted with similar intentions to the same locality. The execution of the vase is neither Myan nor Myronian, but it is nevertheless elaborately wrought, too much so for a common drinking vessel, an application moreover which both its size and shape disprove. It must therefore have originally been a commemorative or ornamental vase; the latter opinion seems the more reasonable. The manual character of the relief, though not the material, may not unaptly be described by the epithet which both Juvenal and Virgil apply to works of a similar kind:

Hic læve argentum, vasa *aspera* tergeat alter.^a
Cymbiaque argento perfecta, atque *aspera* signis.^b

At all events they shew, like the words of Metellus,

Qui bibitur scypho vivis signis anaglypho,

that anaglyphic vases were vessels of more than common value; a fact proved by their being often found repaired by cotemporary workmanship. The hunting dress of the figure appears to be a *χιτών λεπιδωτός*, tunica or lorica squamata, a tunic of skin, with scales either of metal or horn fastened on it, such as Pausanias describes in his first Book, s. 21, as used by the Sarmatians; and Tacitus, (Hist. i. 79,) by the Rhoxolani, a Sarmatian tribe. With it seems to be connected a *cucullus* or skin cap for the head.^c

It has been already stated that the district where the aforementioned Roman remains were discovered has furnished at various periods, as it still continues to do, numerous tokens of Roman colonisation. Traces of military and domestic occupation are visible at the present day; and therefore, when the Blisworth and Peterborough Railway was in progress of formation, those who were conversant with the fertile supply of relics it had previously yielded, expected, not without reason, that additional objects of curiosity would be brought to light. The line of the Railway, however, being carried on the lowest level, the excavations were chiefly made in an alluvial soil close to the river Nen, and consequently few remains were met with.

^a Sat. xiv. 62.

^b Æneid, v. 267.

^c "Ferreis laminis aut præduro corio consertum."

With the exception of a small ossuary or testa in my own possession, found close to Cogenhoe, I am not aware that anything besides the three statues dug up at Sibson was found on the entire length of line. It seems that, at the spot where the present Wansford station is erected, there formerly existed a building of some description or other; for upon examining the locality, even after the traffic had commenced, I found numerous fragments of Roman pottery and pounded brick mortar, strewn about, making it not altogether improbable that a villa had formerly stood on the spot. At a later period I also observed several indications of a Roman cemetery at the Oundle station.

The statues discovered at Sibson, or what is now called the Wansford station, were, first,

One of **HERCULES**, rather above the natural size of man. It is in the usual attitude, supported on one side with a club in the hand, and clothed as to the shoulders with the skin of the Nemean lion, the paws coming over the breast. When first discovered it wanted the head, as in fact all the statues did; and, from having been exposed to the frost immediately it was raised above the surface, under which it had most likely lain saturated with moisture for fifteen centuries, it speedily became so injured that it was no longer, as a work of sculpture, deserving a place by the side of the others in the Woburn Gallery. This, like all the rest, is formed out of Barnack rag.

Secondly, a torso of **APOLLO**. This undraped figure (Plate I. fig. 4) appears carefully chiseled in minor respects, but is disproportionate in the length of the thighs.

And, lastly, the effigy of **MINERVA CUSTOS**. This statue is about the natural size. The goddess is represented under her common attributes, having a sceptre in her right hand, and her left placed upon a shield. The Gorgon's head decorates her breast. It is round, but has a pointed chin; the eyes sunken and flat, deep marks above the nose, the tongue is protruded, and the hair entirely composed of snakes. The head lies on the peplum,^a which is gathered into numerous small folds. Underneath is the stola, and the tunica interior enwraps the body itself. Few subjects have been more perplexing to classical antiquaries than female costume. It may also be said that a similar deficiency of exact knowledge exists as to the names, and the right application of the names, for female mediæval costume. Modern *modistes* are perpetually adding to the nomenclature, and, from the meaning of

^a Peplum est vestis candida, aureis clavis picta sine manicis quod simulachris fiebat. Sed hoc Peplum primum est ab Atheniensibus institutum, quod Matronæ suis manibus faciebant, et inter triennium numinibus offerebant.—Lutatius Placidus in Theb. l. x.

The ancient Greeks even called the heavens by this name, according to Porphyry, πέπλος εἶναι θεῶν οὐρανῶν περιβλήμα. (De Nympharum antro.)

these names vanishing with the materials and the fashions that called them into existence, future inquiries will be lost in hopeless obscurity.

It will be seen from the engraving (Plate IV.) that the peplum hangs partially down the back, so that it could have been used to spread over and protect the head. It is without sleeves, and is the dress in which Minerva is generally represented by statuary. The Greek *πεπλος* answers in many respects to the Latin *palla*; but the peplum being a robe especially consecrated to Minerva, that title for it in the present instance is evidently the more appropriate one. At the great Panathenaic festival, a peplum wrought by virgins, and embroidered with a representation of her actions, was carried in solemn procession to her temple. By the Attic laws not only all citizens but every temporary resident was constrained to swell the throng in undyed garments. Plautus, remembering the stateliness of such an exhibition, says :

Neque nisi quinto quoque anno posse invisere
Urbem : atque extemplo inde ut spectavissem peplum,
Rus rursus confestim exigi solitum a patre.^a

And the author of the *Ciris* :

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erecthæis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustris.^b

Aristophanes in *The Birds* particularly mentions the garment, and his words both apply to that, and may be equally apposite to the statue of the goddess as she is here personified :

Λιπαρὸν το χοῖρον τῆς πέλειός· τις δαὶ θεὸς
Πενταῖχος ἔσται· τῷ ξανθοῦμεν τὸν πεπλον· —
Τι δ' αὖτε Ἀθηναίαν ἔωμεν Πολιάδα·^c

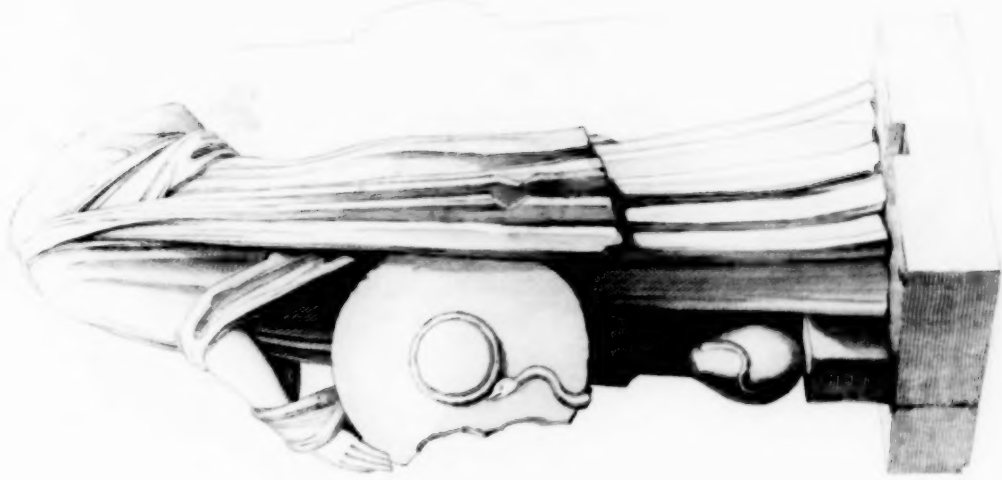
It will be unnecessary to enter into an explanation of the other parts of her attire; they do not present any unusual feature, and are sufficiently intelligible to shew their intention by the engraving alone.

Looking then at the dress, and the symbols by which the effigy is accompanied, the common mark of her dominion in the right hand, the horrific ægis on her

^a Prolog. in *Mercatorem*, v. 66.

^b v. 29.

^c *Aristoph.* *Aves*, v. 827.



Statue of Minerva, and of the Gods

breast,^a and the serpent crawling up the clypeus or circular shield at her side, there is every proof that can be needed to shew that it was intended as a statue in honour of Minerva. But these emblems are emblems moreover of Minerva, peculiarly in her protective character; and, as the Athenians entitled her Οἰκουρὸς and Πάλισχος, or Πάλις, the keeper and defender of the house and city (the public treasure in fact we are told by Aristophanes was placed in a temple dedicated to her in the Acropolis, under this title,)^b we may consider her representing those functions in the villa where this statue was originally placed. An ancient poet called the dragon who guarded the Temple of Minerva the οἰκουρὸς ὄφις: the vigilance of the same reptile is portrayed by his representation on the present effigy. Connecting together the influence which these two deities, Minerva and Hercules, might have been supposed to have exerted as the tutelaries over human safety, it cannot fail to recur to the classical reader how Sophocles, in the Trachiniæ^c makes Deianira praise her husband as the οἰκουρὸς, whilst at the same moment she was unconsciously hastening his death, by preparing for him the vestment dipped in the blood of the Centaur. The intimate connexion between Hercules and Minerva (Strength guided by Wisdom) is well known. So Pindar, Isthm. iii. says of the former, when taken to Heaven,

Νῦν δὲ παρ' Ἀργόχρ' κάλλιστον ὄλβον
ἄμφεπων νάϊει.

Here then we have two statues suitable in all respects to the attributes of these deities; so that it would appear, if they were designed with any specific intention, the one will answer to the notions we have received of the character of HERCULES DEFENSOR, and the other will correspond to those which the concurrent voice of antiquity has ascribed to MINERVA CUSTOS.^d

^a Egidaque horrifera, turbata Palladis arma,
Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant,
Connexosque angues, ipsamque in pectore Divæ
Gorgona defecto vertentem lumina collo.—Virg. viii. 435.

^b Plut. v. 1194.

^c Sophoc. Trach. v. 540.

^d A small additional portion of this statue has been recovered since I first saw these various antiquities, and since the present engraving was made.

II.—*On the Site of CAMBODUNUM.* By the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

Read 28th May, 1846.

THE object of the present communication is to lay before the Society of Antiquaries of London, first, a concise history of the extraordinary variations of opinion among the antiquaries who have devoted themselves to the study of the Roman antiquities of Britain, respecting the site of a station the name of which is preserved by Antonine, CAMBODUNUM or CAMULODUNUM, the copies of the Itinerary varying; and secondly, a piece of evidence which I have lately discovered which seems to me to go very far towards determining this long doubtful and unsettled question. I may add that if the evidence which will be produced is thought sufficient to establish the point, the opinion respecting the site of Cambodunum which has now for more than half a century had possession of the public mind will be shewn to be untenable, and a course of one of the principal roads made, or at least used, by the Romans, be shewn to be drawn with more of the wisdom which is justly attributed to that wise and noble people.

The road which passed through or near to Cambodunum, is the second of the roads as they appear in Antonine's collection of them. It is a road reaching the whole extent of the island; but the only part of it with which I need to trouble the Society, is the part by which EBORACUM is connected with MAMUCIUM or MANCUNIAM. That Eboracum is the modern York it would be absurd to attempt to prove. That Mamucium is Manchester, is not, perhaps, quite so indisputable, while it is however a point on which antiquaries are so well agreed, that I am not at all prepared or disposed to raise any question respecting it. Between these two stations are two others, the names of which are CALCARIA and CAMBODUNUM. Calcaria is nine miles from York, which is the distance of the modern town of Tadcaster; and, if Tadcaster is not actually on the site of Calcaria, it will hardly be doubted that Calcaria was at the point at which the road crossed the Wharf, and that the name Calcaria originated in the natural features of that limestone district.

This then determined, we have between Tadcaster and Manchester an intermediate road station, Cambodunum. It is placed, according to the existing copies

of the Itinerary, at the distance of 20 miles from Calcaria and 18 from Mamucium. This makes the entire distance between Tadcaster and Manchester only 38 miles, while the actual distance in any line by which it was possible to travel cannot be less than 50. This difficulty presses almost equally against all the opinions respecting the position of Cambodunum, and is not, therefore, at all material in respect of the object more immediately before us; but it may be well to state that Horsley, who was no rash innovator, but who felt this difficulty strongly, suggests the possibility that the reading of the *Iter* ought in this particular to be corrected, and that the distance from Calcaria to Cambodunum ought to be "*mill. passuum triginta*" and not "*mill. passuum viginti*." There is, however, great difficulty in admitting this emendation of the text of Antonine, arising out of this circumstance, that we have rarely a distance from station to station so great as thirty miles. Perhaps the Society may allow me to remark, that this very *Iter* contains one of the best proofs that the difference between the Roman mile and the modern English mile is not considerable, in the distance at which it places Calcaria from Eboracum.

The late Mr. Leman, a Fellow of this Society, and one of the most diligent investigators of the Roman antiquities of Britain, was as fully aware of the difficulty as Horsley had been. His mode of overcoming it was different from Horsley's: he supposed that, in the copies of the *Itinerary* which have come down to us, the name of a station is lost intermediate between Calcaria and Cambodunum, and this intermediate station he was disposed to place, on no very decisive probabilities, at the site of the modern Adwalton. All idea, it may be observed, of actually tracing this *Iter* by *indicia* of it yet remaining, is vain.

The difficulty, however, presses with almost equal force against any particular point in the country lying between York and Manchester, at which Cambodunum may be placed; and we must be content, in the first place, to sacrifice in this particular the integrity of the copies of the *Iter*, and, secondly, to regard the requirements of the *Itinerary* satisfied, if we find a place, in other respects having claims to be considered as having been a Roman station, in the line near which we must suppose any road to have passed by which York could have been connected with Manchester.

We may pass over the controversy which many years ago fell under the notice of this Society respecting the identity of this station, Cambodunum, and a place spoken of by Bede under the name *Campodonum*. Polydore Vergil, in the infancy of studies of this kind, had intimated their identity; but this opinion I believe has now no supporters, and the *Campodonum*, where one of the first Christian churches in Yorkshire arose, is to be sought for on the line of the Don, and probably at Doncaster.

Camden is the first person who attempted deliberately to fix the site of Cambodunum. He had traversed much of the west riding of Yorkshire, and was therefore acquainted with the country through which the road must have passed, and the antiquities to be found in it; and, finding no other ancient works of any magnitude on or near what must have been its course, except those at a place called Almonbury, he gave the authority of his venerable name to the opinion that Almonbury is the site of the Roman Cambodunum.—*Britannia*, 4to. 1600. p. 615.

In this opinion he is supported by his successors Burton and Gale, and followed by other writers on the Roman antiquities of Britain; and the opinion may be said to have kept its ground till, early in the last century, it became the duty of Horsley to submit it to a close examination.

Horsley shewed the utter improbability that Cambodunum was Almonbury. The works at Almonbury are undoubtedly most striking and magnificent; but there is nothing Roman about them. Nothing Roman has ever been found in the vicinity of them. They belong to the class of Earth-Works to which belong the works at Mexborough, Laughton, and other places near the southern border of Brigantia: a class of which the purpose seems to be as much unknown as is the people by whom they were constructed.

Horsley, however, did not dismiss the claim of Almonbury to be the Roman Cambodunum, without at the same time endeavouring to shew at what place we ought to look for Cambodunum. He observed in Camden that a Roman altar had been disinterred in some part of that wide district of the parish of Halifax which is known by the name of Greteland: and having mentioned this name, and having occasion to mention it often again, it may be proper to state that Greteland, Stainland, and Elland are terms by which *districts* are described; that they are not the names of towns, villages, or hamlets, except so far as that a village has collected about the church which was erected in Elland; and that they are districts contiguous to each other, forming the southern portion of the very extensive Halifax parish, and abutting on the parish of Huddersfield.

One of the principles on which Horsley proceeded in his admirable investigations of the Roman Antiquities of Britain was this:—that the discovery of fixed and heavy remains of the Roman times, such as all the altars are, affords a presumption that there had been a Roman population settled at or very near to the place at which they are found; and, applying this principle to the present case, he came to the conclusion that near where this altar was found there must have been a settlement of the Romans, and that this settlement agreed very well with the position of an intermediate station between Tadcaster and Manchester.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, unfortunately had not told us with sufficient particularity in what part of Greteland the altar was found; nor was this particular information to be gained from anything in Gruter, to whom Camden sent a copy of the inscription. But Horsley, who, as will be seen in the sequel, shewed in this his usual sagacity, observed that there was at a particular point in the district called Greteland one of those *lingulæ* of land on which the Romans most usually placed their camps. This *lingula* is at the junction with the Calder of one of its tributary streams called the Black Brook. It lies between the village of Elland and one of the old mansions of the neighbourhood called the Clay House; and, without at all knowing or suspecting that the altar was actually found near this very site, he came to the conclusion that on this *lingula* was a camp, about which, as was usually the case, dwellings of the Roman inhabitants of Britain were constructed, and that these formed together the station called Cambodunum.

Horsley notices that Roman coin had been found in Stainland, and Roman bricks impressed with the words COH III BRE at Grimsar in Elland, as strengthening the probability. To this may be added that there are Roman works in the district called Elland, and that since Horsley's time there has been a great discovery of Roman treasure there. To this may be added that the valley in which Horsley places Cambodunum is still one of the passes from Yorkshire into Lancashire.

It is however on the discovery of the altar that he chiefly relies.

Indeed he admits, with that candour by which his admirable writings are distinguished, no less than by his caution, diligence, sagacity, and learning, that many of the usual indicia of a station are wanting, such as mounds, foundations of edifices, &c.; and he gives a passage from a letter of a correspondent, Mr. Angier of Heton, who says, "I have made another attempt to discover a station about Greteland or Ribanden, but without any success. Mr. Camden indeed gives us an account of a votive altar found there, but says nothing whereabouts, and it is too long since to expect any information from the inhabitants."

Thus the matter stood on the publication of the *Britannia Romana* in 1732, Horsley, the learned author, being then dead.

In 1750 the Rev. John Watson became a resident of the parish of Halifax, and began immediately to collect information respecting the antiquities, of whatever class, that were around him. As he was traversing the district called Stainland, he chanced to see an unknown Roman altar standing in a farmer's yard. It had been dug up fourteen years before, but had till his time never fallen under an antiquarian eye. Mr. Watson was naturally eager to learn the particular site on which it had been found, and he was conducted to a place called Slack, in Longwood, near the southern border of the parish of Halifax, but actually within the parish of Hud-

dersfield, and there he found many other indicia of Roman habitation, to which others have since his time been added, and Slack continues even now to afford from time to time fresh matter to gratify those who are curious about Roman antiquities.

Mr. Watson communicated information of the discovery he had made to his friend Mr. John Whittaker, who, then settled at Manchester, was quite as eager in his search after the antiquities around him as Mr. Watson himself was. Moreover he was at that time engaged in the composition of his *History of Manchester*, a work which necessarily led him to seek out the true site of Cambodunum, the station which had such immediate communication with Manchester. To cut short this part of my story, both he and Mr. Watson concurred in carrying the line of the road from Taddcaster to Manchester by Slack; Slack became, in general estimation, the Cambodunum of Antonine; and the claim of the lingula in Greteland, and the adjacent country, was abandoned. Yet it is curious, and not uninteresting to those who are engaged in antiquarian researches, to observe how it has come to pass that the judgment of the admirable Horsley has been in this point superseded, and how the exactness and truth of a statement of fact by Camden has been put in question. Mr. Watson published his *History of the Parish of Halifax* in 1775. Speaking of Camden's Greteland altar he says, "Where this altar was found for my own part I could never learn, though I have lived in the neighbourhood of Greteland near twenty years; there is not the least tradition about it, nor indeed of any thing old and curious having ever been discovered in the whole township. I have frequently searched it all over with the greatest care, and had it once contained such a military settlement as Cambodunum, am clearly of opinion that I should have met with some trace of it, as the greatest part of the land is still wild uncultivated common, or consists of woods and rocks. It is a natural supposition to think that, where such an altar as this was erected, there would be some kind of a settlement; but as there is no reason to believe that any thing of the sort was in Greteland, I rather suspect an error in the account. Had it been given to the adjoining township of Stainland it might have been concluded that it was originally set up in the confines of the supposed Cambodunum at Slack; as it is, neither tradition, remains, nor the vicinity of any ancient road, tend to confirm the report."—*Hist. of Halifax*. 4to. 1775, p. 36.

Another antiquary of Mr. Watson's period, who sought Greteland over with great assiduity in quest of a station, was Mr. Percival of Royton. Mr. Whittaker says that this gentleman searched with great diligence, yet found nothing, and he concludes his observations on this subject with the somewhat exulting remark, "What has been sought ineffectually for a century and a half,—the real site of Cambodunum,—is now discovered." He means at Slack.

The author of the *Commentary on the Itinerary*, in the Translation of Richard of

Cirencester, 8vo. 1809, passes over all that had been said for Greteland, and writes thus:—"As the only great and undoubted Roman station between Tadcaster and Manchester is at Slack, (for the camps at Kirkleas and Castleshaw are only temporary posts,) it will, perhaps, be justifiable to fix this point as the site of Cambodunum; to suppose ten miles omitted in this stage, and in the next to conjecture that by a common error in copying the Roman numerals XVIII. have been substituted for XXIII., the exact distance from Slack to Manchester." Any correction of the distance which would favour Slack would tell equally in favour of Greteland.

Next comes Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, whose survey of the Parish of Halifax was published in 1816. Entertaining on the whole no very exalted opinion of Mr. Watson's skill as an antiquary, he attributes to him "the merit of having discovered the real site of Cambodunum." Dr. Whitaker is further pleased to call Camden's "a vague account," while in reality nothing can be more distinct and precise as to the fact of the discovery. "*Calderus in ipso Lancastrensi confinio scatus ignobilibus prætextitur oppidis, inter quæ ad Gretland in cacumine montis in quem nullus nisi una pars accessus, effossa fuit hæc ara votiva Deo civitatis Brigantum Topico, ut videtur, posita. Quæ nunc cernitur Bradleie in ædibus clarissimi viri D. Joannis Savili Baronis Scaccarii.*"—*Britannia*, 4to. 1600, p. 612. Dr. Whitaker's words are these:—"Excited probably by Camden's vague account of the celebrated altar DVI CIV BRIG having been found in Greteland, as well as the report of Roman bricks having been discovered at Grimscar, and upon a very accurate research finding nothing ancient or curious in that township, he extended his inquiries into Stainland, on the confines of which, but actually within Longwood, in the parish of Huddersfield, he found, I think beyond a doubt, the long lost Cambodunum of Antonine. On this subject, however differing on others, Mr. Whitaker and himself agreed; nor, indeed, can it well be otherwise, for the distance from Manchester is exact, the line near that of the great military way, and the remains decisive of Roman antiquity."—*Loidis and Elmete*, fol. 1816. p. 374.

Dr. Whitaker, however, with a bolder and more commanding mind than any of his predecessors in this department, and only unfortunate in never having had the leisure requisite for collecting the written evidence of those minute transactions which constitute the body of topography, was not completely satisfied with the claim of Slack to be Cambodunum; at least, something of hesitation may be discerned in the following remarkable passage, remarkable in itself, and still more remarkable as indicating, on ground wholly independent of those taken by Horsley, his opinion of the suitableness of Horsley's site, in Greteland, to be a place of Roman castrametation:—"I cannot persuade myself that the site (Slack) was marked out by Agricola;

and it is a very singular circumstance that the same military surveyors who so assiduously fortified the Ure, the Wharf, the Aire, the confluence of Aire and Calder, and those of the Medlock and the Irk at Manchester, should in this line have wholly neglected the Calder, *which afforded sites about Elland and Brighouse*, well adapted to their style of encampment, while they would more equally have divided the space between Mancunium and Calcaria than the bleak and inhospitable height of Cambodunum (Slack). In short, though decidedly Roman, this site of an encampment is an anomaly in Roman castrametation."

To the same purpose also are his remarks on the superior suitability of Elland to Halifax to be the proper site of the capital of the parish.

It must not, however, be concealed that Dr. Whitaker more than once expresses his firm persuasion that Slack is the site of Cambodunum. He thought too lowly of Camden's testimony, and of Horsley's admirable judgment; and too highly of the effect of the discoveries at Slack: he distrusted also too much the independent observation of his own penetrating mind.

A native topographer, who in 1836 published an octavo volume on the History of the Parish, observes, that "The testimony of Dr. Whitaker is at once so decisive, that I shall not trouble my readers with the proofs brought forward by Watson in support of his argument, that Cambodunum is at Slack;" and again, after Watson, "There is not the visible remains of a Roman station within the bounds of this extensive parish."

But Mr. Wellbeloved of York, who in his volume entitled "Eburacum" shews that he has studied in the school of Horsley, and has learned to imitate his accuracy in the description of Roman remains, and his caution in forming deductions from them, notices the two opinions respecting the site of Cambodunum, Greteland, or Slack, and pronounces decisively in favour of neither of them. He gives no countenance himself, though he slightly mentions them, to "the doubts of Mr. Watson respecting the discovery of the altar at Greteland."

In fact these doubts, on which the objection to the Greteland site wholly rests, ought never to have been entertained. Camden would never have placed upon the pages of his *Britannia* that a Roman altar, with a most important inscription, had been found in Greteland, if he had not previously satisfied himself of the fact. The antiquaries who have reasoned on the doubt, and come to certain conclusions in consequence, ought also to have known that Camden's intimacy with that branch of the family of Savile which was seated at Bradley in Stainland, to which Sir Henry Savile, another eminent antiquary of the time, belonged, afforded him the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with such an event as the discovery of this altar. And this

brings me to the second part of my design, which was, to lay before the Society contemporary and most precise evidence to the finding this altar in Greteland, entirely corroborative of the statement made by Camden, and, as seems to me, most strikingly confirmatory of Horsley's theory.

Amongst those which are called Dodsworth's Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library is a volume which is only called his, as having been in his possession, and as having come with his own great collections into the possession of the family of Fairfax, from whom they passed to the Bodleian. This volume, which is numbered LVIII., contains a multitude of notes relating to the affairs of the manor of Wakefield, and especially relating to those portions of the parish of Halifax which are within that manor. The collector of these notes was an officer of the manor under the Saviles, John Hanson of Woodhouse in Elland, a person known to Dodsworth, who speaks of him as one who was studious in antiquities. In blank places of this volume he has entered a few memoranda of occurrences in his neighbourhood, and among these is the following particular and important notice of the discovery of the Grete-land altar :—

“Memorandum, that in the latter end of the month of April, an. dom. 1597, anno Elizabethæ Reginæ 39, one Thomas Miles, a labouring man, and John Hallywell, digging upon a lawe of stones at the back of the house of Jeffery Ramsden, at the Thick Hollins, did light upon a stone, squared, in length about a yard, having Roman characters on two sides engraven, and being plain of the other two sides, having partizans or crests at the top and at the bottom, with some other flourishes : which stone had four holes in the top, whereunto it should seem some other thing had been fastened, and the foot thereof had stood upon a square stone, wrought with partizans, &c. The characters contained five lines on one side, and but two of the other, and were very difficult to read. There was also found in the said lawes, and in other places thereabouts, divers foundations of houses, and some Roman coins, and squared stones and thick stones with iron nails, in the earth in divers places of the ground called Thickhollins, *lying upon the height near the Clay-House*, near unto the Linwell.” He then gives a drawing of the altar, with a copy of the inscription as it was then read, which completely identifies it with the altar of which Camden gives an account.^a

But these unobserved memoranda of Mr. Hanson's further shew us when and how Camden became acquainted with the altar and its DVI CIV BRIG for he speaks of

^a This Roman remain has had various fortunes. Horsley met with it in the church of Conington : so that it had probably been taken from Yorkshire by one of the Cottons. It is now in the library of the University of Cambridge. The inscription is full of interesting suggestion, but cannot be used in the present argument.

Camden having paid a visit to the Saviles at Bradley in the August of 1599, two years after the discovery of the altar. Edmund Bolton, another student in Roman antiquities, was at Bradley at the same time: and Hanson relates that he accompanied these two eminent men as they rode from Bradley to Bradford, and gives some account of the topics of their conversation on the journey.

He further tells us that Camden was inquisitive concerning the Roman remains of the neighbourhood, and particularly that he inspected a most singular remain in Grimscar Wood, which had puzzled the native antiquaries, but which Camden at once pronounced to be a Roman Bath.*

It may be observed, as an incidental remark, that this altar is not spoken of in the earlier editions of the *Britannia*, in none indeed previous to that of 1600, the year after his visit to this part of the kingdom.

On the whole then it may be submitted, that the evidence is perfectly conclusive of the discovery of a Roman altar, and other fixed Roman remains, near the lingula of land on which Horsley conjectured that the Romans had probably fixed a camp: for the places named in Hanson's narrative are on the slope of the hill which rises from the rivers on their left bank, where if houses were constructed they could look down upon the camp to which they owed protection. And again, that having all the evidence that prevailed in inducing Mr. Watson and the Whitakers to fix the site of Cambodunum at Slack, in equal force in favour of the site in Greteland, with the additional probability arising out of the infinitely superior suitability of the Greteland to the Slack site, that it is at Greteland that we ought hereafter to fix the site of the long lost station Cambodunum, and that the claim of Slack must henceforth be abandoned.

* Hanson's words are worth quoting: "5 Augusti, 1599, eruditus ille Antiquarius, G. Camdenus, cum hospitavit apud domum Jo. Savile Baronis Scaccarii apud Bradley, enarravit mihi quod opus predictum fuit Balneum pro nobilibus Romanis, quibus multum utebantur, cum hanc insulam possidebant, quo die equitavi cum eo ad Bradford, cum quodam nobili et pererudito Antiquario, nomine Robertus [*an error for Edmundus*] Bolton, qui enodaverunt mihi multas ambiguitates de comitibus Warrenniae."

III.—*Inedited Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria and Oliver Cromwell. Communicated by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., in a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 12th February, 1846.

DEAR SIR,

It is perhaps not generally known that the different archives of France are full of documents of the greatest interest to English history, many of them dating back to a remote period when such documents are less common than in more recent times. The archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, by far the most difficult of access to foreigners, is especially rich in records of different kinds relating to the affairs of this country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and in a recent visit to Paris I obtained, through a friend, copies of a few letters of Henrietta Maria (the Queen of Charles I.) and of Oliver Cromwell, which you may perhaps think worthy to be laid before the Society.

The letters of the Queen are, as might be expected, all in French, and throw some light on the intentions of the exiled family during the years immediately following the disastrous battle of Worcester, which seemed to have destroyed their hopes. But we learn from these documents, that the eyes of the Stuarts were still fixed upon Scotland, and that, even as late as 1653, Charles II. had resolved to repair again to that country. The first of Henrietta Maria's letters, dated in the April of 1652, is a mere request to Cardinal Mazarin to give the Duke of York some employment in the service of the French King in the civil war which then raged in France.

Queen Henrietta Maria to Cardinal Mazarin.

“Paris, ce 19 Avril, 1652.

“Mon cousin, Mon fils le duc d'York n'ayant pas de plus grande passion que d'aller servir le roi mon neveu, comme vous lui avez toujours témoigné de l'amitié, je vous le demande encore en cette occasion, à ce que vous lui vouliez continuer, et de croire que vous obligerez deux personnes qui chercheront les occasions de vous en faire paraître leur ressentiment, et moi particulièrement, qui suis avec très grande vérité,

“Mon cousin,

“Votre très affectionnée cousine,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

The next, dated near the end of the same year, is a much more remarkable letter. It appears to have been written on the occasion of the embassy of M. de Bourdeaux from the French government to the English commonwealth, which the ex-queen looked upon, with reason, as a virtual recognition of the new state of things in this island. She informs the Duke of York that his brother Charles II. had resolved to quit France immediately, and she expresses her grief at this new "blow," which she looked upon as the heaviest that had befallen her since her "great misfortune," i. e. the execution of her husband Charles I.

Queen Henrietta Maria to the Duke of York.

"Chaillot, ce 15 Décembre, 1652.

"Mon fils, Cette lettre est pour vous faire savoir que comme l'on a envoyé d'ici en Angleterre pour reconnaître ces infâmes traitres, nonobstant toutes les raisons que nous ayons pû donner contre et sur cela, le roi votre frère a resolu de s'en aller, et a déjà fait parler à la reine. Il n'a pas encore pris de resolution pour vous. C'est pourquoi vous devez toujours faire comme si vous ignoriez cet envoi, et en cas que l'on vous en parlât, dire que vous ne le pouvez croire, jusques à ce que l'on voie ce que vous avez à faire. Je serais bien aise de savoir votre opinion, ce que vous désiriez de faire, et après je vous ferai savoir la mienne, laquelle je vous puis assurer sera toujours d'autant que je pourrai pour vous contenter, et pour vous rendre aussi heureux que vous pouvez être en toute sorte de temps. Je ne sais si le roi votre frère vous a fait connaître tout ceci, mais toujours j'ai voulu vous en donner avis. Quand j'aurai songé à vous je songerai à moi, et vous ferai savoir toutes les résolutions que je prendrai. Je vous avoue que depuis mon grand malheur je n'ai rien ressenti à l'égal de ceci. Dieu vous prenne dans sa sainte protection et vous donne la patience qu'il faut avoir pour supporter ce coup; je le prie de vous conserver, et croyez que je suis plus que je ne vous puis dire, mon fils, votre bonne et affectionnée mère,

"HENRIETTE MARIE R."

It appears, however, that the Queen's chagrin at this event soon subsided, and she continued to put trust in the good intentions of the French court. The next letter, dated simply in 1653, shows her preparing for the departure of her son for Scotland, to raise a new insurrection against the English parliament, and soliciting the assistance of Cardinal Mazarin.

Queen Henrietta Maria to Cardinal Mazarin.

" 1653.

" Mon cousin, Les affaires du roi mon fils, dont le porteur vous fera part, l'obligent à partir d'ici le plus promptement qui se peut, à quoi il est fort resolu. Il n'attend que les moyens, en quoi je vous prie de contribuer comme vous avez toujours fait à tout ce qui nous touche. Ce porteur vous dira comme les affaires d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse nous donne lieu d'espérer quelque grand avantage par le présence du roi mon fils en Ecosse, à quoi il se portera selon l'occasion qui se présentera avec beaucoup de résolution, et impatiente fort son partement d'ici, qui ne dépende que des moyens que ce porteur vous proposera, qui n'a pas besoin d'autre créance. Je fais si grand fond sur votre amitié que je ne puis qu'espérer une dépêche bien prompte en cette occasion si importante pour nous. Je ne dirai davantage, sinon que je suis,

" Mon cousin, votre bien affectionnée cousine,

" HENRIETTE MARIE R

The Queen seems to have reckoned in vain upon the Cardinal, and it is probable that the means were never furnished, for we know that Charles on this occasion did not go to Scotland. Col. Middleton, one of his officers, was sent thither, raised a rebellion in the Highlands, and held out for some time against the English government.

The French court had, in fact, sufficient employment at home, and had no interest in provoking the English parliament to support openly the cause of the Prince of Condé. The Thurloe papers contain many allusions to the international intrigues of this period. On the first of Feb. 1652 (i. e. 1653), probably between the dates of the two letters of the Queen last given, Monsieur Barrière, the ambassador of the Condé party to England, states that the "pretended King of Scotland" and the "Queen his mother" are "wholly devoted to the Cardinal, and wholly made his creatures." That the English parliament was jealous of this apparent protection given to the Stuarts appears from a letter of Mazarin's ambassador, M. de Bordeaux, to the French secretary of state, M. de Brienne, dated the 10th April, 1653, in which he speaks of the high tone used by the English, and says, "Delà ils vinrent à parler du roi d'Angl., qui leur donnoit avec raison sujet de douter de notre bonne volonté." M. de Bordeaux excused his government as doing no more than showing to the unfortunate exiles that hospitality which was due by the bonds of consanguinity, and he speaks in his letter of the willingness of the English to enter into a friendly alliance.

But there was a stronger motive to hinder the French court from giving any effectual assistance to Queen Henrietta Maria and her children. The English parliament appeared to favour the party of the Prince of Condé, and there was even talk of sending a fleet to the relief of Bordeaux, closely besieged by the Cardinal's party; but Cromwell was in secret correspondence with Mazarin himself, and by the summer of 1653 the hopes of Charles Stuart in the assistance of France had so far vanished that he was already preparing to leave that country in despair. Among the Thurloe papers there are several allusions in the month of July of this year to a private correspondence then understood to be going on between Cromwell and Mazarin. I have obtained from the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères one of the letters of Cromwell there alluded to, which is unfortunately only preserved in a French translation. It is as follows:—

Cromwell to Cardinal Mazarin.

“De Westminster, ce 9–19 Juin, 1653.

“Monsieur, j'ai été surpris de voir que votre éminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon retiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi que je me sens obligé de servir votre éminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est,

“Monsieur,

“de votre éminence

“le très humble serviteur,

“O. CROMWELL.”

When Cromwell was raised to the protectorate at the beginning of the year 1654, Mazarin sent an ambassador, M. de Baas, to congratulate him on this change in the form of government in England. The original letter of Cromwell, in English, acknowledging this mark of the Cardinal's friendship, is preserved in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, and is in the following words:—

Cromwell to Cardinal Mazarin.

“26 Jan. 1653.

“My Lord, Monsieur de Baas hath delivered me the letter which your eminencie hath beene pleas'd to write to me, and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affaires of theis nations, as now constituted. Which I esteeme a very great honour, and hould my

selfe obliged, upon the returne of this gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your eminencie for so singular a favour; my just resentment wherof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate, and be readie to expresse the great value I have of your person and meritts, as your affaires and interest shall require from

“Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

“OLIVER P.”

This Monsieur de Baas, however, appears to have remained in England as an accredited agent of the French court, until, in the June following the date of the letter just given, he was found intriguing with the English royalists, and engaged in a formidable plot, one aim of which was said to have been to murder the Protector. Monsieur de Baas was immediately seized and expelled from the country, and the letter of Cromwell to Mazarin on this occasion is written more formally, in Latin (perhaps by the hand of Milton), and exhibits something of an air of offended dignity.

Cromwell to Cardinal Mazarin.

“Eminentissime Cardinalis,

“In litteris nostris ad regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus, quare dominum de Baas ex hac republica excedere jussimus, et majestatem suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hac dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eadem adhuc sententia perstare, firmam arctamque pacem et amicitiam cum Gallia colendi et pascendi. Atque hac occasione gratum nobis est priore illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare, quam etiam data subinde occasione palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea eminentiam vestram divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus. Dab. ex Alba Aula vicesimo nono Julii an. 1654.

“OLIVER P.”

So far from receiving an interruption from this event, the friendship and mutual esteem between Mazarin and Cromwell lasted to the end of their lives. A friendly letter from Cromwell to the Cardinal, dated as late as 1657, is in the rich collection of autographs in the possession of Monsieur Donnadieu.

In the hope that these letters may be considered not without interest for the Society of Antiquaries, I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

Your very faithful Servant,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.
Sec. S.A.

IV.—*Account of the Muster of the Citizens of London in the 31st year of the reign of Henry VIII. Communicated from the Records of the Corporation of London, by THOMAS LOTT, Esq. F.S.A., in a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 8th January, 1846.

43, Bow Lane, City, 5th January, 1846.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

ON making some researches amongst the Records of the Corporation, assisted by our able and intelligent officer Mr. Firth, my attention was led by him to a History of the Muster of the Citizens in the reign of King Henry VIII., contained in the Journal, No. 14, folio 166.

An old and valuable Fellow of our Society having at a recent meeting invited the junior branches to transmit communications, I have thought that the account of this Muster might form an interesting Paper, and I have therefore copied it, and forward it to you herewith.

Although accounts of the marching watches of the city of London have been published, I believe the inclosed has never appeared in print.

In the 9th volume of the Harleian Miscellany, Harleian Collection, No. 3741 :—
“ A Boke conteynynge the manner and order of a watche to be used in the Cittie of London upon the Even at night of Saint John Baptest and Saint Peeter, as in tyme past hath bene accustomed,” is an account of what is called by Stowe “ *The Midsummer Watche*,” and contains the following remark :—

“ It is needless to add that the martching watche was a mere military pageant strikingly useless and absurd, and far better calculated to break the peace than to preserve it.”

“ THE true order, conduyt, and cause of the muster whiche was made & shewed before the most high, noble, & puyssant Prince Kynge Henry the viijth, by the Cytezens of London, the viijth day of May, yn the xxxjst yere of his most noble & prosperous reign :—

The Kyng's Highnesse whiche nev^r ceassyth vygyllantly to stody & to take payne bothe for the advauncement of the State & publyke wealth

The prudence of
the Kyng.

of thys hys Realme of England (of the whyche he alonely ys Kyng & supreme hedde, next & imedyatly under God,) and also to p'vide for the defence of outward invasyons whiche myght happe to be moved or attemptyd ageynst the same was lately enformyd by hys trusty & faithfull freends that the cancard & venomous serpent, Paule bysshoppe of Rome, by that archetrayto^r Reygnold Pole, enemy to Godd's worde & hys oune naturall countrey, had moved, excyted, & styrred dyv'se great prynces & potentates of Chrystendome, not alonely to invade thys realme of England w^t mortalle warre, but also by fyer & sworde to extermyn & utterly to destroy the hole nac'on & gen'ac'on of the same.

The Kyng's
travayle.

Wherefore the kyng hymself yn hys oune p'son w^tout any delay of tyme tooke moste paynfull & laborious jo'neys toward the See costes, where he cawsed dyv'se & many bulwarks, blocke howses, and fortyfyac'ons to be

The fortifica-
cons.

made, whiche shall from hensfurth kepe all owteward enemyes bothe from quyet harborough yn tempestuous wether, and also from londying yf any exteryor hostylteye would attempte or presume so to doo, and besyde hys great payne & travayle, he sent owte hys nobles & counsellors to vyewe & se all the portes & creakes where any propyee place of londying or harborough myght be, or supposed to be, and lykewyse there cawsed towers & castells to be made on all the costes from the Mount to Dover & so to Berwyk. So that all the portes bothe of England & Wales were w^t all dylygence fortifyed & strengthened to hys great coste & charge. And, farther, hys Grace, not forgettyng the keyping of the narrow sees, caused the Right Hon'able

The Navy redy.

& valyant Captayn Lorde Wyll'm Erle of Southampton, & great Admyr-alle of England, to put hys navy yn a redynes, whiche Lord Admyralle tooke suche payne, & so dyd hys dylygence, that he brought all the navy to Portsmouth yn all thyngs furnysshed for the warres redy to sett forward when the kyng shulde

Com'yssyon to
have all men
muster.

comaunde; and besydes all thys, to have hys people yn a redynes, he dyrected hys Com'yssions thorough all hys realme to have hys people musteryd, & all harnes & wepons to be vewed & sene, to th'entent that all thyngs shulde be yn a redynes, what chaunche or ent'pryce soe^v myght happen to be attemptyd; and amonghst all comyssyons, one was dyrectyd to the ryght worship-

Comyssyon
sent to London.

full S^r Wylliam Fforman, knyght, lorde mayer of London, & hys brethern th'aldermen, for to c'tefye the kyng & hys counsell the names of all men w^{yn} the citeye of London, betwene the age of xvj and the age of lx; and the

The fyrst syt-
tyng.

nombre of harnesses & wepons, w^t theyre kyndes & dyv'sytyes; whereupon the sayd lorde mayer, and hys brethern th'aldermen, sev'rally repayred to theyre wards; & there by the othe of the com'on counsayll & the con-

stables of the same warde tooke the hoolle nombre of all the men, wepons, & harnesses accordyngly; and whan they had well vewed the bookes of the certyfycat, they thought yt not convenyent to admytt the hole nombre as p'sones hable to

Dysabling & demeanyschyng of this hole nombre.

mustre, wherefore the repayred eftsones ageyn to theyre wards, & chuse owte the most hable p'sones, & put by the unhable p'sones, and all suche as had no harnes; but whan the seyde lorde mayer & hys brethern were credyibly enformyd by the kyng's most hono'able counseller, Lorde Thomas Crumwell, keper of the p'vyse seale (to whose goodnes, prudence, and counsell the cytye ys & hathe beene muche bounden), that the kyng's hyghnesse hymself of hys most gentyll nature & lovyng affec'on that he bare hys Cytye & Chamber of London, wolde take the payne to se hys lovyng & benyvolent subjects of the same

Det'mynac'on who should mustre.

cytye, to mustre yn order before hys excellent Highnes. Than the sayde lorde mayor & hys brethern assemblyd thym selfs ageyn, and after longe consultac'on, they fyrst determyned that no alyen, although he were a denyzen, shuld mustre, but onely mere Englysshmen; ffurther they thought yt not conveyent that all the hole number of Englysshmen shulde mustre & goo owte of the cytye

No armour to be worne, but onely whyte harnes.

for especyall consyderac'ons; nor that suche as had jakks, brygandynes, or cotes of fence, shulde goo yn the mustre, but onely they appoynted suche whiche were hable p'sones, & hadde whyte harnes w^t whyte cotes, bowes, arrowes, halberds, bills or polaxes; and none other except soche as bare moryse pykes or handgonnes, whiche onely hadde ²plents & sculls, w^t whyte cotes & whyte cappes w^t fethers; and all thys company was comaunded to be yn whyte hose & clenly shodde. Whan yt was knowen that the Kynge hymself wolde se the Mustre, to se howe gladly ev'y man p'pared hym, what desyre ev'y man had to do hys prince s'rvice, yt was a joyfull syght to beholde of ev'y Inglysshman.

The great p'parac'on of substantiall p'sones.

Than ev'y man of substance provyded hymself a cote of sylke, & garnished theyre bassenetts w^t turbes of sylke sett w^t broches, ouches, and fethers; some had theyre harnes and polaxes gylted, some had theyr brestplates cov'yd w^t sylv^r bullyon; ev'y man devysed to doo hys best to s'Ve hys prynee, and of thys sorte the most p'e had chaynes of golde.

The meaner sorte The meaner sorte were yn cotes of white cotton, clenly hosed and shodde, w^t the armes of the cytye before & behynde.

The constables app'ell.

The constables were all yn jouetts of whyte sylke ov^r theyre harnes, w^t battayl axes gylt, & chaynes abowte theyre necks.

Th' app'ell of the mayer and aldermen.

The sayde lorde mayor, aldermen, recorder, shryves, & such as hadde bene shryeves, were yn whyte harnes, & ov^r that cotes of black velvett, w^t the armes of the cytye rychely pyrled & embroderyd upon the same, w^t great

chaynes of golde abowte theyre necks, mountyd on good horsse well styrring & rychely trapped, w^t battell axes yn theyre handes, & cappes of velvett on theyre heddes; and ev'y alderman & the recorder had iiij halberdars yn whyte sylke or buffe cotes attendyng on them, w^t gylt halbards, and the mayer had xvj apparrellyd as you shall here hereafter; all theys were captayns of the bataylls, as you shall p'ceyve yn theyre setting forward.

Y^e wyfflers on horssebak. The chamberlayn & counsellors of the cytye, & the aldermens deputyes whiche were assigned to be wyfflers on horsebacke, were all yn cotes of whyte damaske ov^r theyre harnes, mountyd on good horsse well trappyd, w^t great chaynes abowte theyre necks, & propre javilyns or battle axes yn theyre handes, w^t cappes of velvett on theyre heddes w^t ryche ouches.

Y^e wyfflers on fote. The wyfflers on fote were iiij. C propre lyght p'sones app'ellyd yn whyte sylke or buffe jerkyns, w^tout harnes, w^t whyte hose & whyte shoes, ev'y man havyng a slaugh sworde or a javelyn to kepe the people yn araye, w^t chaynes abowte theyre necks & fethers yn theyre cappes.

Mynstrells and standard berers. The mynstrells also were all yn whyte & so were the standard berers, whiche were the tallyst men yn ev'y warde, all app'ellyd yn sylke, for whome were made xxx newe standards w^t the devyses of the Cytye.

The fyrst p'bate mustre. When ev'y thyng was redy, ev'y alderman by hymself musteryd hys owne warde yn the fields, vewyng theym in harnes, and sawe that ev'y man had a sworde & a dagger, & suche as were not meate to be archars were turnyd to pykes, and theyre bowes delyv'ed to suche as were mete to be archars.

The assembly of the armye. On the viijth day of May, ev'y alderman w^t hys warde yn good order of batayll before vj. of the klokke yn the mornyng came ynto the comon felde, between Myle End & Whyte Chapell, and than all the gonns sortyd theymself ynto one place, lykwyse dyd the pykes, & the archars, & the byll men. Than ev'y company by hymself rynged & swayled yn the felde, whiche was a goodly thyng to be holde, ffor all the fieldes from Whyte Chapell to Myle Ende, and from Bednall Grene to Ratclyff & Stepney, were all cov'yd w^t men yn bryght harnes w^t glystering wepons. The batayll of pykes whan they stode styll semyd a great wood. Than ev'y company was devyded ynto iij p'tes, the pykes ynto iij p'tes, & so the archers and the byll men.

ijj battaylls. Than ev'y company was devyded ynto three p'tes, that ys to say, the gonns ynto three p'tes, the pykes ynto three partes, & so the archers, & the byll men.

Than were appoynted ij. battayls forward, & a backe battell, so that yf the myddell warde dyd cast hymself abowte, the rerewarde than was the forward, & the forewarde the rereward.

Wyfflers ap-
pointed to the
battayls.

Than were there appoynted Cxx wyfflers to conducte the fyrst battell, & Cxx wyfflers to conducte the second battayle, & Cxx to order the rereward.

Dromslades.

Before ev'y standard or bannar was appoynted one dromslade at the least.

The gonns.

Abowte viij of the klokke yn the mornyng marchyd forward owte of the felde xiiij peces of lyght ordyn'nce caryed on cartes w^t powther & stone, lyke wyse caryed after the lyght ordyn'nce folowyng droumes & flyffars, after theym a standard of the armes of the cytye, after whiche folowed Mr. Sadler, alderman, captayn of the gonns, well horsed, yn a cote of blacke velvet, & hys iiij halbardars apparelled as you have harde afore. Than followed the gonns v. yn a rancke, ev'y rancke v fote from an other, & ev'y mannes sholder evyn w^t hys fellowes, whiche gonns shotte all togethyr yn dyv'se plac's terrybly, & espeeally before the Kynge.

The archars.

After the gonns folowed a nother droume & a standard bearer, & than Mr. Raff Aleyn, captayne of the archars; next after hym went a v. constables well apparelled. Than folowed the archars, v. in a rancke, & between ev'y man hys bowe lenth, & the best apparelled archars went fyrst.

The moryce
pykes.

After the archars folowed a nother drome & a standard, and than Mr. Wylford, captayne of the pykes, apparrelled yn blacke velvett w^t hys iiij halbarders, as other captaynes had; after hym also folowed v. constables well apparelled, & than the pykes, v. yn a rancke, ev'y man half hys pykes lenth from hys fellowe.

The byll men.

After the pykes folowed ij. drommes & ij. standards, & than folowed S^r Rycharde Gresham, S^r Wyllyam Holleys, knyghts, & Mr. Will'm Denham, captayns of the bylls, w^t theyre halbardiers; after theym folowed v. constables, and after theym the best apparelled p'sones w^t battell axes, than halbarders, & than bylls, v. yn a rancke, the bylls lenth betweene theym; after the Forward folowed iiij aldermen as conducters of the felde.

THE SECOND BATTAYLL.

The Gonns.

Than marchyd forward the second battell, & fyrst the lyght ordyn'nce, than the gonns, w^t a standard, and an alderman captayn, yn all poynts lyke to the order of the fyrst battell.

The Archars.

Than the archars, yn lyke man^r as the fyrst battell.

The Pykes.

Than the pykes yn the same order.

The Byll men.

Than marchyd forward the captayns of the byll men, and than the byll men v. & v. in a rancke.

Constables and
wyfflers.

Than after the one half of the byll men folowed v. ranckes of the best app'elled constables, and than v. wyfflers well apparelled.

Dromslatts.

Than folowed v. dromslatts & fyve ffyffes, all app'elled yn whyte satten puffed owte w^t crymson sarcenet, whiche made a warre lyke noyse.

V bann's.

Next to the dromes folowed yn lyke order v. talle p'sones app'elled yn whyte sarcenet, juffyd & pouncyd veray gorgyously, of the whiche v. p'sones the p'son yn the middes bare a large banner of the kyng's armes, & he on hys ryght hande bare a large banner of the lord prynces armes, the other on the left syde of the great bann^r bare the bann^r of the armes of the Cytye; than on the ryght hande was a flagge of the kyngs devyses, & on the left hande a nother flagge of the cytyes armes. All these bann's and flagges went yn good order, wayving and streyned w^t the wynde, whiche made a goodly shewe.

The Swordberer.

In a convenyent dystance, behynde the banners folowed the Swordeberer of London, well app'ellyed yn whyte damaske, upon a good horse well comyng and fresshely trapped, wth the sworde of the cytye, the scabard whereof was set full of oryent perle.

The Lorde
Mayor.

After hym folowed S^r Wyllyam Forman, knyght & Lorde Mayer of the cytye, yn bryght harnes, whereof the curass, the maynsers, gauntelets, and all other p'tes, were gylt upon the crests and bordures, and w^t that he had a cote of blakke velvett w^t a ryche crose embroderyd & a great massy chayne of golde abowte hys necke, and on hys hedde a cappe of blacke velvett w^t a ryche juell; he had a goodly jennett rychely trapped w^t embroderie of golde sett upon crymson velvett. Abowte hym attended iiij fote men, all app'elled yn whyte satten hose, and all puffyd out w^t whyte sarcenet.

The Pages ij.

Than folowed hym ij Pages clothed yn crymsen velvett and clothe of golde panyd, whiche rode on goodly coursers well comyng, yarkeyng & turnyng, & rychely trapped w^t belles and buttons of goldsmythes worke. The fyrst bare hys helme whiche was rychely gyld & adornyd, and the second bare hys polaxe all gylt & wrethed w^t sylke of goodly furnytur.

The xiiij Hal-
barders.

On ev'y syde of the lorde mayor, a good dystaunce, went viij talle men, app'elled yn whyte satten dobletts, and the upper parts of theyr hosen of the same satten, whiche doblettes and hosen were slytted, cutte, & puffyd, and ruffyd owte w^t crymson sarcenet, over that ev'y man had a jerkyn of whyte lether all to cutte, w^t chaynes abowte theyr necks, & whyte cappes w^t ouches and fethers on the same, ev'y man bearyng a long halbard, after the Swysshes fac'on, fresshely gylt.

The Recorder.

A good dystance after the lorde mayer rode S^r Roger Cholmeley knight and recorder of the cytye of London, yn fayre armor, apparelled yn a cote

of blacke velvett, w^t a twoo-hand sworde on hys sholder, & a great massy chayne, and abowte hym iiij halbardars yn whyte sarcenet doublets & lether jerkyns.

The Clerks and
th' Attorneys. Next after a good dystance folowed v. rankes of constables well appa-
relled yn sylke; after theym all the atto'neys, clerks and offycers of the
lawe app'teynyieng to the Guyldhall, whiche were all clothed yn whyte sylke over
theyr harnes, w^t ryche chaynes and broches.

The surgeons. Than folowed all the Surgeons of the cytye w'out harnes yn whyte
cotes w^t theyr bendes of whyte & grene, bawdryk wyse, & theyr splatters ov' the
bene (whyche ys theyr accustomed cognysance) yn veray good order & app'ell.

The Shryffs. After theym folowed Will'm Wylkynson & Nicholas Gybson, shryeffs,
yn cotes of blacke velvett w^t lyke halbarders as all other aldermen had; behynde
theym folowed the resydue of the bylls of the myddell warde; after theym folowed
v. capytaynes w^t theyre halbardiers, lykewyse apparelled as the other aldermen.

The Rerewarde
bylls, pykes,
archars, &
gonns. Whan theys ij. battaylls were past, the backe battell or rereward set
forwarde, which was not lyke the other ij. battaylls, for the cawse before
rehersyd, of the whiche battaylle the bylles fyrst folowed the myddell
warde, than next after the pykes, than the archars, than the gonns, & last of all the
great ordy'nunce; but ev'y company had great standards, dromes, and capytaynes yn
lyke order & app'ell as all the other bataylls hadde.

The jo'ney. In thys order the fyrst battell entered yn at Algate before ix of the
clockke the same day, beyng Thursday, and so passyd through the cytye yn good
order after a warlyke fac'on, tyll they came to Westmyster, where the Kynge & all the
Nobylytye stade and behelde the mustre, before whome as well the great gonnes as
the hand gonnes of ev'y battayll shotte very terrybly: and so all three battaylls, yn
the order before rehersed, one after another passed thorough the great Sayntuary at
Westm'. and so abowte the p'ke at Saynt Jamys unto a great feeld before the same
place, where the kynge standing yn hys gate howse at Westmyster myght bothe se
theym that came forward, and also theym that were passyd before.

Than from Saynt Jamys field the hole armye passed through Holborn & so ynto
Chepe, & at Ledynehalle sevyd & dep'tyd, and the last ordy'unce came ynto Chepe
ageyn abowte fyve of the klokke, soo that from ix. of the klokke yn the forenoone
tyll v. at after noone thys muster was not endyd.

The people
whiche were
left behynde. To see howe full of lordes, ladyes, & gentilwomen the wyndowes yn
every strete were, and howe the strets of the cytye were replenysshed w^t
people, many men wolde have thought that they that musteryd had rather byn
straungers than cytezens, consydering that the stretes ev'y where were so full of
people, whiche was to straungers a great mervell.

To reporte what good order the cytezyns kept yn passying forward ; what payne the wyfflers bothe on horssebacke & fote tooke yn keepyng the soulders yn araye ; howe ryche the juells, chaynes, & app'ell were ; how many goodly, talle, & comley men were there, & the nombre of the same, my wytt ys insufficyent to exp'sse, or my penne to write. Wherefore, I remytt theys poynts to theym that sawe & nombret y^m, and desyeryng them than to remember the nombre that passed yn the muster, and not to forget yn theyr accompt theym that taryed at home & stode yn the stretes, for the one w'out the other sheweth not the hole puyssance of the cytye. But, whatsoev'r was doon & what payne so ev'r was takyn, all was to the cytezens a great gladnes.

As to theym whiche w^t harte & mynde wold s've theyre Sov'aign Lorde Kynge Henry the Eight, whose high majesty, w^t hys noble enfant, Prynce Edward, they dayly pray unto God Almyghty longe to p'sve yn helthe, honor, & p'sperrytye."

I am, dear Sir Henry,

Your faithful obedient Servant,

THOMAS LOTT.

V.—*A Description of the Ruins of the Church of Mártula Máriam, in Abessinia.**
 By CHARLES T. BEKE, Esq., PH. D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Corresponding Member
 of the Geographical Society of Paris.

Read 7th and 14th May, 1846.

THE following description of the Church of Mártula Máriam in Abessinia, built by the Empress Helena in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and restored by the Jesuits in the century following, the ruins of which were discovered by me during my recent journey in that country, may perhaps be considered of sufficient interest to be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries.

As the portion of Abessinia in which these ruins are found has not been visited by any European since the expulsion of the Jesuits in the year 1633, and as the maps of that country are quite defective with respect to this particular locality, it is proper that I should make the following brief preliminary geographical observations.

The town of Mártula Máriam is situate in the district of Enábésie, a subdivision of the province of Gódjam. This province, which lies in the extreme south-west of Abessinia, is almost surrounded by the river Abái—erroneously considered as the

* In Vol. i. p. 1, of the Rev. C. W. Isenberg's *Abessinien und die evangelische Mission*, 12mo., Bonn, 1844, it is justly remarked that "the spelling of the name of this country, 'Abyssinia,' is etymologically incorrect. For, from the Arabic ^{أب}خيش *Hábesh*, we had first the Latin Abassia, from which Abessinia or Abassinia would naturally be formed, but not Abyssinia, which seems to point to the word 'Abyss' as its root, which it is not." This erroneous mode of spelling the name is adopted by Dr. Johnson, in his translation of Father Jerome Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, published in 1735; but in his *Rasselas*, published in 1759, twenty-four years later, he has "Abissinia." Some writers have adopted the Arabic name, *Habesh*. Among the natives themselves the same name is now getting into common use, under the forms of *Ábesha* or *Hábeshá*. But the classical designation is *Ethiopia*.

In the pronunciation of native names in the present memoir, the following rules are to be observed:—

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*, are sounded as in the Portuguese and Italian languages.

For the short sound of the English *u*, as in *but*, *u* is employed.

The consonants are pronounced generally as in English; *g* being always hard, as in *give*; *ch* soft, as in *church*; and *s* being hard, as in *so*; and this, whether at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word.

The soft English *s*, as in *rose*, is represented by *z*; *ñ* is pronounced as in Spanish, or like *gn* in the French and Italian; *dj* has the sound of the English *j*, as in *judge*.

The accented syllable of a word is invariably marked with the acute accent (').

Nile by the Portuguese and by Bruce ^a—owing to the remarkable curve which that river makes after its exit from Lake Tsána. Enábesie itself lies in the fork between the rivers Abái and Chée, the former skirting it to the north and east, and the latter (which is a tributary of the Abái) bounding it towards the south and forming the separation between it and Gódjam Proper.^b Towards the Abái the district of Enábesie is composed of a mountain mass, of which Mount Yékandach is the core, whilst towards the Chée, as well as in the direction westward, the foot of the mountains stretches out in an extensive plain, on the general level of the Abessinian plateau, from 7 to 8000 feet above the ocean.

The town of Mártula Máriam stands at some elevation above the plain, on one of the spurs from Mount Yékandach. Its position is in 10° 51' north latitude, from observation, and in 38° 12' east longitude, by estimation; and its elevation above the ocean, as determined by the boiling of water, is about 8,500 feet. It is placed somewhat imposingly on a separate hill, the summit of which is a mass of indurated, possibly metamorphic, schist. The rock rises precipitously on all

^a That the Bahr el Abyadh or White River, and not the Bahr el Azrek or Blue River, is the principal stream of the Nile, is now an ascertained fact. And not merely so, but the Abái is not even the direct stream of the *Blue* River. For, when in Abessinia, I learned that, in the same way as the Nile is formed by the junction of the White and Blue Rivers, the Blue River itself is formed by the junction of the Dedhésa and the Abái; the former having its rise in the Galla country to the south, and running directly northward; and the latter being the river encircling the peninsula of Gódjam, of which the source is described by the Portuguese Jesuits, and after them by Bruce, as that of the Nile. See *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xv. p. lxxv. M. Russegger, who was in Sennár and the country to the south of Fazókl, in the years 1837 and 1838, went along the western bank of the direct stream of the Bahr el Azrek for some distance above where it is joined, in about 11° N. L., by the Abái from the east, without being conscious of the difference between the two streams. See his *Karte von Ost-Sudan*. Vienna, 1843. [This subject is discussed at length in *An Essay on the Nile*, read before the Royal Geographical Society on the 28th December, 1846, and 11th January, 1847, which will be printed in vol. xvii. part 1, of that Society's *Journal*.]

^b Formerly the entire peninsula bore the name of Gódjam, and so indeed it is still called in other parts of Abessinia. But within the peninsula itself, the name of Gódjam is, in the present day, confined to the south-eastern portion alone. It is remarkable that Bruce, in his *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*. (edit. pr.) vol. iii. p. 257, should describe the province of Dámot as being in the *south-east* of the peninsula, precisely in the place of Gódjam Proper; whereas its true position is to the *west* of the latter district, towards, and also *beyond* (i. e. to the south and south-west of) the source of the Abái.

As the Jesuits had Residencies throughout the peninsula,—at Mártula Máriam, Hádasha, and Kóllella, in Eastern Gódjam; at Lídja-negús, in Dámot; at Temhuá and Nefassá, in Ágaumider; &c.—it is manifest that they were able to visit, and that in fact they did visit, the source of the Abái; notwithstanding Bruce's assertion to the contrary. See his *Travels*, vol. iii. pp. 615—626. My own two visits to it are recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiv. pp. 12 and 33.

sides, so as to form a natural fortress, to which there is access at one point alone, where it is defended by a wall and door.

The church of Mártula Máriam was apparently the most magnificent and most celebrated ecclesiastical structure in all Abessinia. It is not therefore surprising that the Portuguese Jesuits should have been more diffuse in their description of it than of any other of the edifices built by them during their long stay in that country. The account of the erection and subsequent history of this church given by Father Balthezar Tellez in his *History of Upper Ethiopia*^a (Abessinia) is, indeed, so full and precise, as to leave little for me to add beyond a description of the actual state of its ruins.

He says in pp. 108—110 of his Work :—"The arrival in Abessinia of Pedro de Covilham (as may be seen in the discoveries of our celebrated Antonio Galvam) was in the year 1490, during the reign of the Emperor Escander or Alexander, the only one of that name; of whom the people of that country say that he was Alexander not less in name than in liberality. He having died six months before^b the arrival

^a *Historia geral de Ethiopia a Alta ou Prete Joam*, pelo P. Manoel d'Almeyda, abreviada pelo P. Balthezar Tellez. fol. Coimbra, 1660.

^b Bruce observes (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119), "A wonderful confusion seems to be introduced at this time into history by the Portuguese writers. Iscander is said to die in the 1490. He began, as they say, to reign in 1475, and this is confirmed by Ludolf; and, on all hands, it is allowed he reigned 17 years, which would have brought the last year of his reign to 1492. It seems also to be agreed by the generality of them, that Covillan saw and conversed with this prince, Iscander, some time before his death: this he might very well have done if that he lived to the 1492, and Peter Covillan came into Abyssinia in 1490, as Galvam says in his father's memoirs. But then Tellez informs us expressly, that Iscander was dead six months before the arrival of Peter Covillan in that country. If Peter Covillan arrived six months *after* the death of Iscander, it must have been in the end of his son's reign, Amda Sion, who was an infant, and reigned only seven months. Alvarez omits this king, Amda Sion, altogether, and so does Tellez; and there is a heap of mistakes here that show these Portuguese historians paid very little attention to the chronology of these reigns. They call Alexander the father of Naod, when he was really but his brother; and Helena, they say, was David's mother, when, in fact, she was his grandmother, or rather his grandfather's wife; for Helena, who was Iteghé [*i.e.*, Queen Dowager] in the time of David III., had never either son or daughter."

Whatever amount of truth may be in these strictures, they are certainly not altogether well founded; for Tellez (as is seen above), in citing Galvam, at the same time that he says Covilham arrived in Abessinia in 1490, adds "*during the reign* of the Emperor Escander." It is therefore manifest that the word "*before*" in the sentence immediately following is only a clerical error, and should be read "*after*;" and then the statement that "Escander died six months *after* the arrival of Pedro de Covilham" is consistent with the preceding one. Further, Tellez is so far from saying that the Empress Helena was the mother of David III., that he expressly mentions "his mother Mógesa *and* the Empress Helena" together, and adds that the latter "had neither son nor daughter," and that she brought that prince up "*as* her son."

of Pedro de Covilham, his successor was Nahod, who would not grant permission for the latter to depart, as well on account of the great esteem in which he held him as of the custom in that country of retaining foreigners who may visit it.^a Nahod reigned thirteen years and left as his heir his son Lébna Dégel, otherwise named David, still an infant; during whose minority the empire was governed by his mother Mógesa and the Empress Helena, the widow of the Emperor Béda Máriam; and, as the latter was a princess of much prudence and great authority, she was held in great respect by all.

"This lady had neither son nor daughter; but the Emperor, her husband, left her large possessions in the kingdom of Gódjam, which she enjoyed as long as she lived. She was very rich, and executed many noble works, the most celebrated of which was a famous temple, of greater splendour and magnificence than any that had been seen in Abessinia until her time; of which there still remained in those days [*i. e.* of the Portuguese missionaries] a confused but precious skeleton, that well showed the greatness of the body. For this work she sent for the best workmen in all Egypt, erecting with royal magnificence an admirable temple to God; the money laid out on which was far better employed than what was expended on the barbaric pyramids of Egypt, which Pliny rightly calls idle money and vain and useless ostentation,—*regum pecunia otiosa et vana ostentatio*; for we do not even know the names of those who sought to immortalize themselves at such cost, God having permitted, that, as a merited punishment, they should have placed in the darkness of oblivion what they so earnestly desired to place in the light of remembrance,—*justissimo casu oblitteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus*, says the same writer.

"This edifice stood in the centre^b of the kingdom of Gódjam, and in a district called Nebessé [Enábesie], which is washed by the Nile [Abái], which surrounds it. There, on the summit of a hill, they built a walled enclosure of stones and clay in the form of a square, each side of which was 200 braças [equal to 575 English yards], the wall itself being of the thickness of eight palms [five feet nine inches

^a This custom has long ceased to exist, foreigners being allowed freely to enter and quit every province of the empire. The expulsion of the British Protestant missionaries from Tigre in 1838, and the refusal of the King of Shoa, in the beginning of 1843, to allow them to re-enter his dominions, are exceptions arising from special circumstances, and do not invalidate the general rule. It appears, however, from Mr. Isenberg's statement (*Abessinien und die evangelische Mission*, vol. i. p. 100) that the entrance into Shoa by the way of *Tadjirrah* has been closed by King Sáhela Selássie against all foreigners, with the exception of M. Rochet d'Héricourt. But from the north, strangers may still freely enter Shoa, as was instanced in the case of MM. Lefebvre and Petit in 1843, shortly after the British Political Mission had left that country.

^b Literally it is incorrect to describe Mártula Máriam as being situate "in the centre" of Gódjam. But doubtless all that is intended by this expression is, that it is at a considerable distance *within* the peninsula from the point at which the Jesuits entered it, namely the Bridge of Álata.

English], and in height more than twenty palms [fourteen feet six inches]; the whole being of stones and clay, but so strongly built, that Father Manuel d'Almeyda states, that to remove any of the stones a pickaxe had to be employed with much force.

"Within this walled enclosure the church itself was erected, which was rectangular, not only in the inner house which was intended for a chapel, but also in the external walls; in which respect it was contrary to the custom of most churches in Abessinia, of which the walls are circular. The same Father Manuel d'Almeyda saw much of these walls still standing; and he says, that they were as much as 160 palms [115 feet English] in extent; and he says further, that when he entered into the church the area of it was all filled with the fallen stones, but that one entire side of it, eighty palms [fifty-seven feet six inches] in length, was still to be seen; and that all the stones, as well those of the walls as also those which had fallen down through the fire, were long, broad, and smooth, and with the most perfect finish that art can teach; and that on each of the said stones were seen full-blown roses, pinks, and lilies, and divers other flowers; and that, numerous as were the stones, every one of them had its different flower, so that it must have been a surprising sight to behold the fecundity of the various shapes of flowers which were imagined in the mind of the workman who wrought them.^a And all of these were formed in such perfection that they could not have been executed with greater skill, I will not say if graven in gold or silver, but if moulded in wax or painted with the pencil. And the fathers were informed that many of these roses were covered with silver and with gold, the beauty of the work being comparable with the price of the materials: of which stones and other excellences many vestiges were still visible, and in them was preserved grief for the incomparable loss, and at the same time the remembrance of it in the fallen ruins.

"Not only was this church erected at great cost, but it was ornamented and endowed with notable munificence. It possessed ornaments of the greatest value;

^a Mr. Hope, in his *Historical Essay on Architecture*, p. 241, gives the following very plausible reason for the diversity usually found to exist in the details of ancient architectural ornaments:—"As, of those masonic bodies, each member had a certain weight in the general meetings of the chapter, and, to a certain degree, followed his own private impulse, it arose on the other hand that, while each of the essential mechanical parts of each building observed that connection with the rest, that subservience to the general design so indispensable to the durability, to the very completion, of the edifice, the more arbitrary ornamental parts, which might each by its different artist be executed according to his own fancy or desire of distinction, and without danger to the stability of the fabric, preserved so little unity or similitude, that, in most buildings, bases, columns, architraves, basso-relievos, cornices, and other members, often offer a diversity equal to that of the number of individuals employed upon them."

it had calices and patinas of gold of great weight. Father Manuel d'Almeyda affirms that, even in the time of the Emperor Seltam [*i.e.* Sultan] Segued, he saw in his possession two altar-slabs [super-altars] of massive gold, of which the one weighed 800 ounces, and the other 500 ounces.^a

"This celebrated temple had nevertheless one great deficiency, namely, that of light, which St. Ambrose justly calls the first praise of every perfect work. But the blame of this is not to be imputed to the builders, inasmuch as they had to conform to the usage of the country, of which all the churches are very dark, so that they seem to be the habitations of bats rather than the temples of people possessing eyes. Besides which, this darkness of their temples shows the little spiritual light of their souls; for it seems that the Abessinians seek thus the more to respect the authority of the place, as when Solomon entered into the Temple he found it filled with a cloud, by which was signified the glory of the Lord.^b

"But, as in Abessinia there were no roofs except of straw, and the temple could not be entered into, either by day or by night, without lights, it is manifest how much it was exposed to dangers and accidents from fire, as in the end happened to it. For, twenty years had not elapsed from the time of the completion of this magnificent work, when the Mohammedan [Ahmed] Grañ^c invaded the country, who,

^a In a subsequent passage (see page 45) it is said "800 and 600 ounces."

^b A better reason for this darkness of the Abessinian churches is the practice of the primitive Christians to meet in crypts and vaults, in subterranean buildings and caverns, for the sake of privacy and security. The darkness of these crypts appears to have been imitated and preserved in the primitive churches. Added to which, it may be remembered that the ancient Pagan temples were often dark also. But, independently of this special reason for darkening the interior of their sacred edifices, the Abessinians are generally averse to the admission of the sun's rays even within their private dwellings, owing apparently to the existence among them of some deep-rooted superstition, one branch of which is the belief—like that of the Italians in the *cattivo occhio*, or "evil eye"—that the *shadow* of a person supposed to possess the power to do harm, such as a sorcerer, may be made to work malignantly on any one over whom it passes. The particular superstition here adverted to is curiously illustrative of what is recorded in Acts v. 15, when "they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least *the shadow* of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them." The question is open for discussion whether this belief in the power of the shadow to work either good or evil was, in its origin, common to the Israelites and Abessinians, or whether it has been adopted by the latter people from the former, either previously to or since the introduction of Christianity into Eastern Africa. Its existence among the neighbouring *pagan* Gallas is not necessarily opposed to its foreign origin; inasmuch as the country which they now occupy was formerly inhabited by Christians, whose religion, degenerated and loaded with superstitions as it already was, they have in part adopted, although in a form so much more debased that it is now scarcely to be recognized even as a *corruption* of the Faith of the Apostles. See on this subject a Paper on "Christianity among the Gallas," in the *Friend of the African* (1843), vol. i. pp. 90—94.

^c Ahmed Grañ, or Ahmed *the left-handed*,—called by the Abessinians, and after them by the Portuguese.

having heard the report of the great riches that were there, first plundered and then set fire to it, whereby all that was not of stone was reduced to cinders. Nevertheless, from the ashes of this unrivaled Phoenix, our Roman brother^a undertook, with the assistance of the Emperor Sultan Segued, to raise up another more durable, the same being that which he erected of stone and mortar in honour of God our Lord, and of the Virgin our Lady, His mother, to whom the church was dedicated, it being called MARTULA MÁRIAM, which means the TABERNACLE OF MARY.^b And the emperor did this for the reason that he was born in that country, and also in memory of the Empress Helena, whom he much esteemed, not only because she deserved it (for she was one of the most illustrious princesses that Abessinia possessed), but because he was the great-grandson of the Emperor David, whom she had brought up and maintained on the royal throne until he came of age.

"Father Jerome Lobo (as a credible witness that in his time it so happened) informed me that when they began to dig up the foundations of the ancient chapel, in order to build the new one, they found four square plates of gold of the size of the palm of the hand, on each of which was written the name of one of the Evangelists, as if that chapel had been founded on the four Evangelists."

Besides these particulars given by Tellez respecting this church, the following are furnished by Francisco Alvarez, who was in Abessinia in 1520:—"Pedro de Covilhan told me that he had been in the said kingdom [of Godjam] by order of the Empress Helena, for the purpose of directing how an altar should be constructed in a church erected by her in that kingdom (and in which she was buried); and that this altar was made of wood, and was all covered with massive gold. And the Abúna^c Márkos informed me that he consecrated it, and that it was large and of

Mohammed Granhe, or simply Granhe or Gagne,—king of Adál or Ádel, was a celebrated warrior, who in the year 1528 invaded Abessinia, the greater part of which country he overran and devastated. He was at length conquered and slain by the Emperor Claudius, with the assistance of a body of 500 Portuguese soldiers. Abessinia has never recovered from the ruinous effects of the invasion of Ahmed Grañ, followed as it closely was by the inroads of the Gallas, who possessed themselves of the fairest portions of the country, which they retain to this day.

^a Father Bruno Bruni, who is mentioned in the sequel.

^b The meaning of the Ethiopic word መርቀል : (Mártul) is *Tabernacle*, but it is poetically used to signify *Temple* or *Church*: see Ludolf's *Lexicon Ethiopicum*. The Portuguese missionaries appear to have understood the word in the sense of *dwelling*, as, in the text of Tellez, *Mártula Máriam* is rendered "pouzada de Maria."

^c The Bishop of Abessinia, who is styled *Abúna*, "our Father," is the head of the church of that country. He is subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria, by whom he is appointed; and, under the constitutions of Abúna Tékla Háimanot, who was the last *native* Bishop, in the 13th century, he must be a foreigner,—a Copt from Egypt.

great value,—that is, it was all of gold. We went several times to the confines of that kingdom, where we heard that numerous guards were placed about this church on account of the quantity of gold that was in it.”^a

But to return to Tellez. This historian, after relating in detail the occurrences in Abessinia during the whole of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when the Roman Catholic religion had been formally recognized as that of the state by the then reigning emperor Súsneos (Socinius), called by the Portuguese Sultan Segued, and when the power and glory of the Jesuits in that country had reached the point of culmination, proceeds as follows:—“Nearly at the same time, in the year 1627, the emperor requested the father superior of the mission, Father Antonio Fernandes, to let him have a father to go and establish the residency of Enábesie. This place is situate in the interior^b of the kingdom of Gódjam, and possesses a large district which was formerly that of the Empress Helena, of whom mention has been made, and who erected there that famous temple already mentioned; and, as the emperor was the great-grandson of the Emperor David, whom that empress brought up as her son (and governed the empire for him), he desired much to restore that church, and with it to perpetuate the memory of that great empress. And he had preserved two altar-slabs of solid gold which had escaped, as relics of the destruction which had first been caused by [Ahmed] Grañ and afterwards by the Gallas, which altar-slabs were of the value, the one of 800 ounces, and the other of 600 ounces, which amount to 14,000 dollars.”^c

“The person named and sent to establish this residency was the great confessor of Christ, Father Bruno Bruni of Rome, who was called in Abessinia Bruno of the Holy Cross, and who afterwards shed his blood in testimony of the Catholic faith^d. The good workman immediately set to work, and with great zeal cared for the welfare of the souls there, which were many; for, as the said church was so celebrated, it possessed many convents,^e with many *dábtaras* and *álakas*^f round about it,

^a *Viaggio nella Ethiopia al Prete Janni*, fatto per Don Francisco Alvarez, Portuguese; in Vol. i. of *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, raccolto già da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio. (Edit. 3^a. Venetia, 1563,) p. 249.

^b i. e. “within.” See page 41, note.

^c Very nearly 3000*l.* sterling.

^d He was crucified in the market-place of Tembien, in Northern Abessinia, on the 12th April, 1640, on his way to Massówah, on the Red Sea.

^e These convents, which are frequently improperly called monasteries, ought rather to be styled collegiate churches; the members of them not being subject to any monastical rule, but dwelling with their families in their own private houses.

^f The *Dábtaras*, who appear to answer to the Levites of the Israelitish church, are the scribes or literati of Abessinia. They take a prominent part in the celebration of divine worship, which consists principally of

all of whom lived on the revenues which the empress Helena had settled on them; and, as they prided themselves much on their learning, they continued obstinate, without paying attention to what they heard said to them, so that application was made to the court [of the emperor] against their errors. However, as soon as they had listened to the father, they turned with such good will to receive the Catholic doctrine, that when the said father went through the country in the year 1630, he found more than a hundred churches ministered to by his parish clergy, who had been ordained by the patriarch, and he found several religious houses in which the observance of rule and religious seclusion already flourished.

"During the visitation which the father thus made, he entered into a church of the Abessinians, respecting which they had the tradition (which was said to be very certain), that if any one should swear falsely in it, he would instantly be subjected to the anger of God by means of an immediate and frightful punishment; for which reason many repaired thither with their lawsuits, and all that was affirmed there with an oath was considered as of much weight. Father Bruno performed service in this church; and after his sermon he requested all to listen to him attentively, when he spake to them these words:—'Do you not say that every perjury in this church will be immediately visited by the arm of the Almighty with a great and dreadful punishment? Then here I swear to you, by the majesty of the true and eternal God, and by the holiness of this place, that the faith of Rome is the only true one, and that in it alone is salvation; and that all that is taught you by those of Alexandria are pernicious, false, and deceitful fables.' Some of the schismatics looked at him with notable wonder; whilst others, on account of the love which they bore towards the father, regarded him with much compassion, in the persuasion that he would immediately and before their eyes be punished by the arm of the Almighty. But when they beheld him continue safe and sound, the Catholics were confirmed and the heretics confounded, and of the latter not a few entered into the haven of salvation.

"In like manner the work of the material church advanced much. It was made with three naves; the three chapels approached to completion, and the walls of the body of the church were raised to their height; a large enclosure or wall of stone and mortar, with piers, having first been erected, which resembled a strong fortress, and was quite sufficient to repel the assaults of the Gallas, whenever they should make their inroads into that part of the kingdom of Gódjam." (pp. 425, 426.)

singing, in which they are specially educated. They are not in holy orders, or at most some of them are deacons. The *álaka*, "chief," is the (lay) elder of the church, of the temporalities of which he has the management. He too is not of necessity ordained; although not unfrequently he is a deacon, and sometimes a priest or monk. The Portuguese text has "*deberas e prebendados*."

After an interval of four years, during which Father Bruno was thus actively employed, we find it recorded by Tellez (p. 478):—"The patriarch passed the whole of the winter of 1631 at home, thoroughly occupied in composing and translating into the language of the country a book which was very pertinent to the affairs of those times. The winter being ended, the patriarch visited and dedicated the churches of Démbea.

"In the new church of Enábesie, the Viceroy Za Máriam, brother to the renowned Catholic Kéba Kristos, placed by order of the Emperor the altar-slab; which ceremony was accompanied by much rejoicing, as thereby the lying prediction of an heretical monk was disproved, who, like a false prophet, had foretold that the fathers would never get so far as to say mass in this church."

In the body of Tellez's *History* I have found no further reference to the progress of the building; but in the biographical memoir of Father Bruno Bruni given by that writer in the appendix to his Work, it is stated (p. 636):—"He was chosen to establish a residency within the kingdom of Gódjam, in the district of Enábesie, where the Emperor Sultan Séguéd (Socinius) desired to re-erect the famous church which had been founded in that place by the Empress Helena, of whom we have spoken above. The father laboured much in the building of this material temple, and left it almost finished of stone and mortar, with three naves, three chapels, a sacristy, enclosure walls, and with good houses."

In June 1632 the memorable decree for the re-establishment of the ancient faith of Abessinia was made by the Emperor Socinius; and that monarch dying shortly afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Fásil (Basilides), who immediately commanded the Jesuits to quit the country. Accordingly, in the following year (1633) they withdrew from their establishments in Gódjam; on which occasion we are told by Tellez (p. 500) that "the Ágaus^a accompanied as far as the Nile

^a The opinion has already been expressed (see *A Statement of Facts relative to the Transactions between the Writer and the late British Political Mission to the Court of Shoa*, p. 13, note) that the Ágaus are the representatives of the primitive inhabitants of the Abessinia of the present day, (that is, of the northern portion of the great Abessinian plateau,) who have in part been displaced by the irruption from the south-east of the *Amháras*, the present dominant race. Of these Ágaus, the Hámara of Waag and the Aghaghá of Ágaumider have maintained their nationality in their not easily accessible mountainous countries; whilst the Faláshas, Kamáunts, Zaláns, and various other low-caste tribes scattered over the provinces lying between the other two, are the remains of the ancient inhabitants of Ágau race, the physical character of whose countries has not afforded them the same means of resistance. The Faláshas still continue to profess the Israelitish religion, which apparently was that of the Ágaus generally, when and how introduced among them it may be difficult, if not impossible, to say. [The Faláshas are apparently of the sect of the Samaritans. See the *Jewish Chronicle* (of February 19th 1847), vol. iii. p. 83.]

[i. e. the Abáí], for the distance of a league and a half, the Fathers Francisco

The *Kébra za Negést*, or "Glory of the Kings," better known by the name of the "Chronicle of Axum," professes to give the origin and early history of the rulers of Abessinia. It states that the imperial family of that country is descended from Ménilek, the son of Solomon, King of Israel, by the Queen of Sheba; that this dynasty, which adopted the Christian religion on its introduction into Abessinia in the fourth century, was set aside in the tenth century by an usurping Israelitish family of Lásta; and that, after a lapse of more than three hundred years, it was, in the thirteenth century, by the instrumentality of Abúna Tékla Haimanot, restored in the person of Aikuna Amlak (Icon Amlac), from whom the present titular Emperors of Abessinia are descended. The native *Ágau* tradition of Lásta (respecting which see p. 55, note) is however directly at variance with this legend, and apparently not without reason. Dr. Prichard, in his *Physical History of Mankind*, (2nd edit.,) vol. ii. p. 149, remarks that "the Chronicle of Axum is evidently, in its early parts, a mere monkish legend. It is proved to be unworthy of credit by the discovery by Mr. Salt that the princes of Axum were, previously to their conversion to Christianity, not Jews, as the chronicle declares, but worshipers of Mars and the Gentile gods of Europe." But, without disputing the apocryphal character of the early portions of this chronicle, I cannot assent to Dr. Prichard's argument in its entire extent; for I am inclined to regard the legend of the descent of the imperial house of Ethiopia from the Queen of Sheba as an *Ágau*, i. e. native Abessinian, tradition,—how far founded on truth is immaterial to the present question,—which was in existence among the *Israelitish* Hhámara before they were conquered by their neighbours, the *pagan* Axumites, which they are shown to have been by the very "Inscription of Axum," discovered by Mr. Salt, to which Dr. Prichard alludes.

In the consideration of this question, which is of the first importance with reference to the early history of Ethiopia, it must be borne in mind that, among the Abessinians, the firm impression exists, and has from time immemorial existed, that their rulers are of "the tribe of Judah and the house of David;" and that they are equally persuaded of the divine right, and indeed sacred character, of their sovereigns; so that, in their estimation, no one but a descendant of Ménilek, the son of Solomon, is qualified to hold the sceptre of that monarch. Upon the accession of Aikuna Amlak it became necessary therefore, in order to secure the allegiance of the people, that his descent from the revered stock, and consequently his legitimate right to the throne, should be shown; and this I look upon as the origin and scope of the "Chronicle of Axum," which, taking as its basis the principle that the sovereign *de facto* must necessarily be so *de jure*, joins together the successive but unconnected dynasties of the Israelitish Ágaus, the pagan (afterwards Christian) Axumites, and the Christian Ambáras, in one continuous chain of legitimate successors, and consequently descendants, of the alleged founder of the monarchy.

That this is not mere hypothesis is evidenced by what is actually going on at this moment in Abessinia, where another distinct and independent dynasty is being linked on to the house of Ménilek. I allude to that of the rulers of the province of Shoa, who, since the decadence of the empire, have acquired virtual independence, although that province still continues nominally to form an integral portion of the Abessinian empire. These princes are descended from Negássie, who, towards the end of the seventeenth century, was appointed Márdazmach of Shoa, under the then reigning Emperor of Abessinia. Negássie was sprung from a *novus homo*, probably some Galla chieftain, who had a princess of the blood-royal given him in marriage. This alliance, however, gave Negássie and his descendants no claim whatever to be considered of the imperial house. For, as Alvarez (in Ramusio's *Collection*, p. 218) wrote more than three centuries ago, "Prester John [so the Portuguese styled the Emperor of Abessinia] has no relations; for those on the side of the mother are not considered nor named as relations; and those on the father's side are confined on the said mountain,

Rodriguez and Francisco Carvalho, who were in Nefassá,^a and went out from thence, and in tears could scarcely part from them. Much further, and with not less manifestations of feeling, was the holy martyr Bruno Bruni accompanied by the Catholics of the district of Enábesie, who were persons of much respectability and education."

From that time until the present, an interval of two centuries completed, the

and considered as dead." In fact, the Salique law prevails in Abessinia as in France. But latterly, since their independence, the rulers of Shoa have dropped the title of Mardazmach (respecting which, see page 50, *note*.) and have assumed the sacred dignity of *Negús*, "King." And, as this title can hardly fail to convey to the mind of an Abessinian the impression of *kingly descent*, it is perfectly natural that he should jump at the conclusion that its possessor must necessarily be of the house of Solomon. This idea has, from motives both of personal vanity and of policy, been fostered by the descendants of Negássie, so that from it has resulted the legend that that chieftain was a *male* scion of the imperial house, who escaped from the state prison in which the princes of the blood-royal were wont to be confined, and fled into Shoa, just as the progenitor of Aikuna Amlak is said to have saved himself from the slaughter of the princes on Débra Dámo, and to have taken refuge in the same province. In fact, *the old legend is being repeated*, just as we find instances in the histories of ancient Greece and Rome. The story goes on to say that the fugitive prince was received with open arms by the inhabitants of Shoa, whose loyalty and attachment to the "house of Solomon" are proverbial; and that, owing to the weakness of the empire in consequence of the inroads of the Gallas, he was enabled to declare himself independent, and to transmit his sceptre to his lineal descendants, of whom the present king, Sáhela Selássie, is the sixth. This fable has not hitherto received favour in any other portion of Abessinia; nor is it indeed yet universally adopted even in Shoa, where the real facts are still too recent not to be well known to those possessed of any acquaintance with the history of the country. But I was informed that it has been *chronicled* in Shoa! So that, when, in the course of time, the oral tradition of Negássie's true origin and history shall be forgotten, the written legend will acquire an authority similar to that of the Chronicle of Axum; in which the recorded "restoration of the line of Solomon" to the throne of Ethiopia, in the person of Aikuna Amlak, is doubtless just as apocryphal as it would be in that of Sáhela Selássie, supposing that he, like the former, were destined to re-unite the dissevered and distracted provinces of Abessinia into a single and settled monarchy.

As regards the real origin of Aikuna Amlak and his people, the Amháras, who under him acquired the supremacy in Abessinia (like as the Axumites of the north had done before them), I look upon them as being derived from the same stock as the people of south-eastern Abessinia, who, three centuries later, under Ahmed Gräñ, invaded the upper country, and who, from the certain guide afforded by their languages,—namely, those of Amhára, Shoa, Argobba, Hárrargie, and Gurágie, which are all cognate and closely allied to one another,—must have had their origin in colonists from Southern Arabia, who settled on the African coast, beyond the Straits of Babelmandeb, mixing there with the native tribes already occupying that portion of the continent.

With reference to this subject generally, as likewise to that of the people and languages of the *southern* portion of the Abessinian plateau, see, further, a Paper "on the Countries South of Abyssinia," in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 254—269, and one "on the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South," in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. ii. pp. 89—107.

^a This name is unknown to me; but in the map in Tellez's Work it is placed to the west of the upper course of the Abäi, between its source and Lake Tsána, and not far from Temhuá.

church of Mártula Máriam has been lost sight of by the civilized world, and has remained abandoned to the keeping of the native Abessinians; who, with better feeling than has too often been manifested, under similar circumstances, among people laying claim to a much greater amount of civilization, evidently did not allow their hostility to the doctrines of Rome to cause the destruction or even the mutilation of an edifice dedicated to divine worship, although the celebration of that worship was according to the forms of the rival faith. On the contrary, they must even have used care in the preservation of the sacred structure, as otherwise that portion of it which is still standing could not have remained in its present perfect state. *Within the last few years*, however, the walls of the entire body of the church have been pulled down for the purpose of building the present native church with the materials; and, the work of wilful destruction having thus begun, there is reason to fear that it may ere long end in the annihilation of one of the most remarkable memorials left by the Jesuits of their occupation of this country. I look upon it, therefore, as a piece of great good fortune that I enjoyed an opportunity of visiting this interesting structure, and of being the means of rescuing, however imperfectly, its remains from oblivion.

During the rainy season of 1842, which lasts in Abessinia from about June to September, I had been residing at Yáush, a town in the south of Gódjam, in the immediate vicinity of the celebrated market of Báso, which forms the point of communication between the merchants of all parts of Abessinia and those of the country of the Gallas, Enárea, Káffa, and other districts situate to the south of the Abai.^a On the cessation of the rains, having determined on an exploratory tour in the north of the peninsula, I left Yáush on the 10th of October, and arrived at Mártula Máriam in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 25th of the same month;^b my particular object in going thither being to pay my respects to the reigning prince of the country, Dédjasmach^c Bírú Góshu, (that is Bírú *the son of Góshu*,) who was then

^a An account of the market of Báso is given in the *Friend of the African*, (1844,) vol. i. pp. 134—136, 145—147; and vol. ii. pp. 7—9.

^b My Itinerary is published in the fourteenth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, in page 26 of which is a brief notice of my visit to these ruins.

^c *Dédjasmach*, contracted from *Dédj-ázmachi* (which Bruce writes *Kamati*) is compounded of the two Amharic words, *dedj* "a door" or "gate," and *ázmachi*, "a warrior,"—or rather, as the word is derived from the verb in the second form, "he by means of whom others are warriors," that is to say "a leader"—the *herzog*, *dux*, *duke* of Europe. As the position of the Emperor's door, which, like the "Sublime Porte" of the Ottomans, is reverentially substituted for the dwelling itself, whether palace or tent, is in the centre, the *Dedjasmach* is consequently the general of the *centre*.

The *Kāñasmach*, from *kañ*, "right," is the leader of the right wing, as the *Gérasmach*, from *gerá*,

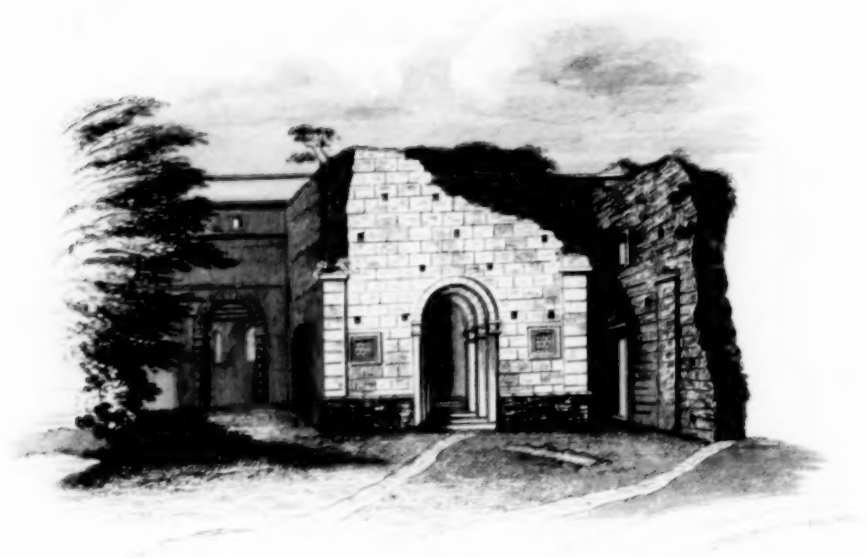
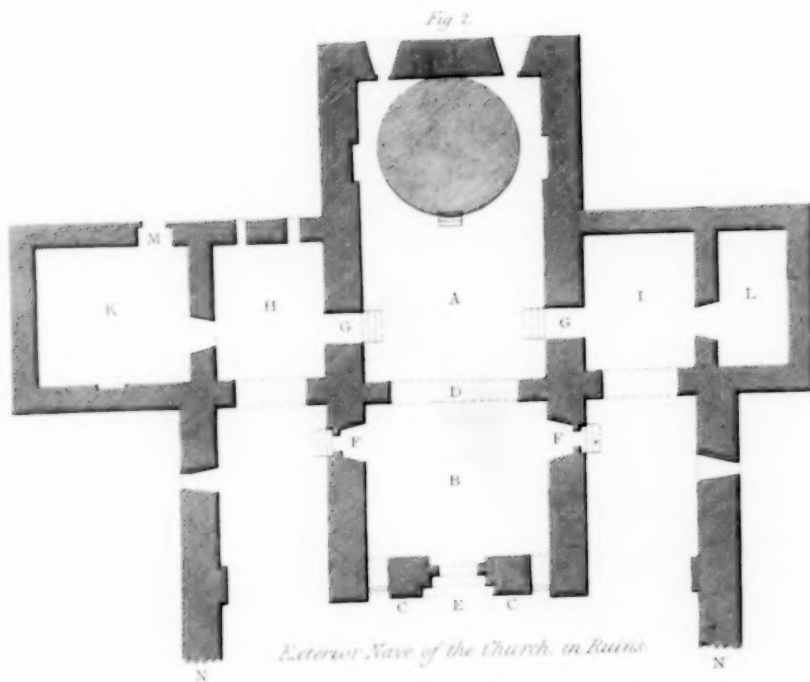


Fig 1



Exterior Nave of the Church, in Ruins

Palma

Church at Murtula Miriam. Western Elevation and Plan.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, Decr. 1841.

J. B. B. 1841

making a short stay at that place. On my arrival, I was immediately admitted into the presence of the prince, and found him playing at chess, a game to which he is passionately addicted, and at which he not unfrequently passes whole days, sometimes to the neglect of affairs of importance. As is customary on the arrival of a guest, dinner was ordered to be served to me; and during the conversation which took place whilst it was preparing I was questioned as to my object in visiting that part of the country. On saying that I was come to observe whatever might be worthy of notice, Dédjach^a Bíru inquired whether I had seen the buildings erected there by "my countrymen" in former days; and, on my replying in the negative, he ordered one of his attendants to conduct me to them as soon as I had dined.

My guide led me towards the church of St. Mary, which, like all native Abessinian churches, is of a circular form, with a low conical thatched roof. It stands in a spacious church-yard, surrounded with a lofty stone wall, being that built by Father Bruno Bruni, through a small side-door in which I was admitted within the sacred precincts. Behind the native church, and at a short distance from it eastward, are the remains of the ancient structure, which I shall now attempt to describe.

Whatever may have been the former extent of the building westward, the only portion now standing is what may be conjectured to be about the eastern half of the entire structure, the walls of which still remain in an almost perfect state. It consists of five apartments, as shown in Plate V. fig. 2; of which the centre and principal one (A) is a quadrangular building, the western end of which (B) resembles a vestibule. This centre apartment is evidently what Tellez calls "the inner house which was intended for a chapel." Its length internally, from east to west, is fifty-seven feet six inches; and as this length is precisely eighty Portuguese palms, which "left," is that of the left wing. The general of the vanguard is styled *Fitaurári*, from *fit*, "front," "before," and *aurári*, "a leader of plunderers." I cannot find any name in use for the general of the rear-guard, unless it be *Márdazmach*, from *ráda*—infinitive *márdát*—"to help" or "succour;" a title formerly borne exclusively by the governors of the province of Shoa. See page 48, note.

The title of *Dédjazmach*, which in rank is far superior to those of *Káñazmach* and *Gérazmach*, and may be understood as corresponding with the "grand-duke" of Europe, was formerly borne by the rulers of a few principal provinces, and probably in the first instance by the governor of Biégamider alone. But in the present day this title is assumed by almost every governor of a petty province.

The son of a Dédjazmach, till some dignity is conferred on him, has by courtesy the title of *Lidj*, "child," prefixed to his name—e. g. *Lidj Bíru*—corresponding to the Spanish *Infante*, or more closely to the old German *Junker*, and the old English *Child*.

^a This is the usual conversational contraction of the word *Dédjazmach*.

d'Almeyda says was the extent of one of the walls of the original church, it is manifest that the new structure was raised precisely on the old foundations. Its breadth inside is thirty palms (twenty-one feet seven inches). The walls, which are of the thickness of four palms (two feet ten inches and a half), and rise to the height of forty palms (twenty-eight feet nine inches), are constructed, as are those throughout the building, of rough stone and mortar, covered with ashlar. The screen (C C) at the western extremity of the chapel, by which it is separated from the body of the church, is a closed wall of the same thickness and materials as the sides and eastern end. A view of the western (outward) face of this screen is given in Plate V. fig. 1.

Within this chapel, at the distance of twenty-five palms (eighteen feet) from the western extremity, is an arch (Plate V. fig. 2, D) of twenty-two palms (fifteen feet ten inches) span, and, inclusive of the piers on which it is raised, being about thirty-five palms (twenty-five feet) from the ground to the crown of the arch. These piers and the surmounting arch, which is semicircular (Plate VI. fig. 1), are composed of wrought blocks of freestone, three palms (twenty-six inches) in the square, carved, on the three exposed faces, in panels of fine and elaborate work in relievo, of a flower-like character (Plate VI. figg. 2, 3). The stone, the grain of which is scarcely perceptible, is of a light gray colour, and of so excellent a quality that, notwithstanding its exposure to the tropical rains of upwards of two centuries, the carvings on it are as fresh and sharp as if only done yesterday, whilst it is at the same time so soft that I had not the slightest difficulty in cutting it with a pocket-knife.

The sides of this interior apartment are terminated above by a cornice, consisting of a broad band, nearly six palms (about four feet six inches) in depth (Plate VI. fig. 4), composed of an ornamented roll-moulding, having above it an alternate series of rectangular panels and projecting blocks, in the form of scroll-brackets surmounted by human heads; all the surfaces being elaborately decorated with leaves and flower-like figures. And it should be remarked that throughout the whole building the ornaments exhibit a formal flower-like character, somewhat resembling Gothic diaper-work, modernized and corrupted in the peculiar manner which prevailed in Spain from about the end of the fifteenth century. Some parts, indeed, have so exceedingly modern an appearance as almost to resemble the style of French ornaments of the eighteenth century. The details of various portions of these ornaments are given on a larger scale in Plate VI.

The floor of this centre chapel is raised about three feet above the level of the body of the church and of the side chapels. There are, in all, five entrances to it;



Cornice.



Section of Pier

Section of Doorway Pediment



Panel & Capital of Pier

Part of Pediment Enlarged

Side Doors Within

Church at Mirtula Mariani - Interior and Ornaments.

Engraved by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1847.

one from the nave in the centre of the screen (Plate V. fig. 2, E), two from the aisles (F F), and two from the side chapels (G G). The steps of the first rise within the thickness of the wall; those from the aisles into the vestibule were apparently on the outside; whilst to those of the two entrances leading from the front of the high altar, the descent, although now filled up with rubbish to the general level of the floor, must have been within the body of the chapel itself, as otherwise the doorways, which outside—*i. e.*, within the side chapels—are of the requisite height, would not have sufficient headway within the centre chapel. These two doorways, the lower portions of which are hidden to the level of the floor, are richly ornamented with carved stone-work (Plate VI. figg. 5, 6,) as are also two niches, one on each side of the high altar, which are shewn in the general view of the interior in Plate VI.

On the site of the altar now stands a small hut of the usual form and materials of the dwelling-houses of the country, being circular, and constructed of wattles covered with clay or mud, with a thatched conical roof. This rude specimen of uncivilized life presents a striking and indeed melancholy contrast to the noble monument of art in which it is placed; for, unlike the hut of Romulus in the Capitol, to which it might otherwise not unaptly be compared, it tells of degeneration, not of improvement. It is not improbable that this hut, the door of which is kept closed, has been erected to preserve from desecration the remains of the high altar, which was set up and consecrated, and had mass celebrated on it,* although the church itself was not finished. I asked for admission to this hut, but without success. Neither could I learn the purpose for which it had been erected, or its contents, if any. And I may observe that, although during a week that I remained at Mártula Máriam I paid frequent visits to the ruins, I was compelled to be circumspect in my operations, and not to make these visits too long or too frequent; as I soon had collected round me a crowd of persons, principally scribes, priests, and monks, who, as they could perceive no practical object in my occupation of drawing and measuring, not unnaturally viewed my labours with suspicion and distrust, and hence raised repeated objections to their continuance; and it was much easier to avert such objections by desisting than to overcome them by arguments or persuasion.

The chief entrance from the nave (Plate V. fig. 1) is a plain Norman doorway of three square recesses in depth, ascended by as many steps, and surmounted by semi-circular arches, the sides having a simple impost-moulding running over all the jambs. On each side of the doorway is an opening, three palms (twenty-six inches) square, closed towards the outside with a panel, with two mouldings, though scarcely

* See page 47.

sunk below the surface of the wall. These panels are perforated with small spaces, and have very much the appearance of confessional lattices.^a It may however perhaps be conjectured that they are rather intended for those openings made through different parts of the interior walls of a church whereby the worshipers might see the elevation of the Host, and known under the names of Hagioscope, Elevation-aperture, and Squint. Besides these two apertures and the five doors, there are no openings in the principal chapel whereby light might be admitted, except two small square windows at the eastern end, above the high altar, and on a level with the cornice.

On each side of the centre chapel is an apartment (Plate V. fig. 2, H & I), twenty-three palms (sixteen feet six inches) in length and fourteen palms (ten feet) in width, open to the aisle, of which it is in fact the continuation, by means of an arch of smaller dimensions than the one in the centre chapel already described, but, like that, ornamented with richly-carved stone-work. These are apparently the side chapels, forming with the principal one the "three chapels," which Tellez says the church contained. These side chapels communicate again with two other apartments (K & L), forming the transepts. The one on the right or gospel side, which I am inclined to regard as the "sacristy," likewise mentioned by Tellez, is larger than that on the left or epistle side, and has a door in the external wall (M) leading from the back of the building, by which it may be supposed that the priests entered the church to perform divine service. Into the room in the left transept I could not enter, the door way between it and the side chapel being blocked up with stones. Neither could I approach it from the outside, on account of several low out-buildings attached to that portion of the principal structure. These out-buildings are not shown in the plan, as, being all closed, I could not get access to them; in addition to which, I was not able to approach them from the outside, so as to obtain their details in any satisfactory manner.

I was told that one of these out-buildings was the *Bethlehem*^b—a building attached to the church, in which the bread for the Communion is prepared; and as,

^a On the subject of "Outward Confessionals of Churches," see a letter from "E. I. C.," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvi. p. 280; and another from Mr. J. G. Nichols, in vol. xxvii. of the same work, p. 19.

^b בית לחם, "the house of bread." The word *lehem* is not found in the Ethiopic language, whilst in the Arabic it signifies not "bread" but "meat." It must therefore have been adopted in the former signification directly from the Hebrew.

In like manner as the shew-bread of the Israelitish Temple was made by the priests, and as in the ancient religious establishments of Europe the altar-bread was prepared with a peculiar office, with fasting by the whole fraternity, the wafers being actually made by two priests and two deacons, vested in albs; the preparation of the sacramental bread of the Abessinian Church devolves on the deacons, who perform this duty in the *Bethlehem*, with peculiar ceremonies, females and unclean persons being strictly interdicted from

according to the regulations of the Abessinian Church, the preparation of this bread is the duty of the deacons, and as in the present building the *Bethlehem* is actually behind the epistle or deacons' side of the church, the left transept was most likely the deacons' sacristy, and between it and the *Bethlehem* a communication doubtless exists, although for the reasons stated I did not see it.

approaching the spot. The shew-bread of the Israelites was renewed only every Sabbath (Levit. xxiv. 8); but the sacramental bread of the Abessinians is made fresh daily, and the Portuguese Jesuits record (Tellez, p. 97) that the natives were shocked at their not making the wafers for the Host every day.

After the preparation of the fresh bread, such as remains over from the Communion of the preceding day is eaten by the priests. But, like the shew-bread, (see 1 Samuel xxi. 4—6,) it would seem to be, under special circumstances, not absolutely interdicted to laymen; for, on my journey homewards through Lasta, when I was detained, on the 1st April 1843, by the collector of customs on the frontiers of Waag, and kept the whole day without food, a reverend aged priest and monk, named Wálda Sámuel, brought some of the hallowed bread, and gave it me to satisfy my hunger. That he was doing an unusual (not to say an improper) act, is however clear from his bringing the bread to me secretly and desiring me to eat it in private; at the same time that he felt it necessary to justify his act by saying that he considered me qualified to partake of it, as a learned (and consequently holy) man, acquainted with the books and ancient history of his country, and as a pilgrim wandering about and doing good "for my soul's sake;" for such is the light in which my journey was usually regarded, no other motive for it being readily intelligible.

I must not omit to record here that I obtained from Abba (Father) Wálda Sámuel much valuable information respecting the traditional history of Lasta. He was himself of the house of the Ngíkera-Shums, a branch of the Wáag-Shums, or rulers of Wáag, who trace their descent from Sirak, the son of Saloméa, an alleged sister of Solomon, King of Israel. The intrusive dynasty of Israelitish (afterwards Christian) monarchs, who reigned in Abessinia from the 10th to the 13th century, were of the line of Zágie, who is said to have been, like Ménilek, a son of Solomon, but not by the Queen of Sheba. We have here another proof of the *necessity* which the Abessinians seem to feel (see page 48, note) that their sovereigns *de facto*, even of an avowedly intrusive dynasty, should be of the "lineage of Solomon."

The last emperor of the house of Zágie was Nákweto Láab, who, according to the Axumite Chronicles (see Bruce, vol. i. p. 533; vol. ii. p. 687), was induced by Abúna Tekla Hámanot to resign the throne to Aíkuna Ámlak, he retaining a portion of the empire in independent sovereignty. On the other hand, the *Agau* tradition of Lasta is that this division of the empire originated with king Solomon himself, who assigned two-thirds of it to his son Ménilek, whom he made emperor, and one-third to his nephew Sirak, whom he nominated Wáag-Shum. The rank of the two princes was to be equal, and the state of each similar, as is expressed in the saying—

Wáag-Shum la wánbar: Negús la mánbar.

i.e. "the ruler of Waag to the *wánbar*, and the emperor to the *mánbar*," the two words being synonymous, and signifying throne or chair of state. This subject is adverted to more in detail in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiv. p. 55, where, through an oversight, the house of Zágie is stated to be descended from Sirak. The emendation of this error is material. The descendants of Nákweto Láab, of the house of Zágie, still exist in Lasta as tributaries of the emperor, being totally distinct from the Wáag-Shums, of the house of Sirak, who to this day continue to be regarded as independent sovereigns. These are facts with which the Axumite tradition is irreconcilable, let the value of that of Lasta be what it may.

As the church built by order of the Empress Helena was the work of Egyptian architects, and was erected prior to the introduction into Abessinia of the faith of Rome, we may be certain that it was not, as the existing building is, in the form of a *Roman cross*: in other words, it was without the transepts, and in that case the priests' and deacons' sacristies of the earlier structure will, as is usual in churches built on the Greek model, have occupied the places of the side chapels in the more modern work of Father Bruno.

Of the roof there exist no vestiges, except one rafter across the principal chapel, and two or three over those on the sides, exhibited in the Plates.

In the absence of all remains of the structure of the body of the church, beyond the small portions of the side walls, five palms (three feet seven inches) in thickness, shown in the plan (Plate V. fig. 2, N N), we may not pretend to arrive at any certain result with respect to its form and character. Nevertheless, from the general proportions of similar buildings, there can be no doubt that its length westward of the screen was, at the least, equal to its breadth, namely, eighty palms (fifty-seven feet six inches), which would give 160 palms (115 feet) for the entire extent of the edifice from east to west. And, as this precisely corresponds with what d'Almeyda states to have been the extent of the original building, we can scarcely be wrong in this estimate of its actual length.

From the existence of the pilasters at each extremity of the outer face of the screen, and the absence of the ashlar above them (see Plate V. fig. 1), it is highly probable that arches extended longitudinally along the building, the piers on which the same stood forming the separation between the nave and the aisles. So, likewise, from the appearance of similar pilasters on the outer side walls, it would seem as if the aisles themselves had been arched transversely. But, in the absence of all remains of these arches, and of all record on the subject in the Work of Tellez, it is better to refrain from speculation respecting these particulars.

Close in front of the principal entrance to the inner chapel is a grave, the site of which is marked with stones set round it, as shown in the view in Plate V.

The native tradition concerning this church is that it was the work of *Afrindj*, which word means literally "red pepper," but is evidently a corruption of the word *Frاندj*, i. e. Franks or Europeans; that it was erected *before* the time of Ahmed Grañ; and that that conqueror ruined the building. According to the same tradition it was *the roof* (if I understood my informants rightly) which was covered with gold and silver; and that it was this circumstance which led to its destruction by the Mahomedan invader. My impression at the time was that a later date must be assigned to the building, and that it had, in fact, never reached

that state of completion when such ornaments, if used at all, would have been employed. The details furnished by Tellez shew the general correctness of this impression; since it is the earlier structure, and not the existing one, that was destroyed by Ahmed Grañ; whilst, in reality, the work of Father Bruno Bruni remained unfinished when he was compelled to quit the scene of his labours.

Besides these ruins at Mártula Máriam, there are said to exist similar ones at Tádbaba Máriam and Atrónsa Máriam in the province of Amhára, on the east side of the Abái, as likewise in Wádj, (the Ogge of the Portuguese,) a district in the south of Shoa, where the Emperors of Abessinia resided before they removed to Gondar, the present capital. At Keráneo,^a a town about 40 miles to the north-west of Mártula Máriam, and at no great distance from the second or "broken" bridge^b over the Abái, I was informed that the Portuguese settlers in Abessinia received a grant of lands in that neighbourhood, at Shígie, between the rivers Támmie and Azwári, where they married and settled, and by degrees became assimilated with the natives of the country, many of the present inhabitants of Keráneo and the vicinity claiming descent from them. The designation which these foreigners bear at this latter place is *Fransís*, which, if we were not acquainted with their history, would lead to the supposition that they were Frenchmen. But this term, like the *Afrindj* of Mártula Máriam, is evidently a corruption of the generic name by which Europeans are known throughout the Levant.

CHARLES T. BEKE.

St. Mildred's Court, 5th March, 1846.

^a From the Greek *Κρανίον*—that is to say, the *Calvary* of the Gospels. This name, more usually in the Hebrew form, *Golgotha*, is of not unfrequent occurrence in Abessinia.

^b This *second* bridge over the Abái was erected after the expulsion of the Jesuits; as, on the occasion of their quitting Gódjam, they expressly state that there was then only *one* bridge, namely that of Álata. (See Tellez, p. 530.) The native tradition is that it was built by the Emperor Fásil (Basilides), who commenced his reign by the persecution and banishment of the Jesuits. As a number of the Portuguese or their immediate descendants, who were settled in this vicinity, remained in the country, this bridge was doubtless their work; and, as the reign of Fásil extended from 1632 to 1665, its age is two centuries, little more or less. It is first described in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xiv. pp. 29 and 46. The centre arch, of about sixty feet in the span, is turned, as are also the eight approach arches on either side, in large flat red burned bricks of good quality, the work between the arches being of rough stone and mortar. The main arch was sprung by Ras Fásil Wáréña, the governor of Dámot in the time of Bruce, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the two banks of the river. Hence its name of the "broken" bridge.

VI.—*Observations on the Monumental Inscription to Richard Grey, Lord Grey de Wilton, in the Chapel of Eton College, Bucks. By THOMAS WILLIAM KING, Rouge Dragon, F.S.A., in a Letter to WILLIAM BROMET, M.D., F.S.A.*

Read 19th March, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,

College of Arms, 17th March, 1846.

I SEND you, according to promise, a few remarks on the interesting brass and inscription which you exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries at their last meeting, and am,

Yours very truly,

THOS. WM. KING, ROUGE DRAGON.

Here lyeth buried Richard Grey, Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn, and one of the heys apparant to Richard Erll of Kent, sone of Edmond Lord Grey, broder and hepre to George Lord Grey and Thomas Lord Grey, and hencheman to or Sov'aine Lord Kyng Henry the viii. the whiche Richard decessed the xxviii. daye of October, in the yere of our lord, m^vxxi.

Richard Lord Grey of Wilton, to whose memory the above memorial was placed in Eton College Chapel, died under age and without issue; but why he is called "one of the heys apparant to Richard Erll of Kent" can scarcely be accounted for, unless from their both having descended from John Lord Grey de Wilton, who died in the 17th year of King Edward the Second; the Earl of Kent having had, at the death of this Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, a half brother living, who succeeded him in the Earldom.

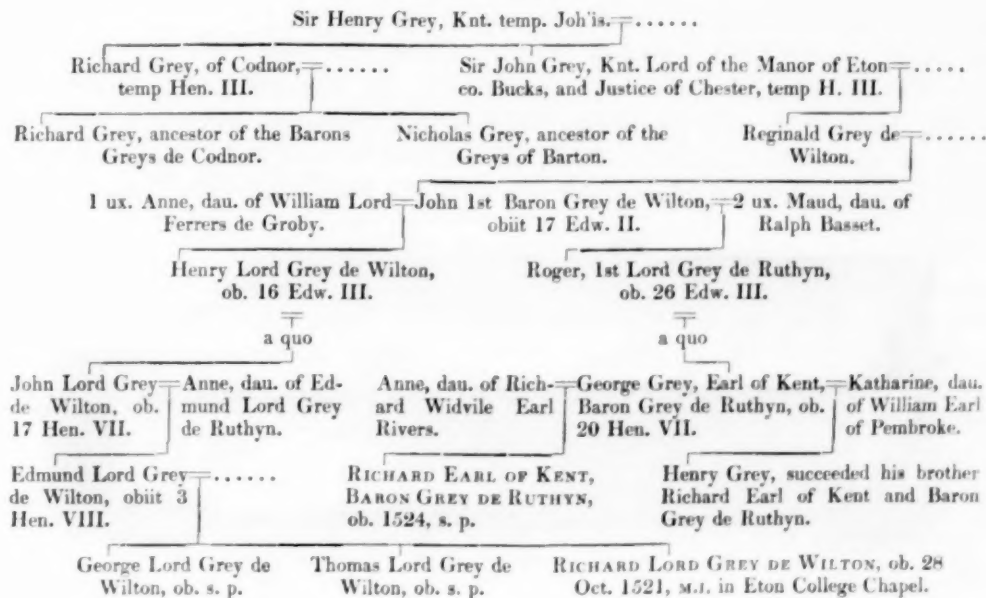
John Lord Grey de Wilton, above-mentioned, was the ancestor, by his first wife, Anne daughter of William Lord Ferrers of Groby, of the Lords Grey de Wilton; and by his second wife, Maud daughter of Ralph Basset, of the Lords Grey de Ruthyn, Earls of Kent.

It is equally inexplicable why Richard Lord Grey de Wilton is styled on this brass "Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn," as the Baronies of Grey of Codnor, Grey of Wilton, and Grey of Ruthyn, never merged in one individual. The Barony of Grey de Codnor fell into abeyance in 1496, among the aunts (or their issue) of Henry the last Lord Grey de Codnor. Had the barony of Grey de Codnor been a barony limited to the heirs male of the first baron, the Greys of Barton would have

had a better claim than the Wilton line to the barony of Grey de Codnor, as the Greys of Barton were existing at the time of Richard's death. Again, the Greys of Codnor were more remotely connected with Richard, the subject of these remarks, than the Greys of Ruthyn, the Greys of Codnor being a much older branch, and descended from Richard Grey of Codnor, temp. Hen. III., who was the elder brother of Sir John Grey, Lord of the Manor of Eton, co. Bucks, and Justice of Chester, 31 Hen. III.; which John was a common ancestor of the Wilton and Ruthyn lines.

As the style of "Ruthyn" appears on the monument in question, it may be stated that John Lord Grey de Wilton, who died 17 Hen. VII. the grandfather of Richard, married Anne the daughter of Edmund Lord Grey de Ruthyn; but Richard's descent thus deduced from the Greys de Ruthyn could in no wise have entitled him to the designation of that barony.

As Richard Earl of Kent died about three years after the death of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, from the expression of Richard's being "one of the heirs *apparent*" of the Earl, it is probable that this memorial was placed in Eton College Chapel soon afterwards; but whether by the insertion of the style "*Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn,*" anything more was intended than simply to indicate his connections with the other ennobled branches of his ancient family, must be left to conjecture.

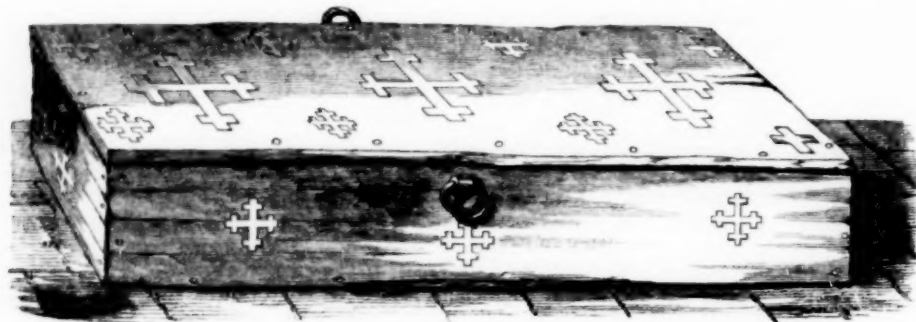


VII.—*Account of the Opening of the Coffin of Joanna de Bohun, in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral. By the Very Rev. JOHN MEREWETHER, D.D. Dean of Hereford.*

Read 11th June, 1846.

AMONG the many interesting objects which have been brought to light in the progress of the restoration of Hereford Cathedral, a work which, I am proud to say, is entirely worthy of the congratulations and admiration of every lover of ecclesiastical architecture, and its noble achievements of early periods, that which supplies materials for the present communication will not be the least entitled to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries.

In renovating the stone seat which ranges on both sides of the Lady Chapel, it was observed that a thin stone of about five or six feet long was introduced in the masonry, about half way between the top of the seat and the floor, and immediately under the monument of Joanna de Bohun, which consists of an arch in the north wall, containing the full-length recumbent figure of a female, whose identity as the person above named was proved by the coats of arms painted above the spandrels of this arch. It was found necessary, in order to repair the stone work, to remove the seat and the adjacent stones, and on displacing the thin slab already named the coffin, the lid of which is represented in the sketch before you, and which, however rude in execution, is exact in detail, was exposed to view, being deposited in a stoned grave, half the depth of which was above the floor of the Lady Chapel.



It had evidently been covered with *linen* of fine texture, strained over the surface, and on it had been tacked with needle and thread three large crosses patées, and eight smaller, the two lowest of which near the feet were plain, and made of white satin. There were three of the smaller size on each side of the coffin, and four iron rings of three inches in diameter, one at each side and each end. On raising the lid, which had become detached from the sides, from the oxidation of the large nails which had confined it, the remains of the benefactress of the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral became visible. They had been enveloped in a sort of sheet, of coarse texture, and apparently woollen, fastened with threads of the size of packthread, which on being pulled were easily detached from the sheet, and retained extraordinary strength, the knots being firm. The bones, as is usually the case in the graves in Hereford Cathedral, had become greatly decayed, for the most part having assumed a crumbling condition, and reduced to a whitish dust composed of crystals of phosphate of lime. The sheet had been folded round and round about the feet; and a ligature of a very close texture, also woollen, which had apparently connected the two great toes, retained its strength probably unimpaired, and the knot was as firm as ever. The bones of the cranium, like the rest, were mostly reduced to the whitish crystals, except a portion of the forehead and upper part of the face. The hair remained perfect, in the form of a wig, the bones having fallen away from it. It was of a yellowish red colour, as usual, and so profuse in its quantity, that it greatly strengthened the notion which from previous observations I had entertained, that the hair not improbably grows to an extent little supposed after death. It had no appearance of having been arranged in any order, but was matted together, as if the winding-sheet had been considered sufficient to supersede the necessity of any such disposition and care. This lady was an heiress of Kilpec in Herefordshire, celebrated for its interesting Norman Church, of which, at the early part of this year I gave some brief notices with reference to its restoration. She married one of the Humphreys de Bohun.^a Of her it is recorded, that in 1327 she gave to the dean and chapter of Hereford the church of Lugwardine, with the chapels of Llangarren, St. Waynard's, and Hentland, and all the small chapels belonging to them: which donation was confirmed by the King, by the procurement and diligence of Thomas de Chandos, archdeacon of Hereford; and Thomas Charleton, bishop of Hereford, further confirmed it to the dean and chapter by deed dated Sugwas, 22nd July, 1330; and afterwards the bishop, dean, and chapter applied the revenues of it to the service peculiar to the Virgin Mary, "because in

^a Earls of Hereford. There were eight of this name.

other churches in England the Mother of God had better and more serious service, but in the church of Hereford the Lady's sustenance for her priests was so thin and small, that out of their respect they add this, by their deeds, dated in the chapter of Hereford, April 10, 1333." Joanna de Bohun, in the lists of obiits in Hereford Cathedral styled the Lady Kilpec, died without issue 1 Edw. III. 1327, and this, being her dying bequest, led to the improvements in the architecture of that part of the building, and which is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of the early-English style in the kingdom, the interior and east end of which is fast recovering its crumbled beauties, by the most accurate and exact process of restoration in all respects.

Without entering into minute details, it may not be trespassing too long on the notice of the Society to remark, that this portion of the edifice affords singular specimens of the gradations of style. Immediately eastward of the choir, in recent excavations have been discovered the foundations and base courses of the original (*Saxon*) circular apsis in the centre, and at the extremities on either side similar terminations to the aisles. Above these, in the ambulatory subsequently formed, we have in the bases of the columns the early-English feature, the capital of one reverting to the Norman lineament. The arches they bear are pointed, but the ribs of the groining retain the Norman chevron ornament. In the ante Lady Chapel again, amidst clustered shafts and caps of the early-English character, are the two beautiful pointed openings, one on either side, which retain in the soffits of their arches the cable moulding, and the lozenge or chevron form. And this portion, I conclude, represents the features of the whole Lady Chapel at the time of Joanna's bequest, the whole of the exterior displaying, together with and intermixed with the later phase of early-English, the arcades of the Norman intersecting circular arches supported on early English capitals, shafts, and bases. From which I conclude that all eastward of the ante chapel underwent the re-ornamenting, not rebuilding; the funds for which were supplied from the munificence of the Lady of Kilpec. Here it may be wrong to omit a record of a curious discovery which was made in excavating, for the purpose of throwing in concrete, that part of the edifice just described as the ante chapel. On a former occasion it had been necessary to displace certain stone graves which occupied this space, the contents of which displayed nothing very unusual, except that in one of them, that of a priest, there was the latten chalice and paten; in another, that of a knight and his lady, as the brass above declared, there was the remains of a pope's bulla, or leaden seal; and under this grave there was another grave, the stone of which had been turned downwards, but on it were incised the words, in early character, Magister Thomas de Torrinton. Pater noster,

ora The remains of this person were *in situ*, but greatly decayed, in fact crumbled into the white crystal already described.

There was no suspicion that below these any remains could be found; but a little to the east of them no less than six graves were discovered: what was very remarkable, they had all been cut through at about the middle, and the west wall of the crypt was built up to them, to make room for which these had been so divided; the remains of the bones of the cranium and half the frame being still in their places, and retaining parts of the enveloping sheet, of which fortunately a little further west and a little lower down a perfect specimen remained, evidently coeval with them, which had been mutilated for the purpose of building the Lady Chapel crypt, and therefore buried here at a very early era. This grave, like the others, was formed of stone tiles set edgeways, and a small recess was provided for the head. The whole body had been enveloped in a winding-sheet of coarse woollen texture; and, although the bones were quite crumbled away, it retained its form, and a certain degree of cohesion, having been closely wrapped round the body, and still retaining the form of the head. It is remarkable that this sheet had been fastened down on one side of the corpse with wooden skewers, and it closely resembled two others I had seen in the Lady Arbour on former occasions; in one of which a hazle wand was found, and the stones which formed the grave were remains of Saxon or Norman ornaments.

I am very fearful that I have been led into far too great prolixity, and that the attachment to a subject and a spot which have exercised so much of my anxiety and regard on every account, may have given it more interest in my views than I shall be likely to excite in those of others. You will therefore deal with these remarks as your judgment may deem fit; and either communicate all or such parts as you think may be endured.

I remain,

My dear Sir Henry,

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN MEREWETHER.

VIII.—*Letter from Sir HENRY ELLIS to Viscount MAHON, P.S.A.; upon a Gold Ornament found near Mundesley, in Norfolk.*

Read 18th June, 1846.

MY LORD,

British Museum, June 17, 1846.

By the kindness of Miss Gurney of North Repps, in Norfolk, I am permitted to lay before your Lordship and the Society a jewel or ornament, (Plate VII. fig. 1.) composed of an ancient cast from a gold coin of the Emperor Mauricius, set into gold of rough workmanship, with a ring or loop at top to suspend it by, and bits of red glass or stones, let in, in a double row on that side which bears the obverse of the coin, forming a border to it. To these rather a rich appearance is given by bits of stamped gold being placed under each.

The inscriptions on the cast of the coin are as follow :—

On the obverse,

DN M̄AV. CRPPAVC

that is,

Dominus Noster M̄AVricius tibCRius Pater Patriæ AVGustus.

On the reverse,

VICTORÆ -AAVCCV | CONOB |

that is,

VICTORIA AVCCVsta CONstantinopoli O^Bsignata.*

* Eckhel, in the eighth volume of his "Doctrina Numorum Veterum," p. 521, has a learned episode "De inscriptione CONOB." This word occurs upon Roman coins in three forms—most generally as CONOB; in a few instances COMOB; and in two or three upon the coins of Anthemius, and upon one of his wife Euphemia, it is written CORNOB.

CONOB is first seen upon the coins of Valentinian I. A.D. 364 to 375, and continued to Leo I. Isaurus, A.D. 717 to 741. Antonius Augustus, Eckhel tells us, explains it as CONstantinopolitanum OBryzum (idem quod purissimum). Ducange, Ortelius, Occo, and Tristan, read CONstantinopoli moneta O^Bsignata. Morell and Rinck agree in the latter explanation. Jobert would read CONstantinopolis Officina II. taking the B in OB to be a numeral. Then Eckhel says, "Mitto conjecturas aliorum alias, sed plane infirmas." All however consider CON as Constantinopoli.

It may be interesting to note that on April 2, 1761, Mr. Duane presented to the Society of Antiquaries engravings of some medals in his possession. These representations are inserted in the Minute Book, vol.

In the area of the reverse is a cross surmounted by a globe, with the letters VV at the sides.

This Jewel or Medallion, or by whatever name it may be designated, was found upon the beach of the Norfolk coast, between Bacton and Mundesley, in the month of January last. It is of the diameter of an inch and a fourth.

Three specimens of similar Jewels or Medallions are to be found in the Collection at the British Museum. One of them (Plate VII. fig. 2) like Miss Gurney's, has been a pendant Jewel. It has likewise a loop, ornamented in the Saxon manner, and surrounds the cast of a coin of Valens. The cast is of the portrait side only, surrounded with the inscription DN. VALENS. PER. F. AVG; no reverse of the coin appearing at the back. The front of this Jewel so far resembles Miss Gurney's, that it has a border ornamented in small, with a single row of squares of red glass, or of glass placed upon a red foil. The whole, however, coin and surrounding gold, scarcely exceeding in this exemplar the diameter of a shilling. The second (Plate VII. fig 3), in reality of smaller size, but with an ornament round of more modern work, presents a coin of Posthumus. On the obverse two heads, Posthumus and Hercules, circumscribed POSTVMVS. PIVS. FELIX. AVGG. On the reverse two heads also, Posthumus helmeted as Mars, and Victory. Inscription, CONSERVATORES. AVG. The third (fig. 4) has a genuine coin let-in of the elder Philip, who reigned from A.D. 244 to 249. On each side, behind, are loops, deciding the Ornament itself to have been used as a fibula, or fastening for a garment. The inscription round the head upon the obverse, IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS. AVG. Reverse, a female figure bearing a tessera or measure of corn in the right hand, and a cornucopiæ supported by the left, with the inscription round, LIBERALITAS. AVG. II. Its diameter is nearly equal to a crown-piece.

Two or three similar specimens of Roman coins of gold, imbedded in the same material, are likewise to be found in the Cabinet of Medals at Paris.

The conclusion arising out of the consideration of these several specimens, and more particularly from the character of the ornament upon the loops of Miss Gurney's, and of the first of the Museum specimens, seems to be, that in early times, apparently in the Saxon period, such Jewels were used as ornaments or

viii. p. 318. One of these was a gold piece, set in a hoop, with a loop or ring on one side for suspension, as in the case of Miss Gurney's ornament. Duane read the legend AVITVS AV, and stated that Avitus was declared emperor in Gaul, A.D. 455; he resigned, and became Bishop of Placentia. On the reverse appears in the exergue the letters COXON. This was found in a barrow, in 1758, on Bloodmore Hill, near Pakefield, Suffolk, suspended with a similar ornament set with an onyx, apparently an antique intaglio, about the neck of a skeleton therein interred.

fastenings of garments; and, since specimens occur in the Cabinet at Paris, so ornamented with Roman coins, it may be presumed that the practice of wearing such, extended to other countries as well as our own.

The specimens in the Museum may probably be ascribed to the sixth or seventh century.

Miss Gurney in a note to me upon the jewel before the Society, says,—

"I forget whether I mentioned having found that the Danes were in the practice of imitating Byzantine medals. You will find examples of such imitations (very bad ones) in a plate of some antiquities found in Denmark, in the second volume of the *Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed* (or Northern Periodical for Antiquarian Science) published by the Royal Society for Archaeology (B. ii. Vol. I.) 8° Copenhagen, 1833."

I in consequence examined this work. At p. 170 a neck-ornament is engraved, strung with Byzantine coins, of Placidius Valentinianus, Julius Majorianus, Leo I., Zeno, and Anastasius I.; whence we may infer that this ornament also is probably of the sixth or seventh century.

At the end of the volume I found the Plate referred to by Miss Gurney, containing five or six specimens of gold medallions, all having loops, shewing them to have been used as pendant ornaments; and one or two of the larger size, surrounding Byzantine coins, which have inscriptions. These are apparently of a period later than what is called the lower Roman time.

Upon referring to the text, it appeared that these specimens were in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, and had been found in Denmark; but no mention is made of the exact locality of their discovery.

These, however, though ornaments used for the same purpose, are very different in character. They are peculiarly northern.^a

^a Other Ornaments, similar in general appearance, but without Coins imbedded in their area, and larger in diameter, are occasionally noticed by the Northern antiquaries. Such are those engraved in Scheffer's Dissertation "*de Orbibus tribus Aureis nuper in Scania erutis*;" 12° Holm. 1675. They had been found the year before, with some swords and other military weapons, by a husbandman at Wææ, near Christianstadt. The device of each, in the centre, consisted of a head of disproportioned size to a small animal, apparently of the deer kind, upon which it was resting. Various ornamental circles surrounding them. See also Christian Dettler Rhode's "*Cimbrisch Hollsteinische Antiquitäten Remarques*."

Sjöberg, in his Collections for Lovers of Northern Antiquity, "*Samlingar for Nordens Fornälskare*," 3 tom. 4to. Stockh. 1822-30, vol. ii. pl. XLVII., XLVIII., fig. 156, 157, and p. 187 of his text, gives a pendent ornament of *silver*, found in Schonen, the southern peninsula of Sweden, in 1729, with a Coin imbedded in the centre. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It was found, together with some coins and silver work, in an urn. The imbedded coin, however, is so unintelligible in itself, or so unintelligibly represented, that nothing can be made either of the head or the inscription which surrounds it. Sjöberg thought he could read the words *Alexiu Autokra* . . . upon it. The reverse was of Byzantine appearance. He thought it Persian.

Fortunately, whilst engaged in this inquiry, I had the pleasure to fall into company with Mr. Worsaae, the eminent antiquary of Copenhagen, whose attention has been more immediately directed to the illustration of this particular class of antiquities, and who has noticed them in his work entitled "*Danemarks Vorzeit*."

From Mr. Worsaae I have learned that, though one or two specimens of Roman gold within ornamented circles are to be found in the Museum at Copenhagen, the most numerous are of the bracteate kind, such as are exhibited in the plate referred to in the "*Nordisk Tidskrift*," frequently ornamented with rude figures only, and occasionally with Byzantine coins. He informs me that of the Byzantine coins so imbedded a few are those of the last half of the fifth and first half of the sixth centuries, and that they grow more numerous as the dates of the coins go on, chiefly to the middle of the eighth. Few coins occur so imbedded of a later period.

Mr. Worsaae finally referred me to a note in Mr. Laing's recent translation of the "*Heimskringla* ; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, from the Islandic of Snorow Sturleson," which bears strongly upon the history of the Danish medallions: it is in vol. iii. p. 4, in the account of the *Væringers*.

"The *Væringers* were the body-guard of the emperors, and were composed mostly of northmen. Gibbon speaks of them, chap. 55, and refers to Boyer, Du Cange, and other authors who have written of the *Varangi* or *Varagi*, at Constantinople. *Væringers*—the defenders—appears to have been the true name of this body-guard, taken from the words *Wehr*, *Vær*, *Ware*, which belong to every branch of the great northern language in the meaning of active defence. The best proof that this body-guard was composed principally of northmen is, that almost every year coins of the Greek emperors, Cuftish^a coins, and gold chains, and other ornaments, apparently of Eastern workmanship, are found in Norway about the houses of bonders, being probably the hidden treasures of their forefathers, brought with them from their service in Constantinople. The number of Greek and Arabic (Cuftish) coins found in these hoards, with scarcely any admixture of Anglo-Saxon or other northern money, is very considerable."

Since the above was written, a friend has supplied me with the following translation of a passage in Mr. Worsaae's "*Danemarks Vorzeit*," corroborative of Mr. Laing's note, and calculated to throw further light upon this singular class of ancient ornaments. It is in comment upon some antiquities which had been discovered:—

"These large gold rings for the neck were further adorned with wrought plates of gold, which were inlaid with pieces of coloured glass, or, which was more fre-

^a Cuftic.

quently the case, these rings were hung round with the so-called gold bracteates. These were formed of a thin plate of gold, one side of which was often stamped with the imitation of some coin of a foreign country. These impressions, however, are usually of so peculiar a nature that it is with the greatest difficulty, if at all, that we can determine what was the original coin from which the impression was copied. The Runic inscriptions which are frequently introduced in the margin have hitherto afforded but little information in this respect, since it has not yet been possible to interpret the peculiar Runes of which the inscriptions consist. In general, however, we may safely maintain that the coins of the eastern Roman empire and of Arabia have formed the original of these imitations. Roman and Oriental coins themselves were also used for ornaments of this kind, being furnished with a margin and ring for the purpose of appending them. The gold bracteates have been found from half an inch to a quarter of an ell (twelve inches) in diameter. They are usually found united with several others, so that they originally formed complete necklaces, or with beads of various kinds."

From the specimens described, and the extracts here made from Mr. Laing's and Mr. Worsaae's works, there can be little doubt but that in the times answerable to our Saxon period gold coins imbedded in or surrounded by masses of the same material were a favourite ornament in various parts of Europe, sometimes as single pendant jewels, sometimes strung numerous together, and at others used as fibulae or fastenings for the dress.

I am happy to say that the Jewel found near Mundesley, when it has been exhibited to our Society, is destined by Miss Gurney's liberality to enrich the Medal Room of the British Museum,^a where antiquities of the rarer kind, such as these, have their greatest interest for the observer when they are viewed and compared as a Series.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Lord Viscount MAHON, P.S.A.

^a It is now deposited there.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



*Gold Ornament found near Mundesley in Norfolk,
accompanied by three jewels of similar character; all preserved in the British Museum.*

IX.—*Observations on the Mottoes "Houmout," and "Ich Dien," of Edward the Black Prince. By J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 18th June, 1846.

Michael's Grove Lodge, Brompton, June 15th, 1846.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

As I believe I was the first to draw public attention to the absence of all contemporaneous authority for the derivation of the badge and motto of the Prince of Wales from the personal insignia of John King of Bohemia, slain at the battle of Cressy, and to express my doubts in consequence respecting such an origin, I read with much pleasure the interesting paper of Sir N. Harris Nicolas, in the last published part of the *Archæologia*, and now venture to offer a few remarks in further illustration of the subject.

Sir N. H. Nicolas says—"That 'Ich Dien' are *German*, and not, as Camden suggests, old English words, and that they mean 'I serve,' will not, I believe, be disputed." And he adds—"Few attempts have been made to ascertain the origin of 'Houmout,' which he considers formed of two old German words, "hoogh moed," "hoo moed," or "hoogh-moe," *i.e.* "magnanimous," "high-spirited."

In the first place, I rather conceive that "Houmout" is, strictly speaking, *Flemish*. That it is a noun substantive and not an adjective,—"*hoochmoet, hoomoet, hautaineté, magnanimité de courage, courage hautain.*" Vide Mellema, *Promptuaire François Flameng*, 1529—1610. And, in the second place, that, instead of considering "Houmout" and "Ich Dien" as two separate mottoes, I am inclined, from the evidence adduced by Sir N. H. Nicolas, to look upon them as forming *one complete motto*, which has been divided occasionally according to circumstances; and in the instance of the autograph engraved at p. 381, from the Prince's letter, dated April 25, 1370, was written by Edward himself *in full*—"Houmout, Ich Dien."

If I am correct in this conjecture, the apparent contradiction in the Prince's will

is at once explained. In my "History of British Costume," which Sir N. H. Nicolas has done me the honour to allude to, I remarked upon the singularity of the motto "Ich Dien," which was not mentioned in the will of the Prince, being placed in every instance over the feathers, and the word "Houmout" only over the shield of arms, by those who minutely fulfilled the directions of the will in every other particular. Sir N. H. Nicolas on the same point observes, "The Black Prince appears to have attached more importance to his other motto, 'Houmout,' than to 'Ich Dien,' inasmuch as he does not mention the latter in his will, while he directed the former to be placed over each of the escutcheons on his tomb, as well those containing ostrich feathers as those containing his arms." Now, supposing the complete motto to have been, as I suggest, "Houmout ich dien," which would be Flemish for "High spirit I serve," or, less literally, "I obey the dictates of magnanimity," (or of a high, haughty, courageous spirit, whichever epithet you may please to select,) it will be immediately seen that the Prince's instructions were in this instance, as well as in all the others, implicitly fulfilled, according to the knowledge at that time existing of his intentions; for, by dividing the sentence indicated by its first word "Houmout," they did, in fact, place the motto over each shield: for, be it remarked, that there are six escutcheons placed in a row, three of the arms and three of the feathers *alternately*, so that the motto or mottoes may be read—"Houmout, Ich Dien," three times in succession.

That this conjecture is borne out by analogy, the following examples will, I think, prove to a certain extent. The motto of the Percy family is popularly known as "Esperance:" but the complete motto, I need scarcely inform the members of this Society, is "Esperance en Dieu." Let us put the case that the Earl of Northumberland, of Henry the Fourth's time, had left instructions in his will that the arms of Percy and his badge of the crescent should be displayed upon alternate shields, surmounted by his motto "Esperance." The artist might have similarly divided the complete sentence, and without other evidence the present generation have considered "En Dieu" a motto independent of "Esperance," the words "In God" being of themselves sufficient to imply a similar declaration, which we find in the motto of Lord Carhampton. "En Dieu est ma fiance."

Let us turn to the motto assumed by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, on his second marriage. The well-known "Aultre n'auray." Need I recall to you that this is but a portion of a very long motto or posey, "Aultre n'auray, Dame Isabeau, tant que vivray." The complete "cri de guerre" of the house of Crequy was "A Crequy, Crequy le Grand Baron, que nul ne s'y frotte;" but their motto appears above their badge of a porcupine abbreviated to "Que nul ne s'y frotte." Guillaume

de Croy, Duc de Soria, Marquis of Arschott, &c., who died 1526, had for his device, "Ou que soye;" but in other instances it is extended to "Ou que soye, je n'oublieray Croy." In point of construction, "Houmout ich dien" has its parallel in "Ung je servirais," the motto of the earls of Pembroke and Caernarvon, and many others, foreign as well as English.

In conclusion, I beg to say that I consider Sir N. H. Nicolas's suggestion, that the feathers were possibly derived from the Comté of Ostrevant, a very valuable one, as, by directing the inquiries of antiquaries towards an entirely unexplored source, it may lead to a perfect solution of this interesting enigma. An ostrich, in old French, is not only spelt *Austruche*, but *Ostruce*, and *Ostrich*, as in English; and those who are conversant with early heraldry will admit that there was quite sufficient jingle between the words *Ostruce* and *Ostrevant* to induce a mediæval king of arms to symbolize the province by the ostrich feathers. I have as yet found no arms of the province of Ostrevant. The arms of Bouchain, its capital, were "Argent, a castle gules."

I have the honour to be, dear Sir Henry,

Yours, faithfully,

J. R. PLANCHÉ.

Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H.,
&c. &c. &c.

X.—*Letter from the Viscount MAHON, President, F.R.S. &c. &c., to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary, upon the wish expressed to his Lordship by Prince ALEXANDER LABANOFF to obtain the opinion of the best English Antiquaries respecting the alleged Residence of Mary Queen of Scots at Hardwick Hall.*

Read 14th May, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Grosvenor Place, May 11, 1846.

IN a letter dated St. Petersburg, the 15th of March last, which I have received from Prince Alexander Labanoff, the accomplished editor of the "Correspondence of Queen Mary of Scots," he expresses anxiety to ascertain the opinion of the best English antiquaries respecting the alleged residence of that princess at Hardwick Hall, now, as is well known, the property of the Duke of Devonshire. He states, that in 1839 some doubts were expressed to him by *le savant Dr. Hunter*, meaning, I conclude, our esteemed brother-member of the Society of Antiquaries the Rev. Joseph Hunter, whether in reality Queen Mary had ever been at Hardwick. At the time when those doubts were expressed to him, Prince Labanoff did not concur in them; but, on a further comparison of dates and consideration of circumstances, he has become convinced that those doubts are perfectly well founded. "After long research," says he, "I am bound to acknowledge that no trace exists of any visit of Mary Stuart to Hardwick Hall; on the contrary, her correspondence appears to prove that she never was at that place."

Considering the interest which is raised by every particular in the life of Queen Mary of Scots, and the minuteness of the local traditions which assert her residence at Hardwick and point to traces of her stay, I think that the question thus brought before us by Prince Labanoff is by no means undeserving the attention and research of any British antiquary conversant in the history of that period.

Believe me,

My dear Sir Henry,

Yours very sincerely,

MAHON, P.

TO SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.,
&c. &c. &c.

On the Claim of Hardwick in Derbyshire to have been one of the Residences of Mary Queen of Scots during her captivity in England. By the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

Read 18th June, 1846.

THE President, at a recent meeting of the Society, called our attention to an inquiry of Prince Labanoff, a Russian nobleman who has devoted himself for many years to the study of the life of the Queen of Scots,—Whether the information which he received from many persons in England, and which he has also found in many printed books, that we have still remaining nearly in the state in which it was in her time one of the houses in which was passed some considerable portion of the term of her long captivity in England, was still the received opinion of the antiquaries of this country.

The house of which he spoke was Hardwick Hall, in the county of Derby, one of the seats of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, about eighteen miles distant from Chatsworth, and about the same distance from Sheffield, both places at which much of the time of her captivity was spent. This house is nearly in the state in which it was originally built and furnished in the reign of Elizabeth. The prince himself distrusted the information.

The inquiry is far from being without interest to ourselves, for the house at Hardwick may be considered almost as a national monument, exhibiting perhaps a more perfect specimen than is anywhere else to be found of the residences of the nobility of the reign of Elizabeth, when the necessity of building with a view to security as well as comfort had passed away.

But Prince Labanoff has deserved so exceedingly well of English historical literature, by his publication of the letters of this illustrious lady, collected by him with wonderful industry, and copied, arranged, and printed with great skill, that it is but an act of simple *reconnaissance* to respond to any inquiry he may make on this subject. His work, I may take the liberty to observe, contains very many letters never before printed, and the number is not small of letters that had not, before he made them known, been resorted to in manuscript; so that his work is quite indispensable to every person who shall undertake to treat on the History of the Queen of Scots, whether the subject be regarded as it presents itself to the antiquarian mind, intent upon ascertaining the most minute facts and the most exact arrange-

ment of them, or in its nobler aspect as it has relation to the policy of cabinets and the interests of nations.

Without therefore assuming to take to myself a position among "the best English antiquaries," in the absence of any other communication on the subject, I beg leave to lay before the Society a much more complete view of the facts and arguments which long ago led me to the conclusion submitted to Prince Labanoff in 1839.

The Queen of Scots landed on the shore of Cumberland on the 16th of May, 1568. On the next day she wrote from Workington to Queen Elizabeth, announcing her arrival. On the 18th she was conducted to Cockermouth, and the next day to Carlisle. There she remained till the 13th of July, when she was taken to Bolton, a castle of the Lord Scrope, in the North Riding. She was at Bolton for more than half a year. Her last letter written from that place is dated January 25, 1569, the day before she reluctantly set out on her journey southward.

During this period there was an inquiry going on at York into various matters of accusation against her, and the Ministers of Queen Elizabeth had time to determine on the line of policy which it was best to take respecting her. She herself wished to be allowed to leave England, and proceed to France or Spain; but this was opposed, and she was soon awakened to the melancholy truth that she who came as a guest, and expected the ordinary rites of hospitality at least, was to regard herself as a prisoner.

It then remained to be considered how she could best be kept securely, and to whom the charge of such a prisoner could best be committed. The Court was not long in determining that the Earl of Shrewsbury was the nobleman in whom met the greatest number of points of fitness for this difficult and dangerous service. He had his ancient and strong castle of Sheffield in the heart of the kingdom, which afforded the best facilities for safe keeping and honourable attendance; and he had other houses in those parts of the kingdom which afforded opportunities of change of air, while they were still places also where a guard could easily be kept upon the prisoner. He was also known to be a peer of devoted loyalty, carrying the leading characteristic of the family to the most chivalrous extent—

"The Talbot ever true and faithful to the Crown."

It was determined, therefore, to place the Queen under his care. The determination appears to have been taken as early as the month of October, for in the private correspondence of the family we find a report of a conversation with Queen Elizabeth in that month, in which she spoke in terms of high regard of the lady whom the earl had recently taken to wife, originally Elizabeth Hardwick, a daughter of the family of that name, to whom Hardwick belonged, and widow successively of Robert Barley, Sir William Cavendish, and Sir William Saint Loe, and expressed much

solicitude to know when the earl might be expected at court ; and again, a letter from the earl himself to his countess, written in November, wherein he informs her that he had been at court, and that the Queen had intimated to him that "ere it were long he should well perceive she did so trust him as she did few." He understood this to mean that he was to have the care of the Scottish Queen ; and finally, in a third letter, which is dated on the 13th of December, he writes—"Now it is certain the Scots Queen comes to Tutbury, to my charge."^a

The order of Council for the removal of the Queen of Scots from Bolton was not actually signed before the 20th of January, 1569. She travelled with uneasy steps, dejected in mind, and out of health. Letters exist written by her at almost every stage of her journey, namely, at Ripon on the 27th, at Pontefract on the 28th, and at Rotherham on the 30th. Here she was obliged to leave one of her ladies, Lady Levingston, who was ill : and she was herself so much indisposed that, instead of proceeding as she intended to Chesterfield on the 1st of February, she was obliged to stay at the house of Mr. Foljambe.^b On the 2nd or 3rd of February, however, she arrived at Tutbury, where both the earl and the countess were ready to receive her. Up to this time it is of course manifest that she cannot have stayed at Hardwick. We have however now seen her committed to the charge of the persons to whom Hardwick, that is the estate of Hardwick, and whatever buildings might then be upon it, at that time or soon after belonged. The Countess of Shrewsbury was a daughter of the house of Hardwick, the daughter of John Hardwick, who died in 1528 ; she was not his heir or coheir, for she had a brother, James Hardwick, who succeeded to the family inheritance, the exact date of whose death or the time when he disposed of his lands to his prosperous and wealthy sister being alike unknown. However there is this in favour of the opinion of Hardwick having been one of the places connected with the residence of the Queen of Scots in England, that it was, from the time when the Queen was first placed under the

^a *Hallamshire*, fol. 1819, p. 64.—These and other letters, the private and, as to some of them, the very confidential correspondence of Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, passed, by some means and at some unknown time, out of the archives of the Cavendish family. They lay for half a century buried in a mass of antiquarian collections made by a Yorkshire antiquary of the last century, John Wilson, of Bromhead, where they were discovered by me in 1806. The whole collection was sold by auction a few years ago.

^b This could not have been Walton, near Chesterfield, as might be supposed, that being then the chief house of the Foljambes, because Walton is beyond Chesterfield, as the Queen was then travelling. If it did not rather appear that she set out on her journey from Rotherham, the house intended would be Aldwark, one of the seats of the Foljambes, a short distance from Rotherham, but to the north. Junior branches of the family had at that period a house at Barlborough, and also Moor Hall, both not far out of what may have been the road on which she travelled ; but the precise line is not at present, I apprehend, determinable.

charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury, a place belonging either to the countess or her brother, and certainly, in the later years of the queen's residence with the earl, to the countess herself. And this is evidently the basis of the received opinion on this subject, falling in, as it does, with the natural desire to connect the place with a story of royal misfortune and national importance.

We left the Queen at Tutbury in Staffordshire, a castle which was a member of the Duchy of Lancaster. Between the 9th and the 18th of April, 1569, she was removed to a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, called Winfield Manor. This house was in Derbyshire, and not more than ten miles distant from Hardwick. She remained at Winfield till the 21st of September, and all the letters of hers which exist, written during that period, are dated at Winfield. The utmost that can be supposed in reference to the question before us is that she might possibly be allowed to make excursions on horseback to some distance from her prison, when Hardwick might be comprehended in the range. But there is every reason to believe that the restraint at this period was too rigid to allow of such distant excursions, the Queen having by this time become a centre of political and religious disaffection, and the deliverance of her from an unjust restraint an object of ambition to enterprising youth of the time. Several attempts were, we know, made to effect her release during this sojourn at Winfield. This of course would be met by increased vigilance in her keeper. But when there were indications of a movement in the North, Winfield was not deemed sufficiently secure, and she was carried back to Tutbury, from whence, during the rebellion of the two northern earls, she was taken, for still greater security, to Coventry. She was soon reconducted to Tutbury, where she remained till the end of May, 1570.

The severities which followed the suppression of the rebellion in the North had the effect of damping the spirits of the friends of the old religion, and extinguishing the hopes of any persons who looked to the Queen of Scots as one by whose agency, if at liberty, the ancient system might be restored. The country was become tranquil. There was therefore little opposition made to the request of Shrewsbury that he might not be confined to Tutbury, a place remote from the district in which his chief possessions and interest lay, but be permitted to remove with his charge to Chatsworth, where was a house, lately built by the countess, fit to receive them. The whole of this summer and autumn appears to have been passed at Chatsworth. It was here that she was engaged in a personal negotiation with two of Elizabeth's chief ministers. All the existing letters of the Queen written at this period have the date of Chatsworth, and there is no trace of her ever having left the place for a single night, much less of her having gone to Hardwick, which was above sixteen

miles distant. The last of the letters in Prince Labanoff's collection, written during this residence at Chatsworth, is dated on the 27th of November. On the next day she was removed to the Earl of Shrewsbury's castle at Sheffield.

This remove constitutes what is quite an era in the history of her captivity. Hitherto we have seen her remaining long in no one place, and in the correspondence between the ministers of Elizabeth and her keeper we may see that these frequent removes were the occasion of no small uneasiness, as being supposed to afford her the opportunity of making new acquaintance, and also as increasing the chances of escape. When Cecil was at Chatsworth, it had therefore been determined to change the system, and to fix upon some one house of the earl which should be the place of her perpetual abode. The house which afforded the best opportunities for secure keeping, and at which it was the most convenient for the earl to reside, was his castle of Sheffield, the centre of his great possessions in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Derby. This castle had been the head of the barony of Furnival, from whom the Talbots inherited the best of their ancient possessions. It had been re-edified in the reign of King Henry the Third, above three centuries before, under a licence "*kernellandi*." It was a place secure against any sudden surprise, and from which escape was hopeless. The Queen entered its walls on the 28th day of November, 1570, and this castle continued to be her residence during the whole remainder of the time in which she was in the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with such slight intermissions as I shall afterwards speak of, that is for about fourteen years.

Her train, which had originally consisted of fifty persons, was by this time reduced to thirty, with a few supernumeraries allowed by the earl. A guard of several persons was kept night and day. One of them was a remarkable person of those times, Richard Robinson, the author of a poem entitled *The Reward of Wickedness*, which was composed by him, as he informs us, during these night watches. The orders for the government of the Queen's household were extremely strict. There is a copy of them in the Cotton Manuscript Caligula C. III. The earl was instructed that his sovereign required of him that whenever the Queen of Scots took the air on horseback he should attend upon her in person, and that she should not be allowed to go more than one or two miles from the castle, except upon the moors, the wild and still unreclaimed country so well known to grouse shooters as the Yorkshire and Derbyshire Moors.

It is unnecessary to go in this part of the history into much detail, the object being only to bring before the Society the important fact, that at the time when the Queen first became resident in the castle of Sheffield there was more of system

and order introduced into the arrangements respecting her, that she was confined with greater strictness than before to some one place, and that, therefore, the probabilities become greatly reduced that she should have been, during the fourteen years which now succeed, a resident or even a visitor at Hardwick. Yet a few facts illustrative of the nature of her position while living in the old castle of Sheffield may be mentioned. For every remove permission had to be obtained from above. Elizabeth looked with extreme jealousy on the conduct of the earl and all about him. So slight a change as the removal of the Queen for a few days from the castle to his house in the adjacent park called Sheffield Manour or Sheffield Lodge, while her apartments were being purified, was noticed by Elizabeth as an infringement of the rules she had laid down. No person was allowed to have an interview with the Queen but by special permission, and this restriction extended even to the family of the earl, his son Lord Talbot, on one occasion, saying that he had himself not seen her for many years. When Lady Talbot lay in at the castle, Queen Elizabeth expressed her displeasure, as it might occasion resort of strangers. This is sufficient to shew the strictness with which she was confined. In one of her letters she says it was evidently the intention that it should be forgotten in the world that so wretched a being was in existence. And, accordingly, we find that almost every letter and paper in Prince Labanoff's collection, written during these fourteen years, has the date either of "Sheffield," "The Castle of Sheffield," or "Sheffield Manour," and that whatever communication was had with her by agents of Elizabeth, or by other persons who obtained permission of access, was, during those years, with slight exceptions, at Sheffield.

But her health gave way, and by the mediation of the French Ambassador she was permitted to visit the baths at Buxton, during several summers. But, when there, all other persons were ordered to depart. Her first visit was in August, 1573, and before she returned to the castle she was allowed to visit Chatsworth. Her next visit to Buxton was in May and June, 1577. In the summer of 1578, she was again at Chatsworth, and the visit was repeated in the summer of 1579, when she was also at Buxton. In 1580, the earl applied for leave to visit Chatsworth with his charge, and was refused; but in the July of that year the Queen was at Buxton. Again, in July, 1581, we find her at Chatsworth; in June, 1582, at Buxton, where also she appears to have been in July, 1584.

And these, I believe, as far as can be collected from the dates of her own letters, from any authentic contemporary memorials of her, from any allusions, prospective or retrospective, in any of her letters, from the correspondence of her keeper and his family, or from any notice of her in letters of the statesmen of her time, were her only

removes during the fourteen years in which she resided at Shrewsbury's castle at Sheffield, enjoying occasionally the purer air of the hill above, on which the house called the Manour stood. There is to this only one exception. In the summer of 1583 she was allowed to visit the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Worksop, seventeen miles from Sheffield. We have notice of Queen Elizabeth having expressed displeasure on hearing a report, which was untrue, that while at Worksop she had been allowed to hunt in Sherwood Forest; and Prince Labanoff has printed a letter written by her at Worksop in the September of that year. This was the only excursion of which any memorial is known, except those to Buxton and Chatsworth.

In the year 1584 the earl was relieved from his most irksome duty. The Queen was transferred to the care of Sir Ralph Sadler. In his company she departed from the castle of Sheffield on the 3rd of September, to return no more. Her first remove in the new custody was to Winfield. There the Earl of Shrewsbury took his leave of her on the 6th, and proceeded to London. They met not again, it is believed, till on a very solemn occasion in the hall of Fotheringhay.

And with her removal from the custody of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury must end all expectation of finding her at Hardwick. And all that is necessary to add is to complete the story of her removes, by stating, as briefly as possible, that she remained under strict surveillance at Winfield till the 13th of January, 1585, when passing through Derby she returned to her old abode at Tutbury. On the 24th of December she was taken to Chartley, and from thence, on the 25th of September, 1586, to Fotheringhay. There, on the 8th of February, 1587, she submitted to the last act of this long series of dreadful oppressions with the most admirable composure and devotion.

Reverting, then, now to the question more immediately before us, it is asked, What reason is there to suppose that she was ever at Hardwick as a resident, or even as a visitor? It must, I believe, be admitted that in all that is known respecting her from the written remains of her time there is nothing which can be construed into a recognition of her having been even a transient visitor at Hardwick; and yet the letters of the Queen herself are numerous, and perhaps there is no family of the time of whom so much of the correspondence remains as of the family of Talbot.^a Again, the strictness with which she was confined strengthens the improbability that she could have been ever at Hardwick.

^a It is very widely dispersed. The largest and finest portion is in the library of the College of Arms; some of it is at Lambeth; small portions in the British Museum; some among Johnston's papers at Campsall in Yorkshire; extensive copies by an early hand among Hopkinson's Collections, in the possession of Miss Currer. The Duke of Devonshire bought some early copies at the sale of Mr. Heber's MSS.; and Sir Thomas Phillipps has a few precious originals, which had fallen into the hands of Mr. Wilson.

In favour of the opinion there is, as far as I can at present perceive, absolutely nothing to be alleged except what may be called *the Tradition of the House*. The story has been told to every succession of visitors since first the custom began of visiting great houses as little museums and objects of curiosity; but even this, in respect of Hardwick, cannot be traced for much more than a century. Further, it must be a delusion, when visitors at Hardwick are told to regard themselves as pacing the rooms in which this singularly interesting person once lived, for it now remains to be added that there is every probability that the present house was not in existence during the life of the Queen of Scots, but was erected by the Countess of Shrewsbury after she became a widow by the death of the earl in 1590. The house seems itself to refute the tradition, for over the chimney-piece of the drawing-room is the date 1597, and the date 1599 is inscribed on the door of one of the apartments which is now peculiarly consecrated to the memory of this Queen.

Yet this has not prevented the tradition (if such it may be called) from finding its way into Tours and Guide-Books innumerable, and even into books of higher character. One example shall suffice. Mr. Horace Walpole informs us that,—“The palaces erected in the reign of Elizabeth by the memorable Countess of Shrewsbury, Elizabeth of Hardwick, are exactly in this style; that at Hardwick, *still preserved as it was furnished for the reception and imprisonment of the Queen of Scots*, is a curious picture of that age and style.” So much remains to be done in passing the critical ploughshare over the fields of English Archaeology.

To escape the difficulty which arises out of the date of the erection of the present mansion, and still to maintain for Hardwick a connection with the story of the Queen of Scots, recourse has been had to the supposition that not the present house, but the old house of Hardwick, still remaining, was the place in which some portion of the time of her residence, under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was passed. But against this supposition the argument arising on the authentic accounts of her restraints and removes presses as strongly as in the other case, and with this other ground of improbability, that the old house at Hardwick can hardly have been of sufficient extent to receive the queen and her suite, and also the persons whose duty it was to guard her. When the countess had erected the present house, she is reported to have said that she let the old house continue, “as her cradle beside her bed of state.” She might say so, as her father, John Hardwick, though a gentleman, and known to the Earl of Shrewsbury of his time, was a man of but a small estate, possessing very little more than the lands of Hardwick, which were only 400 acres, and able to give his daughters, including Elizabeth, only forty marks each to their portions.* His son and successor was an embarrassed man, as appears

* This appears by his will, and the inquisition after his death before the escheator for Nottingham and

by an urgent letter, still existing, to his sister, seconded by another from his mother, who had married Ralph Leech, the owner of Chatsworth, which was the first connection of the Hardwicks and Cavendishes with that place.^a The house can, therefore, have hardly been on a scale which admitted of queens being its inmates. The only circumstance that could give anything like probability to this opinion, would be if it could be shown that it was greatly enlarged by the countess after she had acquired it, when enriched by what she got from the families of Barley and Saint Loe, and by the acquisitions of Sir William Cavendish, which probably were saved to the family, when in imminent peril, by her able conduct; and there is, undoubtedly, reason to believe from its present appearance that the house owes something to her.^b

The Queen of Scots was in England exactly eighteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days. Much more than half this time was passed at Sheffield. Tutbury claims the largest portion of the remainder; then Chatsworth; and next follow, with nearly equal claims, Winfield, Chartley, Bolton, and Buxton. Smaller portions belong to Carlisle, Fotheringhay, Worksop, and Coventry.

In conclusion, we may just slightly notice the fortunes which have attended the houses of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury that are connected with the history of this princess. The castle of Sheffield was sleighted after the civil wars, and has been removed piece by piece, till nothing remains of it. Sheffield Manour still exists, a ruin of great extent. Worksop Manour was burnt down in 1761. Winfield

Derby. Hardwick was a mesne manor held of the Savages, as of their manor of Stainesby. The Heralds traced the family to the time of Henry the Sixth. The circumstance of the Earl of Shrewsbury, George, the fourth Earl, having been nominated a supervisor by John Hardwick in his will, is worthy of remark, as shewing that there was an hereditary acquaintance between the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury and Elizabeth Hardwick, whom he married. This acquaintance had been maintained in the time of his father, Earl Francis, who was one of the sponsors at the baptism of one of her children when she was the wife of Cavendish. See the funeral certificate of Sir William Cavendish.

^a She was originally Elizabeth Leke, of Hasland, not far from Hardwick. The Hardwicks, Lekes, Leeches, and Barleys, were neighbouring families of equal rank, mesne lords of their respective inheritances, the second layer in the population of Derbyshire..

^b She was building at Hardwick late in the time of the Queen of Scots' residence with the earl. See the letter in Lodge, vol. ii. p. 168, in which the remarkable expression occurs, "Let me hear how you, your charge and love doth, and commend me, I pray you." I have examined the clause in the original, and can bear testimony to the correctness of Mr. Lodge's reading, who has indeed performed his duties throughout the work with admirable exactness. But I cannot agree with him in placing this undated letter so early as 1577, and would refer it to the spring of 1580, when the earl, as we have seen, made application to be permitted to go to Chatsworth, and was refused. Nor do I think with Mr. Lysons that it affords the slightest presumption of the Queen having been expected at Hardwick. (*Magna Britannia*, Derbyshire, p. 191.)

Manour, a house of the reign of Henry the Sixth, was abandoned by the family to a steward; and in his hands, or those of his descendants, it has been reduced to the condition of a picturesque ruin. Tutbury is also in ruins. The house at Chatsworth which received the Queen has been removed, and replaced by the present magnificent fabric.

Hardwick, although it seems to have no claim to be regarded as one of the places in which the Queen was resident, may still serve as an example of what some of the houses were in which the Queen did reside. The castles were gloomier places, and of quite different construction. But those who are extremely solicitous about the maintenance of a strict historical verity in every thing connected with the remains of ancient art will be disposed to regret that too much countenance has been recently given to the supposed traditionary connection of the house with the history of the Scottish Queen. One of the first objects which now meets the eye on entering the door is a statue of Queen Mary; and a room not unlike the room at Holyrood House shewn as the scene of the death of Rizzio is fitted up so as to appear as if it were in the state in which it was occupied by the Queen as her bed chamber. This is wrong. The needle-work is, perhaps, hers; but there is, I believe, little doubt that it came from Chatsworth.

And Chatsworth, not Hardwick, ought to be the place in which honour is paid to the memory of this singularly interesting historical personage; Chatsworth, which was also the birth-place of another royal personage scarcely less interesting on account of her melancholy history, Lady Arbella Stuart, a near relation of the Queen of Scotland, and the granddaughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury.^a About the claims of Chatsworth there is no uncertainty.

^a This fact, which is new to the history of Chatsworth and to the life of Lady Arbella Stuart, I have seen recorded nowhere except in a small collection of pedigrees of English and Scottish nobility, written by some unknown hand at Venice about 1590. They are now bound up with other papers in Volume 588 of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts. The Countess of Lenox, her mother, died very young, and was buried at Sheffield on the 21st of January, 1581, as appears by the parish register.

XI.—*On the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Seal in the Reign of King John.*
By EDWARD FOSS, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 19th November, 1846.

SCARCELY two writers agree either in the names or the succession of the Lord Chancellors of the reign of King John. The earlier compilers of the list of those officers had to rely either on the historians, who were often mistaken, or on their own examination of original documents, which was necessarily limited and unsatisfactory. Since the publications issued by the Record Commission, and subsequently by royal authority, the means of arriving at correctness have been materially increased; and recent authors must be presumed to have used them. Much allowance is therefore to be made for the errors of the former, while the assertions of the latter become a fair subject of critical inquiry; the more especially in John's reign, most of the records of which have been published *in extenso*.

The principal writers who have treated of the Lord Chancellors of this period are:

Francis Thynne, whose "Chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories," in his continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, is a curious but somewhat meagre work;

John Philipot, "Summerset Herald," whose "Catalogue of the Chancellors of England, &c. 1636," is for the most part a servile copy of Thynne's collections, even to the errors which they contain;

Sir Henry Spelman, whose "Series Cancellariorum Angliæ," in his *Glossarium Archæiologicum*, is mainly extracted from Thynne's list;

Sir William Dugdale, in the "Chronica Series," appended to his "Origines Juridiciales, 1666;" and

Mr. Oldmixon, in his "Lives of all the Lord Chancellors, &c. by an impartial hand, 1708."

To these have been added, within the few last years, the "Catalogue of Lord Chancellors, Keepers of the Seal," &c. by Mr. Thomas Duffus Hardy, of whose

learning and industry the Record publications afford unquestionable evidence; and the able and interesting work of Lord Campbell recently published.

Leaving out the historians, upon whom, in respect of the precise position an individual held in the Court, implicit reliance cannot be placed, the only certain evidence of the names and succession of John's Chancellors is to be collected from the public records of his reign; and, inasmuch as there are among them few direct entries of the disposition of the Great Seal, similar to those which were introduced in subsequent reigns, such evidence can only be obtained by a careful examination and comparison of dates and facts in the various rolls which have come down to us. The Patent and Close Rolls contain important testimony, and incidental notices appear on the Rotuli de Finibus and other Rolls; but the principal dependance must be placed on the proofs which the Rotulus Chartarum affords.

The general impression has been, that when a charter is authenticated by the words "Data per manum A. B. or C. D." the person so subscribing was either a Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, or Vice-Chancellor. This mode of authentication has occasioned the discrepancy in the various lists hitherto published; some authors designating as Chancellors persons whom others call Keepers or Vice-Chancellors.

It will be the attempt of this paper to remove the confusion thus arising, by fixing with greater certainty the names and order of the Chancellors; and by considering the real character borne by those who have been thus called Keepers or Vice-Chancellors.

It is not to be presumed however that all the charters of this reign are subscribed in the manner above mentioned. They are attested in all varieties of forms; sometimes solely by the King himself, and sometimes by him in the presence of a witness or witnesses; sometimes by one witness alone, and sometimes by several; and sometimes with and sometimes without the before-mentioned additional authentication, commencing with the words "Data per manum."

Throughout the reign there are comparatively few charters which are so authenticated by the Chancellors themselves. That it was not their positive duty, even when present, to affix their names to this form, is proved by the fact, occurring in multitudinous instances, of a Chancellor being, *eo nomine*, one of the *witnesses*, when the formal authentication has been made by one of the so-called Keepers. In every case, however, where the name of a known Chancellor appears, his title is distinctly added, except in one instance, to be afterwards adverted to; while, on the contrary, with respect to those who have been denominated Keepers, in no one instance is there

any addition to their names, beyond the clerical dignity they happened to hold at the time.

The question then that first occurs is, What was the official character of those persons who thus authenticated the charters, to whose names the designation of Chancellor was not added; and whether, even if it be allowed that they were in some way connected with the Great Seal, they have been properly designated as Keepers or Vice-Chancellors?

In the previous reign of Richard I., when the King went to the Holy Land, he left one seal in England to be used by the Chancellor Longchamp, whom he had deputed, with others, to rule the kingdom in his absence; and he took another seal with him, under the care of an officer, who was called Vice-Chancellor. Roger Malus Catulus was one of those who held this office, and the seal was suspended round his neck when he was unfortunately drowned off the Isle of Cyprus. These officers authenticated the charters that were granted abroad, by adding their names to the words "*Data per manum;*" but when they did so they almost invariably appended the designation of "*Vice Cancellarius,*" or "*tunc agens vices Cancellarii nostri.*" The constant omission then of this title by the subscribers of the Charters of King John forms a strong presumption that they did not possess it.

Again, the fact already mentioned, that the Chancellor, as Chancellor, is often named as a witness to charters, the formal authentication of which is signed by one of the so-called Keepers, proves that such formal subscriber was not a Keeper appointed, as in Richard's reign, to act merely in the absence of the Chancellor.

In addition to this, there is the converse of the fact; many instances occurring in which one or other of these officers was a witness to charters authenticated by the Chancellor himself.

Moreover, as will subsequently appear, there were, at the same period of time, two or three and sometimes four individuals performing the same duty of authenticating the charters in this manner.

And, lastly, no document exists evidencing any appointment of Keeper or Vice-Chancellor, unless a single entry with regard to Ralph de Neville may be considered an exception.

It is scarcely too much to say that any one of these facts would be sufficient to ground a presumption that these officers were neither Keepers of the Seal nor Vice-Chancellors.

If then they were not Keepers nor Vice-Chancellors, what character did they really bear?

There is ample evidence to shew that all of them held situations about the Court,

with other official duties connected with the payment or receipt of the revenue or otherwise, and that some of them were in constant attendance on the king in his perpetual movements from place to place. They were, also, without exception, ecclesiastics, rewarded with benefices, and gradually promoted to various clerical dignities,—canonries, archdeaconries, deaneries, and sometimes bishopricks.

Now there were two classes of officers to whom this description would particularly apply, viz. The Clerks of the Treasury or Chamber of the Exchequer, and the Clerks of the Chancery.

The rolls of subsequent reigns prove that the Great Seal was frequently, if not usually, deposited in the Treasury of the Exchequer; of course under the care of its officers, who were answerable for its safe custody, and when it was required to be used would be in attendance for the purpose of producing it. The Clerks of the Chancery also were high officers, performing certain important functions, forming part of the state of the Chancellor; and when the office was vacant, the Great Seal was secured under the private seals of two or three of the principal among them. Some of them were no doubt in daily attendance on the Lord Chancellor, as is the case now with their representatives the present Masters in Chancery, relieving each other in turns, and at that time probably performing in succession the duty of affixing the formal authentication to the documents sealed in their presence.

A curious confirmation of the presumption that they were no more than officers in attendance on the Lord Chancellor occurs in two instances of charters in 2 John, authenticated in this form by the Chancellor, to which the *only* witnesses are Simon Archdeacon of Wells, John de Gray, Archdeacon of Gloucester, and John de Brancestre, Archdeacon of Worcester; ^a all three of whom are represented as Keepers at this very time, and were then authenticating charters in the same manner.

There is no single fact that tends to contravene the probability that these so-called Keepers or Vice-Chancellors were either officers of the Treasury of the Exchequer or Clerks of the Chancery; and, in pursuing the inquiry into the names of the Chancellors and their deputies, this presumption will appear more probable. Indeed, the dates of the attestation of the officers in question are in such regular succession, as almost to enable us to distinguish the order of their attendance.

All writers agree in making Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, the first Chancellor of the reign, and that he was appointed at or soon after the Coronation, which took place on May 27th, 1199. The first document to which his name appears in that character is dated June 6th, 1199.^b The period of his retirement is

^a Rot. Chart. 2 John, vol. i. p. 64.

^b Rymer's Fœd. New Ed. vol. i. p. 75.

variously stated. Philipot terminates his Chancellorship even in the first year, and names "Simon, or rather Hugh, Archdeacon of Wells," as the next Chancellor; and again names Hugh de Wells in the sixth year of the reign; conceiving these two "were all one person," and founding his introduction of their names on their being *witnesses to deeds*, meaning charters, granted by the King in those years.

In the first place the worthy "Summerset Herald" is mistaken in supposing that Simon and Hugh, Archdeacons of Wells were "all one person." The first was Simon Fitz-Robert, otherwise de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester:^a the second was Hugh de Wells, who succeeded him in the archdeaconry, and afterwards became Bishop of Lincoln. The charters referred to are authenticated in the form already noticed; the first by Simon, Archdeacon of Wells, and John de Gray, whom the author entirely omits; and the second by Hugh de Wells, without any addition to his name, he not then having any clerical dignity.^b

Dugdale also introduces Hugh de Wells as Chancellor in the sixth year of John, on the same authority; not adverting to numerous other charters attested in the same manner, which, if he were right in this instance, would equally make Hugh de Wells Chancellor in the second and fifth years, and probably in the third and fourth (the Charter Rolls of which are wanting) as well as in several subsequent years.

It is certain, however, that Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, continued Chancellor from his first appointment till the time of his death, July 13, 1205, 7 John. He is so styled in various documents during the whole period; the last charter he signed is dated June 23, 1205; and the next entry on the roll is a conclusive proof

^a Le Neve was evidently not aware that Simon Fitz-Robert, whom he introduces among the archdeacons of Wells, and Simon de Wells, Bishop of Chichester, were one and the same person. Godwin also, and Richardson his editor, in their account of the Bishop, omit all notice of the former name. There is no doubt, however, that they were identical. Two curious charters prove the name of the archdeacon to have been Simon filius Roberti. They are dated respectively the 7th and 22nd of February, 1201, and each of them grants him by that name, as Archdeacon of Wells, certain lands in Somersetshire, which had been estreated in consequence of the felony of Alice, the wife of *Robert de Wattelai*, in killing her husband, for which she was condemned and burnt. He afterwards became Provost of Beverley, and the fact that he was the Bishop of Chichester in question, appears from charters given under his hand, not only as Archdeacon of Wells and Provost of Beverley, (which he held together,) but immediately after his nomination as "elect of Chichester." Possibly he was the son of the above-named *Robert de Wattelai*; and if so, the assumption of the new name of Simon de Wells, from his archdeaconry, according to the clerical practice then very common, might have been influenced by the tragical events recorded in the grants.—Rot. Chart. 2 John, vol. i. pp. 86, 88.

^b Rot. Chart. 1 John, vol. i. p. 40, and 6 John, p. 139.

of the fact: "Hic devenit Cancellaria in manum domini Regis post mortem H. Arch. Cant."

During the earlier part of his tenure of the office his name frequently appears to the charters after the words "Data per manum;" but in the later years his authentication occurs but seldom and at long intervals. To the officers who so signed them when he did not, Mr. Hardy and Lord Campbell give the title of Keepers of the Seal, or Vice-Chancellors. They state them to be Simon Fitz-Robert, Archdeacon of Wells, and John de Gray, Archdeacon of Cleveland, jointly; John de Brancestre, Archdeacon of Worcester; Hugh Wallys, Bishop of Lincoln, (meaning Hugh de Wells, so called from the place of his birth); and Josceline de Wells, whom Lord Campbell by mistake calls a layman, he in fact afterwards becoming Bishop of Bath and Wells:—a goodly assemblage of Keepers during one Chancellorship of only six years' duration!

There is no doubt, however, that these five persons, whatever was the character of their office, performed the duty of authenticating the charters during Hubert's Chancellorship; and the following summary of their signatures will shew that there were no less than seven different modes in which these five deputies acted. From October, 1 John, to June, 2 John, the names of Simon, Archdeacon of Wells, and John de Gray, appear; in general jointly, but on some occasions within these months each of them signs alone. On the elevation of John de Gray to the Bishoprick of Norwich in 2 John, Simon de Wells continued to sign alone, till June, 6 John, when he was appointed Bishop of Chichester. *During the same period* John de Brancestre and Hugh de Wells, for a short time together, and each of them separately, and also Josceline de Wells, subscribed the charters in the same manner. There is one instance also in which John de Brancestre signed alone on the same day on which he had affixed his signature in conjunction with Hugh de Wells.

Thus, if these attestations are to be deemed proofs of their being Vice-Chancellors or Keepers, there would be at least three, if not four, enjoying that character at the same time.

The alternation of their attendance will be more strikingly apparent by taking two specific years of Hubert's Chancellorship, the 5th and 6th.

In 5 John the Chancellor only signed in March;

Simon Fitz-Robert, or de Wells, authenticated the charters in the manner described in every month, *except* July and August;

John de Brancestre in *July*, and also in part of May and June; and

Hugh de Wells in *August*, and also in parts of May, July, October, November, and December.

Again, in 6 John, the Chancellor did not sign at all ;
Simon Fitz-Robert signed in June only, being then consecrated bishop ;
Hugh de Wells, in every month except February and March ; and
Josceline de Wells in February and March, and also in April and May.

The question then may be confidently asked, Whether this looks as if these persons held the office of Keeper, with any control of the Seal, or as if they were official subordinate instruments of the Chancellor ?

To return, however, to the death of Archbishop Hubert, when the "Chancery" came into the King's hands : Lord Campbell states that "then the Great Seal remained some time in the custody of John de Brancestre ;" implying that he held it till the appointment of the new Chancellor, Walter de Gray : and Mr. Hardy's arrangement would lead to the same conclusion. The Charter Roll, however, does not support this view. It is true that John de Brancestre's name is attached to the charter next following the entry as to the death of the Archbishop, dated July 24, 1205 : but it is *to that charter alone* ; and he not only never afterwards signs another charter in that character, but the next two charters, dated on the 26th July, are authenticated by another officer. There is nothing to shew that he held it beyond the day on which he signed that single charter ; and if that attestation constitutes him a Keeper, the title would be more justly applicable to Hugh de Wells and Josceline de Wells, under whose hands all the other charters during the intervening months are given. The learned authors however have passed them over at this period, although they mentioned them as Keepers when performing the same duty under Hubert.

The fact is that the Great Seal remained in the King's hands during the whole of the period in question, and was no doubt given out to be used under his orders, as occasion required, by the customary officer of the court. A positive proof of this is recorded on the Patent Roll, where there is the entry of a quittance to Adam de Essex, a chaplain to the king, and a clerk in one of the Chancery offices,^a on his accounting for 87*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*, the proceeds of the Chancery, *while it was in the King's hands after the Archbishop's death*, viz. from Thursday next after the Feast of St. Mildred (July 13) to Saturday next after the Feast of St. Michael (September 29)

^a I conceive that Adam de Essex was perhaps the Clericus or Magister Scriptorii, or more probably the Scriptor Rotuli Cancellariæ, and kept the duplicate of the Great Roll, called the Chancellor's Roll, of which a specimen, that of 3 John, has been published by the Commissioners of Public Records. Under an entry in the Patent Roll of 6 John, p. 52, the following memorandum appears :

"Non est in Rotulo A. de Essex quia oblit' est."

7 John; ^a a period occupying the whole of the interval up to the appointment of Walter de Gray.

There are also two mandates addressed to this Adam de Essex, dated respectively 28th August and 12th September, directing him to pay certain monies "de exitibus Cancellariæ," shewing that these issues were then in the King's hands. The first of these mandates likewise pretty plainly proves that neither Hugh de Wells nor John de Brancestre were Keepers of the Seal, but simply clerks in the Chancery, then performing certain duties connected with it. The order is to pay "Archd. Well. et Wigorn. et cerariis de capella nostra [the Clerks of the Wax] duas marcas et 5 sol. pro jure suo de carta burgensium nostrorum de Rupella, et preterea eisdem 25s. pro jure suo de quinque partibus literarum patencium quas idem burgenses habuerunt." By this it is apparent that the two archdeacons were subordinate officers, a little perhaps above the Clerks of the Wax, with whom they were jointly entitled to a certain portion of the fees on letters patent. What the charter to the Burgesses of Rochelle was does not appear; but possibly some grant to them of the office, or of part of the fees arising from it.^b

There is no dispute as to the appointment of the next Chancellor, Walter de Gray, who purchased the office for life on October 2, 1205, 7 John, for the sum of 5000 marks: but there is considerable confusion in the accounts of the time when he resigned the office. Philipot is not sufficiently lucid on the point to render discussion available. Dugdale introduces Richard de Marisco as Chancellor in 14 John, on the authority of Matthew of Westminster, and makes him resign the Great Seal in the next year, quoting the Close and Patent Rolls, on both of which there is this entry:—"Nono die Octobris anno regni Domini Regis quinto decimo liberavit Magister Ricardus de Marisco, Archidiaconus Richmondiæ et Northumbriæ, Sigillum Domini Regis apud Osspring." Hardy, referring to these entries, inserts him only as Keeper; and afterwards properly introduces him as Chancellor in 16 John. In Lord Campbell's account there is some inadvertence. His lordship states him to be the successor of Walter de Gray, with the marginal date of 1212, which was 14 John, but referring in his note to Rot. Chart. 16 John, m. 7; adding that he twice held the office, meaning once in this, and once in the following reign; and that his first chancellorship ceased when Ralph de Neville was appointed, with a note introducing the above cited entries on the Patent and Close Rolls of 15 John, and another entry on them in the same year, subsequently noticed, relative to Ralph de Neville. His lordship does not again mention Richard de Marisco during

^a Rot. Pat. 8 John, vol. i. p. 70.

^b Rot. Claus. 7 John, vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

John's reign; he adds, however, that there is "no farther entry in the records on the subject [of the Great Seal] during the rest of this reign; but there is great reason to believe that it remained in the hands of Ralph de Neville." Thus, according to his lordship's account, it would appear that Richard de Marisco resigned the office in 15 John, being in contradiction to his own reference, which proves that he held it in 16 John. That reference however is a perfectly correct one, and at once overturns his lordship's assertion as to the silence of the records after the supposed appointment of Ralph de Neville in 15 John; and there are besides nearly one hundred entries afterwards shewing who continued to hold the seal till the last days of the King, and that that person was not Ralph de Neville.

To return, however, to Dugdale's introduction of Richard de Marisco as Chancellor in 14 John. He certainly did not attain to that dignity till two years afterwards. That he did attain to it at all will sufficiently account for the passage in Matthew of Westminster, the historians not being very precise about dates. The entry on the rolls that he delivered the Seal to the King on October 9, 1213, 15 John, has been too readily received as a proof that he was then Chancellor, and that Walter de Gray had previously resigned. This however was not the case. Walter de Gray was still Chancellor; but, being then about to proceed to Flanders on a temporary mission, he sent the Seal to the King by Richard de Marisco, who appears, by many entries on the Patent Roll,^a to have been a clerk of the Chamber of the Exchequer, which was the place where the Seal was usually deposited; and he no doubt was the officer responsible for its safe custody, and was naturally employed to deliver it to the King. A royal mandate dated the 10th of October, the very day after, is directed to the Sheriff of Kent, commanding him to provide a vessel for the voyage.^b Not only in that document, but in many subsequent Records, to as late a date as July 7, 16 John, 1214, Walter de Gray is invariably mentioned with the title of Chancellor.^c

Having thus disposed of Richard de Marisco for the present, we must next notice another claimant who is put forward, Ralph de Neville, afterwards Dean of Lichfield and Bishop of Chichester, to whom the seal was delivered on December 22, 1213, 15 John. But this claim is equally untenable. Mr. Hardy calls the King Keeper of the Seal from October 9th, when it was delivered to him at Ospringe, till this date: but his reference, which is merely the entry of that delivery,

^a Rot. Pat. vol. i. pp. 74, 81, 82, 83, 86, 91.

^b Rot. Claus. 15 John, vol. i. p. 156.

^c Ibid. pp. 161, 162, 168. Rot. Pat. vol. i. p. 105, 108, 109, 111.

contains no proof whatever of the fact ; and it will presently appear that there is no foundation for the assertion.

No doubt however can exist, that during Walter de Gray's absence abroad the office of Chancellor was conferred on another individual ; but this was not Ralph de Neville. The authority for introducing his name is thus quoted by Dugdale from Rot. Pat. 15 John, p. 1, m. 6. "Vicesimo secundo die Decembris liberatum fuit Sigillum apud Windlesoram Radulpho de Neville sub Domino Wintoniensi Episcopo deferendum." Mr. Hardy at this date inserts Ralph de Neville in his column of Keepers, *but with no Chancellor at the time* ; and in his note referring to the above passage he adds to the Bishop of Winchester's name the words, "who was appointed Custos of the Realm during the King's absence abroad ;" evidently intending to convey that Ralph de Neville held the Seal as Keeper under the Bishop as Custos or Chief Justiciary. Lord Campbell adopts the same interpretation, but avoids saying whether he was Chancellor or Keeper. These learned authors have however forgotten that the Bishop of Winchester was not appointed to the important station of Chief Justiciary till the following February ;^a and that, as the Seal was never placed under the control of that functionary, unless he was acting as regent in the King's absence, the reason they assign is not applicable to its delivery to Ralph de Neville on December 22, 1213. It is rather extraordinary also that each of them should have passed over the natural inference to be drawn from the expression used ; which would appear to be, that the person *under whom* the seal was to be held would be himself the Chancellor. Had they not done so, their industry would no doubt have enabled them to discover that such was actually the fact. The Rotulus de Finibus of 15 John, p. 507, 509, contains two records, dated November 21st and 24th, 1213, in which Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, is expressly distinguished by the title of Chancellor ; and, in addition to this positive evidence, all the charters between October and January, no less than eight in number, are given under his hand ; the first of them being dated October 31, 1213, and the last on January 3, 1214.^b To these attestations he does not add the title of Chancellor to his name, being the sole exception to the practice adverted to in a previous page.

The omission is remarkable, as occurring only in his case, and may perhaps have arisen from his dislike to parade a title which he was only holding for a short time during Walter de Gray's absence. But it is a more extraordinary circumstance, that, though others have been introduced solely on the ground of this mode of

^a Rot. Pat. 15 John, m. 4.

^b Rot. Chart. 15 John, pp. 195, 196.

authentication, the name of Peter de Rupibus should have been hitherto omitted in every list, either as a Chancellor or a Keeper. No doubt, however, can be felt, with this unquestionable evidence, that he was Chancellor during Walter de Gray's absence.

Walter de Gray on his return was reinstated in the office. He is denominated Chancellor in a record dated January 12, 1214,^a and the title is appended to his name in various documents up to July 7th.^b The entry on that day is a mandate to the Bishop of Winchester to admit him to full possession of the Bishoprick of Worcester, to which he had been elected. It was certainly, therefore, not till then, and probably not till after his consecration, which did not take place till October 5th, that he resigned the chancellorship. The latter date seems more probable, as his successor was not appointed till the 28th or 29th of October.

Ralph de Neville, however, was clearly not Chancellor till the following reign; and it is somewhat remarkable that, though we have seen the Seal was delivered to him to be held under the Bishop of Winchester, he never authenticated any charter while that prelate was Chancellor: although he afterwards did so under Walter de Gray, and for a short time under Richard de Marisco.

Before Walter de Gray's first resignation the charters were signed by Hugh de Wells till the end of 10 John; and by Richard de Marisco in 14 and 15 John.

The Charter Rolls of 11, 12, and 13 John, are wanting; but Hugh de Wells probably continued to act till he was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in December, 1209, 11 John; after which the duty, no doubt, devolved upon Richard de Marisco, as the Charter Roll of 14 John contains two charters of 12 and 13 John to which his name is so attached.

Walter de Gray's successor was Richard de Marisco; and the date of his appointment may be collected from the Charter Rolls. On October 28, 1214, 16 John, a charter is given under his hand simply as "*Magister Ricardus de Marisco*," as in all those he had previously attested; but to his signature to the next charter, dated on the next day, is added, for the first time, the designation of "*Cancellarius Domini Regis*." In every subsequent charter also, during the remainder of this reign, his name has the same description. It may be presumed therefore that he was appointed either on the 28th or the 29th of October, 1214. He remained in office till the end of the reign; the last record of which, so authenticated by him, is dated October 6, 1216,^c only a few days before the King's death. After that event he was continued Chancellor for several years under Henry III.

^a Rot. Claus. 15 John, vol. i. p. 160.

^b Ibid. 16 John, p. 168.

^c Rot. Pat. 18 John, vol. i. p. 198.

The succession of Chancellors, which has been thus suggested, fills the whole period of the reign, except the short vacancies occasioned by the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the second resignation of Walter de Gray. Of those names which have been hitherto comprehended in the list, it excludes Hugh de Wells and Ralph de Neville; it removes Richard de Marisco from the position usually assigned to him, and places him at the end of the reign; and it introduces a new Chancellor in Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, who has heretofore been entirely omitted.

The order in which the Chancellors succeeded each other will be more simply shewn in the following tabular view. A second Table is added, exhibiting the names and succession of those officers of the Treasury of the Exchequer, or Clerks of the Chancery, who authenticated the charters, when the Chancellors did not; together with a statement of the time during which each of them acted. A comparison of these dates will make it manifest that these persons were merely official instruments, exercising a formal duty at stated intervals during the same period of time, and that they were not, as they have been called, either Keepers of the Great Seal or Vice-Chancellors.

TABLE I.

LORD CHANCELLORS.

JOHN I.	1199, May	Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed soon after the Coronation. He held the office till his death on July 13, 1205. From this time it was vacant till
VII.	1205, Oct. 2	Walter de Gray, afterwards Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, purchased the place. He held it till he went on the King's business to Flanders, when
XV.	1213, October	Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, was temporarily appointed during Walter de Gray's absence.
	1214, Jan. 12	Walter de Gray resumed the office on his return, and continued to hold it, certainly till the 7th of July following, and probably till the 5th of October, the day of his consecration as Bishop of Worcester. After a short vacancy
XVI.	" Oct. 29	Richard de Marisco, Archdeacon of Richmond and Northumberland, afterwards Bishop of Durham, was appointed, and he continued in the office till the end of the reign.

TABLE II.

OFFICERS AUTHENTICATING THE CHARTERS ; BY SOME CALLED KEEPERS OR
VICE-CHANCELLORS.

JOHN I.	1199, October	Simon Fitz-Robert, or de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, afterwards Bishop of Chichester ; John de Gray, Archdeacon of Gloucester and Cleve-land, afterwards Bishop of Norwich ;	} together, and each of them separately, till June 1200, 2 John ; after which,
II.	1200, June	Simon Fitz-Robert, separately, till June 1204, 6 John. But during the same time, also	
	„ August	John de Brancestre, Archdeacon of Worcester ; and Hugh de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln ;	} together during August and September.
V.	1203, May	John de Brancestre, alone for three months.	
	„ June	Hugh de Wells, alone till April, 1209, 10 John, and probably later.	
VI.	1205, February	Josceline de Wells, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, till September 1205, 7 John.	
VII.	„ July 24	John de Brancestre signs one charter only.	
XII.	1210, March	Richard de Marisco, Archdeacon of Richmond and Northumberland ; afterwards Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Durham ; till October 1213, 15 John ; and once afterwards in October 28, 1214, 16 John.	
XV.	1213, Dec. 22	Ralph de Neville, afterwards Dean of Lichfield and Bishop of Chichester, till May, 1215, 16 John.	

The Charter Rolls of 3, 4, 11, 12, and 13 John, are wanting.

XII.—*Observations on the Use of the Sling, as a Warlike Weapon, among the Ancients : in a Letter from WALTER HAWKINS, Esq. F.S.A., addressed to Sir HENRY ELLIS, Secretary : accompanying a Present to the Society of a Leaden-pellet or Sling-bullet, found lodged in the Cyclopian Walls of Samé in Cephalonia.*

Read 26th November, 1846.



36, Finsbury Circus, 23rd November, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

As I believe that the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London does not include a specimen of the Leaden-pellet or Sling-bullet of the Greeks, I do myself the honour to forward you one ; of which, together with the accompanying drawing, I beg the Society's acceptance.

This specimen was found lodged in the Cyclopian walls of Samé in Cephalonia.

The determination of its date must depend on the degree of probability which may be attached to the supposition that it was deposited there by one of the Achæan slingers from Ægium, Patræ, and Dyme, of whom there were one hundred in the army with which the Roman consul, M. Fulvius, reduced that place, after a siege of four months, B. C. 189. (Livy, xxxviii. 29.)

It will be observed that in shape it very nearly resembles an almond. It appears to exhibit on one side the characters ΦΑΙΝΩ or ΦΑΙΝΕ, commencing at the smaller or taper end, and extending to the larger, where they are slightly defaced in consequence of the forcible compression of the pellet from impact.

If the word be ΦΑΙΝΟΥ, or in the Ionic dialect ΦΑΙΝΕΩ, it will mean "Appear" or "Show yourself." The other side seems to have been without character or device. The superficial appearance which it now presents is the natural result of a long exposure to the atmosphere, which has produced an incrustation of carbonate of lead or white lead.

In collecting materials for the accompanying paper on the use of this species of missile among the ancients, I have availed myself of the assistance of friends whose attention has been especially directed to Greek history.

The importance of missiles in the military operations of the ancients is not to be estimated by that to which they have attained in modern warfare. The issue of a battle in ordinary cases depended on the conflict between the ἐπλῆται or heavy-armed soldiers; yet the ψαλλοὶ or light troops, whose office it was to discharge stones, arrows, and darts, frequently rendered important service, whether as skirmishers, in driving the enemy from his battlements, in discomforting the wavering phalanx, or in dealing death against the fugitives. In this last capacity they constituted in some measure a substitute for cavalry, a description of troops in which the ancients were very deficient. But they afforded most effectual aid in rugged and mountainous places, where the regular troops, being unable to act, were destroyed, without the means of retaliating, by the slingers and archers on the surrounding heights. One cause of the undue depreciation of missile warfare amongst the Greeks, and of the disasters which its neglect entailed upon some of the finest armies, may be recognised in the pride of wealth or of valour which taught the citizen-soldier to regard the rank of the heavy-armed as the more honourable, whether on account of his more costly equipment, or of his more perilous post. The low estimation in which slingers were held is evinced by the fact that generals who wished to degrade or deteriorate a conquered people not unfrequently armed them with slings, and forbid them the use of any other weapon. This policy was adopted by Cyrus the Great (about B. C. 540) towards the Phrygians and Lydians. And Xenophon remarks that Cyrus considered the sling to be of all weapons the most dishonourable and servile; "For," he proceeds, "although slingers when combined with other forces are sometimes of the greatest service, yet not even a large body, if unsupported, could withstand the attack of a few men armed for close combat." The truth of this observation was evinced at the battle of Pharsalia, B. C. 48. Pompey's bow-men and slingers, of which description of troops there was a large number in his army, having been left exposed by the flight of the cavalry, were quickly cut to pieces by Cæsar's reserve. Again, Quintus

Curtius represents Alexander, before the battle of Gaugamela or Arbela, B. C. 331, as endeavouring to inspire his soldiers with contempt of their adversaries by reminding them that while some of them are armed with a javelin, others with a sling and stones, few are furnished with a full accoutrement. But, though such was the relative rank of slingers with respect to their comrades in arms, there were periods in which their importance in warfare was irresistibly forced upon the attention of the Greek generals and statesmen.

Our chief difficulty in tracing historically the use of the sling arises from the circumstance that under the name of "light troops" were comprehended several distinct classes of soldiers; the slingers, the bow-men, the javelin-men, and the stone-casters; and that the Greek historians more frequently use the general term than the specific denomination. We shall however, without professing to supply a complete history of the sling, be able to discover its chief epochs, and to collect accounts of some of the most important campaigns in which it was employed, together with some notices by ancient historians of its peculiar excellencies and deficiencies, as an engine of warfare.

The invention of the sling is attributed by Pliny to the Phœnicians, by Vegetius to the Baleares, (who were Phœnician colonists,) and by Strabo to the Ætolians. It was called in Greek *σφενδόνη*, and in Latin *funda*. It consisted of a thong of leather, a string of sinew, or a cord of twisted wool, hair, or hemp, of greatest width in the middle, where the stone or bullet rested; sometimes, however, a kind of cup was attached for the reception of the missile: of the two ends, the one which was to be held firmly in the hand usually terminated in a loop or handle. Slings varied in length according to circumstances, the shorter ones being used in the assault upon besieged towns, and the longer to gall an enemy from a distant eminence; for the projection of large stones they were constructed with two, three, or more cords. Cheapness and compactness were advantages offered by the sling over all other offensive weapons, and it often could be employed when other arms were unavailable (*positis hastis*). Virg. *Æn.* ix. 589. Stones or bullets could be projected from a sling to greater distance than either arrows from a bow, or javelins with the aid of a thong. The projectiles used in slings were in earlier times smooth pebbles, but afterwards leaden bullets; they were carried either in a bag (*πίρρα*, *marsupium*) hung over the shoulder, or in the folds of the outer dress.

Most of these particulars are admirably illustrated by the representations of slingers upon the Egyptian monuments (as engraved in Wilkinson's *Egypt*, vol. i. 316), and by those upon the columns of Trajan and Antonine. (See Montfaucon and Bartoli.)

Many of the nations of antiquity are said to have attained most wonderful skill in the use of this weapon. Thus, the Benjamites, mentioned in the Book of Judges, could "sling stones at an hair-breadth and not miss." But amongst the most celebrated were the inhabitants of the Balearic isles (now Majorca and Minorca), whose name is derived by Polybius from βάλλειν, "to cast." Of this people Diodorus Siculus says that "they can hurl far larger stones than any others, and with so great force that the missile might be supposed to be projected from a catapult; and yet so accurate is their aim that they rarely miss their mark. This extraordinary skill is acquired by constant practice in their boyhood; for a custom obtains among this people of fastening pieces of bread upon poles, and compelling their children to win their meal by striking it from a distance with a sling-stone." They usually carried with them three σφενδόνας of different lengths, to serve either as bands or as slings; one of these was bound round the head, the second round the loins, and the third was carried in the hand. Livy informs us that at the time of the second Punic war (which was terminated B. C. 201) the Balears bore no other arms but the sling; while in his own time, though it was still their chief weapon, it was not used exclusively. We learn from classical sources that the sling was in use amongst the Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Carduchi, Iberdes and Spaniards, Cirtæi and Numidians, Belgæ, Gauls, Greeks, and Romans. Of all the Greeks the most noted slingers were the Achæans, Acarnanians, Ætolians, and Rhodians. The fame of the Achæans was perpetuated in the proverbial expression Αχάϊκον βέλος, "an Achæan hit." Livy relates that the Achæan boys were wont to practise slinging with smooth pebbles on the sea shore; "their sling," he says, "was made, not like the Balearic, of a single thong, but of three strengthened with stitching, and thus they effectually provided against the slipping of the bullet; they ply their slings with a longer range, and with surer aim, and greater force than the Balears; they can hurl their missiles through small rings placed at a considerable distance, and hit not only the heads of the enemy, but any part of the face at which they choose to aim."

On the other hand Thucydides, four hundred years earlier, says, the Acarnanians had the reputation of being the most expert of all nations in this species of warfare. According to an ancient legend mentioned by Strabo, the Ætolians won their land from the original inhabitants through the issue in their favour of a single combat. Their own champion was armed with a sling (the use of which had been recently discovered among them), his adversary with a bow, and the longer range of the former weapon secured the victory to the Ætolian. The Athenians were at most

periods very deficient in this branch of military art, and suffered in consequence several severe checks and defeats. The chief application of the sling among the Greeks was of course as a military engine; it was however also used for the sake of exercise; and Plato in his *Laws* advocates its adoption not by men only but by women, as a means of invigorating the body. The sling was assigned as an attribute to Nemesis, by which was signified that Divine justice reaches the guilty even from afar.

The earliest historical notice of the sling is about the date B. C. 1406; it is found in the Book of Judges, ch. xx. 16, where it is related that in the army of the Benjamites were "seven hundred chosen men, left-handed, every one of whom could sling stones at an hair-breadth."

The next allusion is in the well-known account of the death of the Philistine champion Goliath by the sling-stone of David. Again, it is said of some of the warriors who "came to David to Ziklag," B. C. 1058, "they were armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left in hurling stones, and shooting arrows out of a bow, even of Saul's brethren of Benjamin." Amongst the weapons which King Uzziah provided for his army, B. C. 810, were "bows and slings to cast stones" (or, as it is rendered in the margin, "stones of slings.") See also II Kings, ch. iii. 25.

From these passages it appears that the slingers occupied a far more honourable position in the Israelite armies than in those of the Greeks and Romans; we also have an intimation of a practice prevalent among this people of accustoming themselves to the use of either hand in slinging, and there is perhaps no need of attaching any other meaning than this to the expression "left-handed," in the first passage. The value which the Israelites assigned to the sling as an engine of destruction, may also be estimated from the frequent use in the prophecies of the expression to "sling-out" a people, as a synonym for total extermination.

Of the two Homeric passages which bear upon our present subject, (Il. xiii. 599, and xiii. 716,) the word *σφενδόνη* (a sling) occurs only in the first. It is there used in conjunction with the expression *εὐστρόφον ὀδὸς αἰώτων* (a cord of twisted wool), which is again employed in line 716, without any explanatory adjunct. In the former passage Agenor is represented as bandaging the wounded arm of Helenus with a woollen *σφενδόνη*; and the Scholiast on this passage observes that the ancient slings were made of woollen cords. From the second passage we learn that Locrian slingers followed in the train of Ajax Oileus, and rendered service at the time of the attack on the ships by Hector and the Trojans. Their post in battle was in the

rear of the army, whence they projected their missiles in security, and sorely galled the enemy's phalanx. The supposed date of these events is about B. C. 1184, three hundred years anterior to that of the poem in which they are related. In later times, the light troops were not unfrequently attached as servants to the *hoplites*; they commenced the battle by hurling their missiles on the advancing foe, and then retreated through the ranks to the rear of their own army. Thus, in the first engagement of the Athenians before Syracuse, B. C. 415, the stone-casters, slingers, and bow-men on either side, made the first assault, and then the trumpeters sounded the charge, and the *hoplites* advanced to the combat. Sometimes, however, at particular junctures, the light troops were again brought forward to assail the enemy with greater effect from a nearer position.

The conference between the Greek ambassadors and Gelo of Syracuse, relative to their contemplated alliance against Persia, B. C. 480, affords a good opportunity of estimating the usual numerical proportion of slingers to the rest of the army. The Syracusan auxiliary was intended to be as complete in all its appointments as the wealth of that potent tyrant could render it. The proposed complements of the several departments are thus given by Herodotus; 20,000 *hoplites*, 2,000 horse, 2,000 bow-men, 2,000 slingers, and 2,000 light horsemen.

The policy of Cyrus, which we have described above, rendered the proportion of slingers in his armies much larger; thus, on his advance upon Babylon, he was accompanied, says Xenophon, by a great multitude of horse and bow-men, and javelin-men, and by slingers innumerable. Again, in the disastrous expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, B. C. 415, the proportion of bow-men and slingers was made much larger than usual, in accordance with the requirements of Nicias, who demanded that a large body of these troops should be provided to form a counterpoise against the enemy's superiority in cavalry. The armament, therefore, was composed of 5,100 *hoplites*, 480 bow-men, 700 Rhodian slingers, 120 Megarian light troops, and 30 horse.

Two years afterwards Demosthenes, when on his way to join Nicias with the second armament, stopped to reinforce his troops with slingers and javelin-men from the territory of Acarnania. Reverting to a somewhat earlier period, we read that in the year B. C. 429 the Lacedemonians, having invaded Acarnania under the command of Cnemus, were completely foiled and compelled to retreat before the noted slingers of that country. The value of light troops in mountainous localities is well illustrated by the account of the reduction of Sphacteria, B. C. 425, when the redoubtable Spartans were cut off in detail by the arrows, javelins, stones, and

slings of the enemy, without the opportunity of retaliating, or of reducing the contest to a pitched battle. Thucydides in detailing the circumstances of the calamitous expedition of Hippocrates into Bœotia, B. C. 424, relates that the Athenians were not at this period in the habit of including in their army any organised body of light troops, and in consequence were now totally unprovided with this description of soldiery; while on the other hand the Bœotian force was composed of 7,000 *hoplites*, 1,000 horse, 500 peltasts, and 10,000 light troops, which were stationed with the cavalry on the wings. Yet, after the defeat of the Athenians, and their retreat into Delium, the Bœotians sent for a reinforcement of javelin-men and slingers from the Malian Gulf, in the hope of speedily reducing the fortress by their aid, so great appears to have been the importance attached to missile warfare by this people.

Passing over other instances which might be alleged, we arrive now at the expedition of the Greeks in support of the pretensions of Cyrus the younger to the Persian throne. The general and historian of the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand, B. C. 401, relates that the Greeks suffered severely from the slingers in the army of Mithridates, while they themselves had no cavalry or slingers, and were unable to reach the enemy with their arrows and javelins. But Xenophon, having ascertained that there were in his army some Rhodians who understood the use of leaden sling-bullets, immediately organised a body of 200 men armed with these weapons. The employment of these Rhodians was attended with signal success; and they were able, says Xenophon, to project their missiles twice as far as the Persian slingers, who used large stones. Darius Codomannus in making his dispositions previous to the battle of Issus, B. C. 423, posted a force of 20,000 slingers and bow-men, with his cavalry, on the right wing, while in front of the whole army he placed 8,000 javelin-men and slingers. Hence it would seem that the policy of Cyrus was still pursued by the Persian Court.

At the same period we find mention of Acarnanian slingers in the army of Alexander. About B. C. 219, we read that Philip III. of Macedonia was supported by an auxiliary of 300 Achæan slingers; and we have already seen that the Romans had need of 100 slingers of the same nation to aid them in the reduction of Samé in Cephallenia, B. C. 189. It appears, therefore, that the Acarnanians and Achæans retained down to a late period their ancient celebrity as slingers.

The early notices of the sling which we have instanced have been chosen, not so much for their historial sequence, as for their importance in illustrating the mode in which this weapon was generally employed.

Towards the close of the fifth century before Christ, the use of sling-stones began to be superseded by that of leaden bullets, and from this period downwards the latter missiles are frequently mentioned both by Greek and Roman historians. But before we proceed to describe these bullets more minutely, we will adduce a few examples of the use of the sling from Roman history. Livy informs us that Hannibal, previously to his descent upon Italy, B. C. 219, provided for the safety of Africa by sending over 870 Balearic slingers; another body of light-armed Balears accompanied his own army, and 500 were left with Hasdrubal in Spain. Again, in B. C. 206, when Mago attempted to land upon the greater of the Balearic islands (Majorca), the inhabitants hurled their sling-stones in such numbers upon his ships that he was not able even to enter the harbour. Cæsar employed Balearic slingers with eminent success in the Gallic war, and on one occasion he routed the foe by the employment of sling-stones of a pound weight, and of bullets. When he invaded Britain, B. C. 55, he disposed his slingers and other light troops on the decks of his ships-of-war for the purpose of terrifying the Britons, and covering the landing of his troops.

In the year A. D. 16, Germanicus, by a skilful disposition of his slingers, obtained a victory over the Germans in a rugged and woody country, where a hand-to-hand engagement would probably have entailed a defeat. Again, when Corbulo was attacking one of the fortresses of Armenia; A. D. 59, he posted his slingers so as to gall the enemy at different points, and thus prevented their rendering succour to one another.

Slings were also used with remarkable success against elephants, which, terrified as much by the whizzing sound as by the actual blow, often turned upon their masters and committed great havoc. We might easily enlarge the number of our quotations, but enough have been already adduced to illustrate this portion of our subject.

We have before remarked, that towards the close of the fifth century plummets or leaden bullets began to supersede the ancient sling-stones. The name given to these missiles by the Greeks was *μολύβδιδες*, *μολύβδαινα*, or *σφαῖραι μολύβδιναι*, "leaden balls," and by the Romans *glandes*, "acorns." This latter name was derived from their shape, which very nearly resembles that of the acorn, the olive, or the almond, and was calculated to experience a comparatively slight resistance from the atmosphere. Stores of these pellets or sling-bullets were kept in the arsenals for future use: sometimes, however, the metal was fused and bullets cast in the camp when an engagement was already impending, as was the case in Cæsar's African war, B. C. 46. The bullets were generally ornamented with some device,

such as a thunderbolt, a star, or an arrow-head, or with characters, as the word ΦAINE , "Appear;" $\Delta\text{E}\Xi\text{AI}$, "Take this;" $\text{BACIAE}\Omega(\text{C})$, "The King's;" $\Lambda\text{H}\Gamma\text{E}$, "Desist." Sometimes, also, we find on bullets the names of the generals, as for instance, KAEONIKOY , "Cleonicus'," $\text{KAAI}\Sigma\text{TRATOY}$, "Calistratus'"; and again, the names of Philip and Perdiccas, or those again of the contending nations, or merely a monogram or single letter, of which, after the lapse of so many years, we cannot now hope to obtain a solution. The characters appear generally to have been in relief, and to have read from the smaller end to the larger, where they are often defaced in consequence of the collision of the bullet with some hard object.

Sling-bullets sometimes weighed as much as an Attic pound, though the usual weights of the extant specimens are between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. Specimens have been found on the plains of Marathon, in Cephallenia, Ithaca, and Corcyra, at Athens, and in the channel of the Ilissus. There was another use to which these leaden projectiles were applied (at any rate in later times), which we have not yet mentioned; namely, the communication of warning or of intelligence, as for instance by secret friends in the enemy's camp. Thus, when Sylla laid siege to Athens, and the city was at length reduced to the last stage of famine, a secret friend within the walls informed the Roman general that on the following night Archelaus (the General of Mithridates) intended to introduce some provisions from the Piræus. This information was inscribed on a sling-bullet, which Appian calls $\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$, (an oval body, whether of stone or lead); and Sylla was thus enabled to intercept both the supplies and those who had charge of them. They were similarly employed on several distinct occasions during Cæsar's war against Cnæius Pompeius in Spain. At a subsequent period these missiles, as well as the soldiers who projected them, seem to have acquired the nic-name of "Martiobarbuli," a word which has been derived from *barbus*, "a barbel," and said to mean the dainty fare or tit-bits of Mars.

A favourite notion of the Roman poets, and one that must be recorded not as a mere poetical extravagance, but rather as a somewhat hyperbolical expression of a matured opinion, was that the bullet was heated and almost liquified by its friction with the air. Thus Virgil, in the 9th *Æneid*, line 589,

"Stridentem fundam positis Mezentius armis,
Ipse ter adductâ circum caput egit habenâ;
Et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo
Diffidit."

Which Dryden translates :

“ Him when he spy'd from far, the Tuscan King
Laid by the lance, and took him to the sling,
Thrice whirl'd the thong around his head, and threw
The heated lead, half-melted as it flew,” &c.

Again, Lucretius instances the “melting” of the sling-bullet in support of the assertion that all things are heated by motion.—Book vi. 177.

“ Ut omnia motu
Percafacta vides ardescere : plumbea vero
Glans etiam longo cursu volvunda liquescit.”

And Ovid. *Metam.* ii. 727,

“ Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacet, volat illud, et incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.”

And lastly Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 513,

“ Saxa volant spatioque solutæ
Aeris, et calido liquefactæ pondere glandes.”

Specimens of sling-bullets with Roman characters are far more scarce than those with the Greek letters. The largest number have been found at Florence, where (as is conjectured) there was formerly a Roman arsenal. Amongst the devices in Roman characters may be mentioned the following: *Feri*, “Strike;” *Fugitivi peritis*, “Ye perish in your flight;” *Ital. et Gall.* “The Italians and the Gauls.” And among the ruins of Eryx, to the eastward of Trapani, (the ancient Drepanum,) many leaden bullets for slings are found, some of which are inscribed with imprecations. (See Captain Smyth’s “*Sicily and its Islands*,” page 242.) We may instance one of these inscriptions, which is translated: “Your heart for Cerberus.” Many of the ancient sling-bullets which are still preserved are incrustated with carbonate of lead, from the natural effects of long exposure to the atmosphere, as appears by the specimen presented, and sometimes with yellow oxide of lead or litharge, where they have been submitted to the more direct action of the sun’s rays.

With the mention of a few peculiar applications of the sling, we will conclude our historical sketch of the use of this weapon amongst the ancients. Pellets of a kind of porcelain or earthenware, and moulded like sling-bullets, were sometimes used; they were discharged when red hot. Quintus Cicero, Cæsar’s Lieutenant in

Gaul, employed these formidable missiles against the Nervii, B. C. 57. A new species of sling was employed by Perseus, King of Macedonia, against the Romans, B. C. 171. It is called *cestrosphendone* by Polybius and Livy, and was constructed to project a kind of dart (*cestrum*) of the length of half an ell. It contributed much to the discomfiture of the Romans at Sycurium in Thessaly. Vegetius describes a species of sling in use in his time (A. D. 3), which is more familiar to us as a weapon of the middle ages; it is the *fustibulus* or "staff-sling," and is described by that author as consisting of a staff of four feet in length, to which was attached a sling of leather. It was wielded with both hands. But stones were hurled not only from slings, but also with the naked hand. The armies of the ancients, especially those of the Greeks, frequently included large numbers of stone-throwers, *λίθοβόλοι* or *πετροβόλοι*. And in Homer we constantly read of great execution being done by the *χερμάδια* or large stones thus projected. Again, as the advancement of the arts introduced new weapons, engines were employed for the projection of stones and darts. The slingers (*σφενδαίνεται*, *funditores*) must be distinguished from the stone-throwers on the one hand, and on the other from the engine-men, (*ἄσεται*, *balistarii*), who by aid of the balista (in Greek *πετροβόλος*) threw stones of half a hundred weight, a whole hundred weight, and even three hundred weight.

We now pass to mediæval and modern times.

The sling has often been assigned to the ancient Britons; but there appears to be no adequate foundation for this supposition. The Saxons, however, were celebrated for their skill in the use of this weapon; and the Anglo-Norman army seems always to have included an organised body of slingers; but the use of the sling gradually became obsolete, though it was retained for a long time as a means of amusement and exercise. We have however evidence of its employment in war as late as the end of the fourteenth century, in the ballad entitled "A Tale of King Edward and the Shepherd;" and at the commencement of the fifteenth century, in the following passage from a poem, called "Knyghthode and Batayle," quoted by Strutt in his "Sports and Pastimes."

" Use eek the cast of stone, with sling or honde
It falleth ofte, yf other shot there none is,
Men harneysed in steel may not withstonde
The multitude and mighty cast of stonys;
And stonys in effect are every where,
And slynges are not noyous for to bear."

The box in which, for the sake of protection, the pellet now submitted to the Society has been inclosed, is constructed of the wood of the redoubtable *Téméraire*. Some few particulars respecting this vessel have been engraved, and a copy has been placed in the lid of the box.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

My dear Sir Henry,

With much respect, yours very sincerely,

WALTER HAWKINS.

XIII.—*Remarks on Matilda, Queen of William the Conqueror, and her Daughter Gundrada.* By W. H. BLAAUW, Esq., M.A.

Read 3rd December, 1846.

THE Observations of Thomas Stapleton, Esq. F.S.A., in No. 9 of the *Archæological Journal*, purporting to be “in Disproof of the pretended Marriage of William de Warren with a daughter of the Conqueror,” contain so much curious matter relating to the early locations in Normandy of some families afterwards belonging to English history, that the reader may have failed to notice how little of such disproof there really is in the numerous extracts from *Chronicles* and *MSS.*, however interesting, brought forward by that able antiquary.

The hypothesis of this gentleman is, that Queen Matilda was the divorced wife of one Gerbodo, and the mother of three children, Gherbod, Frederic, and Gundrada, previous to her marriage with William, then Duke of Normandy; but of such former marriage, divorce, or issue of Matilda, the evidence he has offered affords no proof, direct or indirect, while the contrary of this hypothesis has the support of all the best authorities on the subject.

Mr. Stapleton states, (p. 20,) “In that year (1053) according to the *Chronicle of Tours*, William, Duke of Normandy, married Matilda, the divorced wife of Gerbodo, the mother of the children named above.”

If any one has understood from this statement, which appears so decisive, that the *Chronicle of Tours* warrants any more than the mere fact of her marriage with William, he will find on referring to it that there is not one word there of Matilda having previously been a wife or mother, nor any mention at all of Gerbodo, either as husband or son. Under the year 1053 there is in fact nothing relating to this matter; but what the chronicler does say is under 1056 (*anno Henrici Imperatoris 17^o. et Henrici Regis 26^o*); and there, so far from sanctioning Mr. Stapleton's statement, Matilda is twice spoken of as a damsel (*puella*). The whole passage may be rendered as follows:

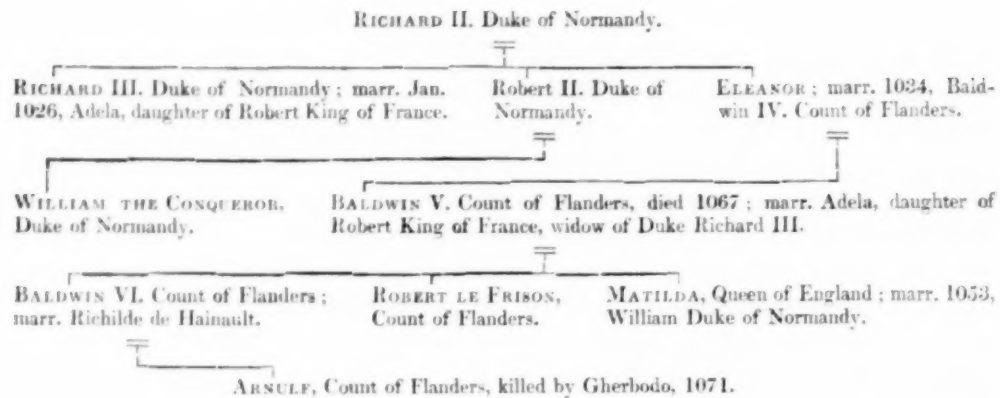
“Then William Duke of Normandy married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, in this manner :—After she had been frequently asked by her father about accepting a husband, and William of Normandy had been above all others extolled to her by her father, who had for a long time brought him up, she answered, that she would never receive a bastard for her husband. On hearing which, Duke William, with a few companions, hastens secretly to Bruges, where the damsel was dwelling, and as she was returning from church, he beats and chastises her with his fists, heels, and spurs, and so, mounting his horse, goes back to his own country with his friends. After which deed the damsel lies down on her bed grieving, and her father, coming to her, questions and inquires of her again about receiving a husband, when she in answer says, that she would never have any husband but William Duke of Normandy, which accordingly took place.”^a Chr. Turon. p. 348. Rec. des Hist. Fr. t. xi.

Before quitting the Chronicle of Tours, another passage, not often adverted to, may be extracted, as throwing light upon the Conqueror's imputed legitimacy.

“Dux vero Robertus nato dicto Gulielmo in isto eodem anno matrem pueri quam defloravit duxit in uxorem.” Chr. Turon. in Martene, Ampliss. Collect. tom. 5, col. 1000 b. See also Ingulf, 6, 19, and W. Malms. l. 3.

The cause of William's marriage with Matilda being prohibited by the Council of Rheims in October 1049 will be readily explained by a glance at their pedigree, where it will be seen that, putting aside the doubtful descent from Eleanor of Normandy, (Baldwin IV. having in fact been married previously,) Matilda's mother Adela stood in the relation of aunt to William, as widow of his father's elder brother, an affinity quite near enough to account for, if not to justify, the interference of the Church.

^a “Tunc Gulielmus Dux Normanniæ Mathildem, filiam Balduini, Comitis Flandriæ, duxit in uxorem, in hunc modum : cum ipsa a patre suo de sponso recipiendo sæpius rogaretur, eique Gulielmus Normanniæ a patre suo, qui eum longo tempore nutrierat, præ aliis laudaretur, respondit, nunquam nothum recipere se maritum. Quo audito Gulielmus Dux clam apud Brugis, ubi puella morabatur, cum paucis accelerat, eamque regredientem ab ecclesia pugnīs, calcibus, calcaribus verberat et castigat, sicque ascenso equo cum suis in patriam remeat. Quo facto puella dolens ad lectum decubat, ad quam pater veniens, illam de sponso recipiendo interrogat et requirit, quæ respondens dicit, se nunquam habere maritum nisi Gulielmum Ducem Normanniæ, quod et factum est.” Chr. Turon.



This previous marriage of Adela has been often overlooked by historians, both Norman and English, but is proved by the Act of Espousal,^a dated January 1026, settling Coutances and other places for her dowry, as given by D'Achery, t. iii. p. 390. Richard III. died in February 1028; and, as Adela was then very young, the marriage had probably not been consummated, but the Church would consider it nevertheless as a valid bar to William's marriage. Indeed, the Canons of the Council of Rheims, held by Leo IX. seem to have in view this objection to the marriage, though not expressly so stated. Mansi, t. xix. p. 742.

"Canon XI. Ne quis incestuosæ conjunctioni se copularet."

"Canon XII. Ne quis legitima uxore derelicta aliam duceret."

On the authority of these two canons, the Counts Engelrai and Eustace and Hugh de Braine were immediately excommunicated, and Count Tetbald summoned to take back his wife, at the same time as the prohibition was published against William's marriage with Matilda. It would appear indeed that Baldwin V. was subsequently excommunicated by the Pope^b for disregarding this prohibition as to Matilda's

^a "Ego Richardus Normannorum Dux accipio te Dominam Adelam in conjugem legalis desponsationis annulo, mihi in carnis unitate jungendam, non voluptatis exercendæ causa, sed generandæ, in obsequium Christi prout ipse disposuerit, prolis gratiâ, quod ut obtineam votis omnibus exopto, divinitate propitiâ.

"Concedo ergo jure dotali de rebus proprietatis meæ civitatem quæ appellatur Constantia, cum comitatu, &c.

"Hæc omnia tibi habenda sub nomine et lege dotis subnixa adstipulatione de meis rebus transfundo, ut juxta nobilitatis tuæ lineam dotata indissolubili mihi jungaris amore conjugii et gaudeas nostræ consors donationis iis rebus suo jure tibi bene concessis, cujus cessionis dotalitio, ut sibi convenientem firmitatis teneat vigorem, manu propria subscripsi, addita auctoritate mei nominis. Ego Richardus hoc dotalitium fieri jussi et confirmo, datum mense Januario, Anno Incarnationis Domini Milesimo vigesimo sexto, Indictione ix."

^b "Post Pentecostam Papa Coloniam venit cum ipso Imperatore, qui expeditionem contra Godefridum

marriage, and was not absolved until 1057, at the Council of Cologne, by Victor II.

All the Norman chroniclers, without exception, refer either to affinity or consanguinity as having caused the delay of Matilda's marriage with William, but not one has dropped the slightest hint of any previous husband or child, nor consequently of any divorce.

William of Jumieges, an excellent contemporary witness, says, "because he had joined to him in wedlock his own relation (*cognatam suam*) he consulted the Roman Pope upon this matter by envoys."^a

William of Poitiers, a Norman soldier, who had accompanied Duke William in his wars, before he became a priest, and his chaplain, describes the joyous entry into Rouen of Matilda as a fresh bride, without any allusion to her having ever left her home previously. Her mother Adela having retired in the latter years of her widowhood to the convent of her own foundation, the sanctity of the mother is thus brought to testify to the purity of the daughter. "Her holy and prudent mother had nourished in her daughter that which should outweigh manifold the endowments of her father."^b

The Chronicle of Bec, quoted by Mr. Stapleton, refers again to "the very near carnal affinity," which brought all Normandy under an interdict. The monk of Bec can scarcely be supposed ignorant of the true cause of this penalty, and indeed he writes like an eye-witness. D'Achery alludes to a life of the Conqueror by Lanfranc, and inquires in his preface for the MS. This Chronicle of Bec may possibly have been written by his direction. On Lanfranc, then a monk at Bec, preparing to obey his sentence of exile for speaking against the duke's marriage, the chronicler reports that, "There was given to him, for want of a better, a horse with three legs, the fourth being useless, and one servant. On his road at his departure he meets the duke and salutes his lord, while the horse at every step of the approach kept nodding his head to the ground." The duke could not long resist the comedy of the scene, when Lanfranc petitioned him for a better horse to assist his own banishment. Exclaiming with a laugh, "What culprit ever asks for

Lotharensium Ducem et Balduinum Flandriæ Ducem a Papa excommunicatos parabat." *Miræi Annales Belgici*. Mansi, t. xix. 842.

^a "Dum a quibusdam religiosis sæpius redargueretur eò quod cognatam suam sibi in matrimonio copulasset, missis legatis Romanum Papam super hæc re consuluit."

^b "Marchio hic (Balduinus) fascibus ac titulis longè amplior quam strictim sit explicabile, natam suam nobis acceptissimam Dominam in Pontivo ipse præsentavit, soceris generoque dignè adductam. Enutrierat autem prudens et sancta mater in filia quod muneribus paternis multuplò præponderaret. Hujus sponsæ civitas Rothomagi vocabat jucundans." p. 80.

boons from an angry judge?" he soon became reconciled, and dispatched him to obtain the dispensation for the marriage from Pope Nicholas, "because the duke would on no account give up the damsel (*puellam*) whom he had married."^a It is said (Mansi, t. xix. p. 867) that the Normans were absolved in 1059 from their excommunication, and that the dispensation for the marriage was granted in 1063, accompanied by the condition that the duke and his wife should each in penance found a monastery, as was so nobly fulfilled by them at Caen.

In Neustria Pia there is a similar statement: "Since then by that marriage William had contracted an affinity, or rather had acted in opposition to affinity, at length the pious prince, repenting the deed, sent to the Pope. (p. 625.)"^b

Alberic, the monk of Trois Fontaines, in the diocese of Chalons, agrees in the same story: "Because there was consanguinity between William and his wife Matilda, for the expiation of the deed, he built the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen; and she founded the nunnery of the Trinity."^c

Robert Wace, a prebendary of Bayeux, in the time of Henry II. does not drop a hint about any previous marriage or divorce requiring dispensation, but, like the earlier chroniclers, alleges relationship.

"Li Ducs por satisfaction
Et que Dex leur fache pardon,
Et que l'Apostoile consente
Que tenir puisse sa parente," &c.

In the very full Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, written by Benoit, a native of Normandy, at the desire of Henry II., there are some similar passages relating to

^a "Quia melior non habebatur, tripes equus quarto pede inutili illi tribuitur et unus famulus. Protinus quâ ille discedebat Duci obviâs venienti appropinquans, equo per singulos passus caput ad terram submittente, Dominum salutât. Innocentiâ quidem conscius, si locus dicendi daretur, non diffidebat causâ. Dux primo vultum avertit, sed divina agente clementia, mox miserando respexit, et nutu benevolentia aditum loquendi concedit. Tunc Lanfrancus decenti joco ait, 'Tuo jussu provinciâ tuâ discedo pedes, hoc inutili occupatus quadrupede: vel ut jussioni tuâ parere queam da mihi equum meliorem.' Cui Dux subridendo, 'Quis,' inquit, 'ab offenso judice infecto illati criminis negotio munera exposcit?' Ex pervetusto Codice MS. Chron. Bec. cap. iii. in Vita Lanfranci.

^b "Cum ergo ex eo matrimonio affinitatem contraxisset, seu potius contra affinitatem egisset, Dux Gulielmus a nonnullis est accusatus, quod Ecclesiam sic impune fregisset, nec tale sponsalium fauste sibi cessurum nisi a sede Apostolicâ opportune provideretur, annuit tandem pius Princeps et facti ponitens ad summum Pontificem misit." Neustria Pia, p. 625.

^c "1068. Quia inter Regem Angliâ Gulielmum et ejus uxorem Mathildem fuerat consanguinitas, pro hujus facti expiatione ipse ædificavit," &c. Rec. des Hist. Franc. t. xi. p. 361.

the "jeune pucele" Matilda, as being a near cousin to William, which may be quoted, as being less known, owing to the MS. Harl. 1717 having been but recently published by the French Government. 3 t. 4to. Paris, 1836.

" Cist out une fille trop bele,
Maheut out non *jeune pucele*,
Sage et de bel contement,
E de mult bien afaitement." v. 35001.

(Mangers.) " Nama le duc ne ne l'out cher,
Ainz dit que lui et sa moillier,
La fille au Conte Baudouin
Erent eissi *prochain cosin*,
Que ja ne sereit fait sofrance,
Molt en voleit la dessevrance." v. 35081.

" La bone Duchesse Mahent
Kar dame n'ama son seignor
Nule au siecle de maire amor." v. 38042.

" Sa femme ama de grant amor
Li Dux et ele son Seignor;
Molt fur duce lor compaignée,
Sainte et leaus tote lor vie;
Mais par le prochain parenté
Dont ils erent estrait e né
Cosin, ce restraît li escriz;
Furent maintefeiz contrediz
E essayer a departir;
E quant ne vouldrent plus soffrir,
Si quistrent pais e covenance:
Si lor enjoist en pechaance
L'Apostole que a lor vies
Estorassent deux abeies." v. 35143.

" Eissi i sunt les abeies
Riches beles et bien servies.
S'en mariage eurent mesprison,
Bien en durent avoir pardon,
Si orent il, s'est qui l'entende,
Kar mult en furent riche amende." v. 35171.

In the Chronique Rimée de Philippe de Mouskes, lately published by the Belgian Government, is a full account of Duke William's courtship of Matilda.

The chronicler was Bishop of Tournay from 1274 to 1283, and appears to have been a native of Ghent.

" Lors se volt li dus marier,
 Pour ses amis emparenter
 Et pour soi mesmes enforcier.
 Si avoit oi anonchier
 Que li Quens de Flandres avoit
 Une fille qui moult savoit,
 Et moult estoit bieie et vallans,
 Sage courtoise et bien parlans." v. 16902.

To the first offer of marriage her answer is thus given :—

" La demoiselle vint avant,
 Si leur respondi maintenant,
 ' J'aim mious estre nonne velée
 Que jou soie à bastart donnée.' " v. 16932.

" Quant li dus sot la verité
 S'en ot al cuer ire et viuté.
 Tout droit à Lille vint i jour
 U la *puciele* ert à soujour.
 E la mere i fu entresait
 Et li quens i tenoit i plait.
 Li dus al perron descendi
 Et sa gens aluee l'atendi.
 La demoiselle ert en la sale,
 Ki n'iert mie laide ne pale.
 Li dus, ki qu'en evist bon grés,
 S'en vint tot amont les degrés.
 La demoiselle, quant le voit,
 Od sa mere encontre venoit.
 Li dus par les traices le prist,
 Ainc qu'autre raison li desist.
 Si l'a jus à ses pies gietée
 Et as esporons deboutée,
 Et de puins et de piés batue,
 Si que poi faut que il n'el tue.
 Et de ses puses emboées,
 Qui grandes estoient et lées
 Et del tai d'ivier cunchiées,
 Le defoula plus de vii. fiés.
 Qu'aïnc pour sa mere n'el laissa.

Lors descendi, si remonta,
De la vile s'en est issus,
Qu'ainc de rien n'i fu esperdus.
Boins cevaus orent, si s'en vont." v. 16942.

On the Count of Flanders, her father, afterwards repeating the offer of William's marriage, the chronicler continues:—

" Et quant vous avoir le vorés
Je ferai tant que vous l'aures.
' Oil, sire, (dist la *puciele*
Ki, moult est avenans et biele)
J'el prendrois ore s'il voloit
Quar jou sai bien que moult valoit
Li dus, ki çaiens me vint battre." v. 17344.

(Le duc.) " A Lille vint à la mescine
Qui moult estoit vallans et fine,
Et si li demanda le voir
Pour qu'ore le voloit avoir,
E la *puciele*, a respondu,
' Sire, g'i ai moult entendu,
Pour çou que vous si hardis fustes
Ne qui vous si haut cuer eustes,
Qu'en la maison mon pere mesme
Fesistes de moi laiditesme,
Et non pour quant me laidengastes
Et puis tous séurs en alastes.
Et si vous trop preus me fusiés,
Jà si haut penset n'eussiés.
Et pour çou si vous voil-je avoir
Plus que pour trestout votre avoir.
Or ne vous caut de l'escondit,
Que jou vos fis, ne del mésdit,
Quar g'en ai mon cuer entredit.
' Ciertes biel buer l'aves dit,
(Dist le dus) car de Normandie
Seres dame, que c'on men die." v. 17342.

The same concurrent testimony as to the reason which impeded the marriage is found in the contemporary William of Malmesbury, and in the later Norman writers, Le Megissier, De Bras, Lafrenaye, &c.^a There is no trace of any previous husband

^a " Mahoud estoit fille de la veuve du Duc Richard III. oncle de Guillaume le Batard. L'empement

in the *Annales Belgici*, the *Stemmata Principum Belgii*, or other antiquarian works of Miræus or Sanderus, or in the *Belgic Archives*, of which catalogues have been lately published.

On these uniform authorities we may then reject the "pretended marriage" of Matilda with Gherbodo, while, on the other hand, the idea of Matilda having had illegitimate children is utterly precluded both by her station and character, being, in the words of William of Malmesbury, "the woman in our time an especial mirror of prudence, the perfection of modesty."^a And, since William de Warenne terms Matilda in his Charter to Lewes Priory "the mother of his wife" Gundrada, the only inference left is that William the Conqueror was Gundrada's father.

Warenne does not indeed in his Charter so designate King William, as he might have done; but, as that document was written under the reign of William Rufus, he preferred to distinguish the first King William from the second, as him "who first brought me into England, and by whose licence I brought over the monks;" a description more apposite to the purpose of the Charter, and not requiring more details of family pedigree at a time when the single marriage of Queen Matilda with William must have been so notorious to the world, that it was quite superfluous to state expressly who was the father of her children. Gundrada was probably so named in compliment to Matilda's own French extraction, one of the daughters of Pepin, second son of Charlemagne, having borne that name.^b Anselme, t. ii. p. 48.

In accordance with the fact of William and Matilda having been the parents of Gundrada, they are both seen testifying their affection for her in authentic documents, making grants in aid of her newly founded Priory at Lewes. Carleton was the gift of Matilda; while the Conqueror in his interesting Charter, still extant, (Vespas. F. 111. fol. i.) signed with the cross by his own hand, and certified by the three princes his sons, and by William de Warenne, says: "I give Walton for the sake of my own soul and that of my wife Queen Matilda, and of my sons and successors, and for the soul of William de Warenne and of his wife Gondrada, my daughter, and of their heirs."

A close and repeated examination of this MS. by Weston Styleman Walford, Esq. and

qui étoit entre eux étoit celui d'affinité, attendu que ils ne demanderent dispense de leur parenté qu'après la consommation, et le pape en leur accordant leur imposa pour pénitence," &c. Père Anselme, t. i. p. 471.

^a "Matilda femina nostro tempore singulare prudentiæ speculum, pudoris culmen." W. Malms.

^b A similar masculine name is found, Gunfridus, Dean of St. Omer in 1016, Gunfridus, Abbot of Clermare. Gall. Christ. t. iii. p. 480-525. And in Domesday we find Gunfridus de Cioches and Willelmus Peverel holding lands at Hardingestorp in Northamptonshire, "dono Regis ut dicunt." W. Peverel has been supposed by some to have been a natural son of the Conqueror.

myself, has furnished very sufficient proof that the words of the original should be read thus: "Pro anima Gulielmi de Warennæ et uxoris sue Gonderade filie mee et heredum suorum," not "pro me et heredibus meis," as substituted by Mr. Stapleton (p. 2) for the words "filie mee et heredum suorum." The phrase "for me and my heirs" is not admissible, both because these words were of unusual occurrence in Royal Charters at that period, and also because they would be out of their proper place, if referring to the distant word "grant," or mere tautology, if repeating the care of the Conqueror's soul, while all mention of the founder's heirs would thus be altogether omitted. The original MS. is on vellum, 7 inches by 5½ inches, and has been so doubled up, that several words occurring in the fold have been much injured and nearly effaced. At one of these places occurred the words in question. The space, (which was occupied, as I maintain, by the words "filie mee,") and the faint traces of the letters which remain, would require the "pro," suggested by Mr. Stapleton, to have been written at length; while in every other instance, and it occurs repeatedly in this charter, the common abbreviation, a peculiar form of "p," is invariably used for it. Again, though no letter after "d" is seen in "heredum," yet it certainly was not followed by the characters used in every other instance to denote "ibus," but by the mark employed on several occasions to signify an absent "m" over a space which would be fairly occupied by "u." The next word undoubtedly begins with a very tall "s," and ends with "r," having a dash through it, the usual abbreviation of "rum," while the two intervening letters may very well have been "uo," to complete "heredū suoꝝ". Above the space which Mr. Stapleton would occupy with "pro me," are written in a hand of Sir R. Cotton's time the words "filie mee," obviously not with a view of falsifying the charter, but of preserving evidence of the faded letters, and, until the contrary is shewn, these words, which appear required by the context, may be reasonably inferred to be correct.

These minute details relative to the few disputed words of this undoubted original could not be avoided, and it may not be irrelevant to add that some inaccuracies occur in Mr. Stapleton's copy, where the words are more clear than any of those in dispute, such as "sita" for "situm," "nostram" for "in Norfole," "ac" for "ad;" while, on the other hand, Mr. Stapleton has been the first to correct the errors in the names of the signatures, as given by the editors of Dugdale and Rymer, and has rightly introduced Thomas, Archbishop of York, instead of "ingard nep," and Richard of Tonebridge, instead of "Michael de Tona."

Though the authority of the Lewes monks, by whom Gundrada is described as the Conqueror's daughter, throughout their Chartulary of 1444, is not decisive, yet

it seems too much to assume that their incidental evidence is "utterly unworthy of attention." They had no motive at that period to falsify the fact of their founder's parentage, a century after all the male line of Warennes was extinct, and after the castle of Lewes had been deserted by the Lords of Arundel.

No two chroniclers agree in the lists of the Conqueror's daughters, and the omission of Gundrada is only one of several instances of females of similar rank being forgotten or left thus unrecorded. Even William of Malmsbury, though living in the times, says, in his account of the King's daughters, after mentioning Cecilia, Constantia, and Adala, "The names of two others have escaped my memory." ^a

Another lady of royal and noble kindred, Gunilda, a sister of King Harold, has been thus entirely omitted by all chroniclers, though she held lands at the time of Domesday, long after her flight from the invading Normans to Denmark and Flanders, where she died 1087, and lay forgotten at Bruges, until her coffin was accidentally discovered in 1786. *Archæol.* vol. xxv. p. 399.

Of King William's other daughter, Matilda, also, not one chronicler makes any mention, and yet Matilda, "whose existence we learn from the Precatory Roll of 1113 alone," according to Mr. Stapleton, appears indisputably in Domesday. "Goisfredus, the Treasurer (*camerarius*) of the King's daughter, holds of the King Heche (in Hampshire): Odo of Winchester claims it; but Goisfredus holds it of the King for service rendered to Matilda his daughter." ^b The mention of this daughter did not escape the notice of Sir Henry Ellis, the learned author of "The General Introduction to Domesday." See vol. i. p. 322.

William of Poitou (p. 202) mentions "Goisfredus Rotronis Moritonie Comitibus filius" as being present at the battle of Hastings, and the same noble person may have held office under the King's daughter. Goisfredus had also many possessions in Sussex, in one instance at Angemare, (*Angmering*,) where Warrene also held land.

There is an entry relating to the adjoining lands of Garinges, (*Goring*,) which is remarkable as introducing the name of Gundrada, though it is scarcely possible that Warrene's wife could have been the same person who held land in

^a "Duarum aliarum nomina exciderunt." W. Malms.

^b "Goisfredus filie Regis camerarius tenet de Rege Heche. Als tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi: tunc se defendebat pro una hida, modo pro iii. virgatis. Terra est iii. carucata. In dominio sunt iia. et ii. villani cum i. carucata. Ibi ecclesia et xi. servi. Tempore Regis Edwardi valuebat c. solidos, et post et modo iii. libras. Hanc hidam calumniavit Odo de Wincestrie, dicens se illam habuisse in vadimonio pro x. libris de Als concessione Regis Willelmi, et ideo injuste eam perdidit. Goisfredus vero tenet eam de Rege pro servitio quod fecit Mathildi ejus filie." Domesday, tom. i. fol. 49.

Sussex under Edward the Confessor: "The same Robert holds Garinges of the Earl. Gondrede held it of King Edward."^a

Unless, therefore, we are to suppose Gundrada and Matilda to be the Dano-Norman and Flemish names of the same individual, we have here two daughters of the Conqueror unrecorded by chroniclers, and another daughter will presently be noticed, who is not anywhere named, although promised in marriage before the Conquest, but who may not improbably be identical with one of the elder children about to be mentioned.

As Matilda's marriage to William appears to have occurred in 1053, the following dates for the birth of their children may be conveniently assumed as probable.

1054. Mathilda.

1055. Agatha.

1056. Robert.

1057. Richard.

1058. William.

1059. Cecilia, Abbess at Caen.

1060. Constantia, married to the Count of Britany.

1061. Gundrada, married to William de Warenne.

1064. Adeliza.

1066. Adela, married to the Count de Blois.

1069. Henry.

If the inquirer into Gundrada's parentage should be tempted by the omission of her name to discredit the Charter of her husband, William de Warenne, which names her as the daughter of the Queen, and to suppose her to have been the illegitimate daughter of the Conqueror, it may be observed that Matilda was of a disposition too jealous to admit of her ever after patronising her or making grants to her foundation. This is sufficiently proved by the story, though discredited by William of Malmesbury, of the Queen's cruelty to a priest's daughter, whom she suspected to be her rival.^b

The only writer who assigns a different origin to Gundrada is Orderic, who calls her "the sister of Gherbodo," Earl of Chester. On matters of the royal pedigree, however, the acknowledged errors of Orderic are so numerous as to deprive him of much authority, and he wrote his chronicle when a very old man, with a confused

^a "Idem Robertus tenet de Comite Garinges. Gondrede tenuit de Rege Edwardo: tunc se defendebat," &c. Domesday, tom. i. fol. 25.

^b "Non desunt qui ganniant eum cœlibatui antiquo renunciassse, cum regia potestas accrevisset, volutatum cum cujusdam presbyteri filia quam per satellitem succiso poplite Matildis sustulerit." W. Malm. p. 110.

memory of such details, at a distance from the court; but even Orderic does not name Gherbodo as Matilda's son. His four lists of her daughters are all discordant, and he represents one of them, though a mere child at Harold's death, as so desperately in love with him as her betrothed husband that her knees grew callous with her constant prayers. Orderic is also clearly in error in making Gundrada survive her husband, and in stating the grant of the Earldom of Surrey to have proceeded from the Conqueror instead of William Rufus.

It is possible that Orderic's statement arose from a confused recollection of intended marriages between members of the ducal family of Normandy and that of Heribert, a name of similar aspirated sound to Gherbod. Heribert, who inherited Le Mans from his father Hugo, having been treacherously seized in the middle of a conference, into which he had been allured by Fulk of Anjou, was cast into prison and tortured for a long time. He had voluntarily offered to hold his possessions on military tenure under the Duke of Normandy, and William promised him *his daughter* in marriage; but, before she was of sufficient age, Heribert was dead, leaving the Duke his heir. The Duke defended his new inheritance from Heribert's uncle, Walter Count of Mantes, and sent for Margherita, Heribert's sister, at his own expense from Germany (ex partibus Teutonum) in order to educate her carefully, and marry her to his son Robert; but her death before she was grown up again prevented an alliance between the two families.^a There seems in this story, as related by William de Poitiers, a close resemblance to that of Orderic's Gherbod, each patronised by William, and afterwards falling into the hands of domestic enemies. Heribert's death however in fact preceded the Conquest; but the two intended marriages, either of which would have made Gundrada Heribert's sister-in-law, may have easily occasioned Orderic's mistake.

That the family of Gherbod was an important one, may fairly be concluded from the numerous persons of that name found in history; Gherbould, Bishop of Liege, for twenty-five years, who died in 808 (Moreri); Heribertus Archbishop of Cologne in 1002 (Gall. Christ. 3. 752); Heribert, "illustrious by birth and morals," Abbot of the same monastery of St. Bertin in 1065, of which Gherbod signs himself the avoué (*i. e.* protector or patron) in charters from 1026 to 1067, quoted by Mr. Stapleton; this Abbot lived till 1081 (Gall. Chr. 3. 494). The Countess Adela,

^a "Ducis ei filia petita atque pacta est, quæ priusquam pervenisset ad nubiles annos, morbo ipse interiit. Germanam Heriberti ex partibus Teutonum suæ magnificentiae maximis expensis adductam, nato suo conjugare decrevit nondum matura conjugio, sed ipsam non longe ante diem quo mortali sponso jungeretur, hominibus abstulit Virginis filius. Sepelivit eam Fiscannense cœnobium." W. Pictav. p. 85. A similar account is given by Orderic under the year 1064, Robert being named as the intended husband.

Matilda's mother, was present in 1052, at the discovery of the body of St. Bertin at St. Wlmar (Samer) near Boulogne.

Chester was given to Gherbod, probably soon after the Conquest, as Orderic, under the year 1070, describes the unfortunate termination of the earl's power there; but in Domesday a Gherbodo appears as undertenant, holding lands in Yorkshire, at Scroton, Friston, and Ristun, (vol. i. pp. 316, 317, 324,) some years after the earl had finally left England.

There is indeed one person of the name (variously called Gerbaldo, Gerboldo, Gerbado) who was accidentally connected with the history of Queen Matilda, having in 1072 slain her nephew Arnulf, the young Count of Flanders, at the instigation of her brother Robert; but the story, remarkable for its illustration of strong remorse and papal penance, does not hint at any consanguinity. "Soon afterwards, struck with remorse at such injustice and rashness, Gerbodo went to Rome, and offered the hands with which he had slain his lord to Pope Gregory VII. to be cut off in penance of his crime. Gregory publicly intrusted the execution of this mutilation to the chief of his cooks, and in secret instructed him, if, when he raised the knife, Gherbodo should in any way flinch and move his hands, that he should then at once strike them off, but if he should persist in his patient endurance, that he should instantly check the blow and spare them. Gerbodo did not shrink from the blow, and the deputed executioner reported him accordingly safe to the Pope. This Gerbodo was afterwards an eminent monk under Hugh, Abbot of Clugny." *Hist. Andag. Monast. S. Huberti, Recueil des Hist. Franc. t. xi.*

It is very probable that this penitent rebel may have been of the same family^a as the avoué of St. Bertin (1026 to 1067) and the brothers Arnulf and Gerbodo (1087) mentioned in Mr. Stapleton's Charters; but there is nothing to warrant "the inference suggested by an excellent historian that Matilda had Gerbodo the avoué of St. Bertin for her first husband," &c. p. 20. Indeed, even Orderic, if he is the excellent historian thus referred to, however inaccurate, nowhere suggests any such inference.

When we read in Domesday of "Frederi, brother of William," or, as Mr. Stapleton interprets it, brother-in-law, there is nothing inconsistent with these remarks. There appears to have been a free man, Fredregis,^b who held lands in Norfolk, at

^a There was a later Gerbodo, who was Abbot of Samer in 1192—1210. *D'Achery, Gall. Chr. t. x. 1593.*

^b "In Scernenga tenuit Fredregis liber homo tempore Regis Edwardi i. carucatam terræ et dimidium; tunc valebat xx. solidos, modo xxx. de feudo Fedrici." *Domesday, tom. i. fol. 165. Terra Willelmi de Braose,*

Seernenga (Sherringham) before the Conquest, and he was probably the same as the Fedricus, Fredricus, Fredericus, who was displaced by William de Warenne, perhaps on his death, without issue, before Domesday; but, even accepting this "William" to be thus identified with William de Warenne, yet Frederi might as reasonably be considered his brother-in-law, by marrying an unrecorded sister of William, as be supposed by a violent straining of history to be the issue, together with Gundrada and Gherbodo, of Matilda, by a first marriage, disproved by all evidence.

With respect to the origin of the Norman family of Warenne, it may be worth notice that the great Abbey of Clugny, in the diocese of Macon, counted among its earliest benefactors Guarinus or Warinus, Count of Macon and Chalons.^a The county was created in the life-time of Varin, by Louis le Débonnaire, and in 825, under the episcopacy of Hildebald; this count, with his wife Albana, exchanged other lands for Clugny, "for their common advantage and profit;" and in 892, the Countess Ava gave the vill of Clugny to her brother Count William, "fratri meo et glorioso Comiti"; and about the year 910, William and his wife Ingelburga founded the monastery of Clugny under the first abbot, Berno.^b

William de Warenne, the founder of the first Cluniac Priory in England, relates in his Charter,^c that when travelling with his wife Gundrada on his way to Rome, "we passed through many monasteries which are in France and Burgundy, for the sake of prayer; and when we came to Burgundy, we learnt that we could not safely pass through on account of the war then going on between the Pope and the Emperor; and then we turned aside to the monastery of Clugny, a great and holy abbey, in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and again petitioned St. Peter; and because we found there such great sanctity and religion and charity and honour towards us in the good prior and all the holy convent, who received us into

f. 28. "Ipse Willelmus tenet Erington, Fredri tenuit de Rege Edwardo et potuit ire quo voluit." Hundret de Grene Hoga. "Est Gamera tenet Elvolt, unus liber homo, tempore Regis Edwardi, et fuit liberata Frederio pro terra ad perficiendum manerium." Tom. ii. fol. 170.

^a "Guarinum seu Warinum Comitem Matisconensem et Cabilonensem." "Vir illustris Warinus Comes pro communi utilitate et compendio." "Gulielmus dono Dei Comes et Dux." Gall. Christ. t. iv. The county of Chalons was merged in the Duchy of Burgundy in 1237.

^b "Gall. Christ. t. iv. p. 1044. Biblioth. Cluniac. i.

^c "Et tunc divertimus ad Cluniacam monasterium, magnam et sanctam Abbatiam in honore Sancti Petri, et ibi adoravimus et requisivimus Sanctum Petrum. Et quia invenimus sanctitatem et religionem et caritatem tam magnam ibi, et honorem erga nos a bono Priore et a toto sancto conventu qui receperunt nos in societatem et fraternitatem suam, incepimus habere amorem et devotionem erga illum ordinem et illam domum super omnes alias domos quas videramus." Monast. v. p. 12. In the MS. Tib. A. x. is the entry "1077, Lanzo Prior Sancti Pancratii venit in Angliam."

their fellowship and brotherhood, we began to have a love and devotion towards that order and that house beyond all other houses which we had seen." This was probably in 1076, when the quarrel between Henry IV. and Pope Hildebrand began, and Hugh, the same Abbot of Clugny who had been present at the Council of Rheims, which prohibited Matilda's marriage, was at the time in active correspondence with both potentates, endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Without insisting on the point, it is possible that Warenne's marked preference of the Cluniacs arose from his descent from their founder, Guarinus; and his subsequent gift of the Lewes priory to Clugny seems to denote the same local attachment. His deed of gift has not been previously published in England, but is expressly referred to in his Charter as having been sent to Clugny, when, after the accession of William Rufus, his Lewes Prior, Lanzo, and his Convent, pointed out to him that the first Charter, confirming what he had given them, was at Clugny, and that they had no muniment of their own.^a This document alone exhibits Gundrada as a witness, and also proves *her* to have been the original proprietor of Falmer, which was given to the convent. The underwritten confirmation of the Conqueror testifies to his zeal in exciting his nobles to endow monasteries. At the time of this first grant, there were only intended to be twelve monks, which accounts for the smallness of the quantity of land given.

"Let it be known to all faithful people that I, William de Warenne, and Gondreda my wife, for the redemption of our souls, by the advice and assent of our Lord William King of England, have given to God and his Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Clugny, where the Lord Hugh presides as Abbot, the church of S. Pancras in the same land of the English, with all those things which belong to it, and the land of two ploughs in my own (demesne) with the villains appertaining to it, and of one plough in the land which is called Falemel, where there are three plough-lands of my own, with all things pertaining to it, in the same manner as my wife before-named held it.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I, William, by the Grace of God, King of the English, moved by divine inspiration for the safety of my kingdom, and for the salvation of my soul, at the request also and earnest entreaty of William de Warenne and his wife Gondreda, do confirm the above-written grant, which they make to the Holy Apostles of God, Peter and Paul, at Clugny, signed with our seal, and by my

^a "Donavimus in principio omnia quæ eis promisimus, et confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum quod misimus Abbati Cluniacensi et conventui." "Monstraverunt mihi Dominus Lanzo Prior et Monachi mei quod apud Cluniacum esset confirmatio mea quam feceram de rebus quas illis dederam in principio, et quod ipsi inde nullum munimentum haberent." Monast. v. p. 12.

royal authority I corroborate it that it may remain firm and unshaken for ever. I make this grant in such manner, as that I may have the same privilege in it as I have in other charitable endowments, which my nobles (have established) with my assent, and that I may have in this endowment what I have in others.^a

" Signum Willelmi Regis Anglorum.	S. Rogeri de Mortuo Mari.
S. A. ^b Reginæ Anglorum.	S. Galfridi de Calvo Monte.
S. Willelmi filii Regis Comitis.	S. Radulphi dapiferi.
S. Roberti de Bellomonte.	S. Willelmi de Warennæ.
S. Henrici de Bellomonte.	S. Mauricii Cancii ^c Cancellarii.
S. Roberti Gifradi.	S. Gundredæ uxoris Willelmi de Warena."

A few remarks may be made on this charter and its witnesses. The privilege reserved to the King himself was in all probability a corody, or right of nominating a person to be boarded, lodged, and clothed in and at the expense of the monastery. Such privileges were usual where the King was the founder; and kings seem to have often been considered the founders of monasteries, when they had in any way contributed to the endowment of them. That the crown had a corody in Lewes Priory appears from Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevium*, 233. This privilege has some resemblance to that granted about this time by the same Hugh, Abbot of Clugny, to Alphonso, King of Spain, in return for his gifts. "We decree a daily offering in the refectory, at the high table, as if he was about to sit down and feast with us,

^a "Notum sit omnibus fidelibus quod ego Willelmus de Warennæ et Gondreda uxor mea, pro redemptione animarum nostrarum, consilio et assensu Domini nostri Regis Angliæ Guillelmi, donavimus Deo et Sanctis Apostolis ejus Petro et Paulo ad locum Cluniacum, ubi præest Dominus Hugo Abbas, in eadem Anglorum terrâ, ecclesiam Sancti Pancratii cum his quæ ad eam pertinent, et terram duarum carrucarum in proprio (dominio?) cum villanis ad eam pertinentibus, et unius in terra quæ nuncupatur Falemelam, ubi sunt tres carruæ propriæ, cum his quæ ad eam pertinent, sicut tenebat eam supradicta uxor mea.

^b In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Ego Guillelmus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum, inspiratione divina compunctus, pro incolumitate regni mei, et salute animæ meæ, rogantibus etiam et obnixèulantibus Willelmo de Warennæ et uxore ejus Gondreda, hanc inscriptam donationem, quam faciunt Sanctis Apostolis Dei Petro et Paulo ad locum Cluniacum, sigillo nostro signatam confirmo, et regali auctoritate corroboro, ut in perpetuum firma et inconcussa permanent; hanc donationem ita concedo, ut habeam eandem donationem in ea quam habeo in ceteris elemosynis, quas mei Procures meo nutu . . . (construxerunt) et hoc in ista elemosyna habeam quod habeo in aliis. Signum Willelmi Regis, &c. as above. *Biblioth. Cluniac.* p. 532.

^c The initial A. of the Queen's name must be a mistake either of the copyist from the MS. or of the printer for M.

^d Cancii was the contraction for Cancellarii, and the latter word was probably added by some transcriber to explain it.

which may always be given to some poor christian for the salvation of his soul, both in life and death." ^a The unusual designation of "earl" to the signature of the King's son William, though not given him in Domesday, ^b is however also added to his name among the witnesses to the Charter of St. Stephen at Caen, 1077, as it also is to that of his elder brother Robert (Neust. Pia, p. 648); and again occurs subjoined to their names in the Charter of St. Trinity, at Caen, in 1082, but not to Henry, who was then only thirteen years of age, and is simply called "son of the King." (Neust. Pia, p. 658.) William de Warenne appears also as a witness to both those charters. William and Henry de Bellomonte seem to have been the sons of the Roger de Bellomonte, with whom, when left as Regent in Normandy with Queen Matilda, she has been wrongly accused by some writers of intriguing. Roger, the son of Henry de Bellomonte, created Earl of Warwick, married Gundrada, the granddaughter of the wife of William de Warenne. Robert Gifard joined the expedition under Robert Guiscard, in 1084. (Orderic, 641.) Roger de Mortimer was apparently the founder of the Abbey of St. Victor in 1074, according to Mr. Stapleton. (p. 15.) Geoffrey de Calvo Monte or Calmont was witness to a deed in the Chartulary of the Trinity at Caen. (Ib. p. 26.) Ralph dapifer appears in Domesday as a tenant in capite. Maurice was appointed Chancellor in 1067, according to Dugdale, (Orig. Jurid.) and was re-appointed 4 cal. Jan. 1077, (Spelman,) so that the date of the Charter must have been very near that time. He became Bishop of London in 1085, was witness to the Charter of Battle Abbey in 1087, and lived till 1107.

In conclusion, though more or less obscurity may remain on some collateral points of a subject so remote, yet as regards the real question at issue, which is the supposed marriage of Queen Matilda with Gerbodo, I trust that sufficient reasons have now been adduced to discredit such an hypothesis, and that the historian may acquiesce in the previously received opinion that the wife of William de Warenne was a daughter of the Conqueror by his Queen Matilda.

^a "Statuimus præbendam quotidianam in refectorio ad majorem mensam, quasi si nobiscum epulaturus sederet, quæ uni pauperum Christi semper tribuatur pro salute animæ ejus tam in vita quam in morte." Bibl. Cluniac.

^b Vide tom. i. fol. 77.

XIV.—*Direction for the Receiving of the Corpse of Elizabeth Queen of Henry VII.*
by the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of London. From the Archives of the
City of London. Communicated by THOMAS LOTT, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 10th December, 1846.

A Direccion takyn for the receyvyng of the Corps of the Most Noble Princes Quene Elizabeth.

16 Feb. 18 Henry 7. At this Court it is appoynted that my Lord Mair shall have of psons clothed in blake to wayte uppon hym, and evy aldman ridyng, one, at ye costs of the Chamb^r at y^e entiereit of the Quene.

It. That the worshipful crafts shall begyn to stand at Ledenhall, and so furth to the Stokks, and none to stand in the Pully to y^e grete conduit, and their to begyn agayn, and to contynue to y^e Old Chaunge, and yⁿ to stop and begyn agayn to sette up at the conduit in Fletestrete, and so to continue to y^e Temple Barr, if they will so long contynue, and all to stand on the north side of the strete.

Item. That all such comyners as have been apoynted to ryde shal have their gownys of black to the calf of the legge, and narowe tepetts of black cloth abowte their neckes.

Item. That every alderman in his warde shall send to the churche wardens of every churche, and to the substancyall comyners of their wards, to knowe the nomber of the torchis that may be hadde in the same to the garnysshyng of this Citie at the passing thorough of the corps.

Item. It is agreed that the fealships shall goo ov^r that other side uppon the sowthe, and the torches on that other side uppon the northe.

Item. The garnysshyng of torches to begynne at Yrnemonger Hall, and to contynue to Grayschirche.

The st^ungers to begynne in their order at Grayschirche on the est side, and so to garnyshe the strete towards Ledenhall w^t theyr torches on the west, as farre as theyr nomber will stretchye, and the residue to be supplied w^t crafts of the Cite.

The torcheberers cloithed in white, the oñ half at Ledenhall and to garnysh Cornhull, the other half to begynne at Seynt Thoñis of Acres and to garnyche

Chepe throughout on the north side, havynge a distance be taxte torche and torche of a yerde, and the most worshipful fealoships on that other side.

The residue of the torche berers that have white gownys to stande in Cornhull.

Item. The ij. Brigge Maisters to have the orderynge and setting furth of the fealoships and torches; and they to have attendant uppon theym xij. sieaunts and xij. yeomen of every Compter.

For ordning of torches and standing of felishippis, as well citezeins as straungers, as foloweth, not rydyng :

Fyrst. That Fanchurche Strete, begynnyng at the Irēmongers' Hall, to be garnysshed on the northe syde afre the discrecion of the oŷseers thereunto appoynted to Grascurche corner w^t such torches as shal be appoynted out of wardes and pissch chirches to the same assigned.

Item. It is ordred that in evy place where as filishippis and torches shall stande the feliships to be on the oon syde and the torches on the other syde, for the better shewe to the Kynges honor and more care of the people, as here after foloweth :

At Grascurche the straungers to begyn in theire order, that is for to say : Fyrst. The Sterlingis, for as muche as they be under th'empire, Frenchemen, Spanardys, Venycians, Janues, Florentyns, and Lucans, they to stande and garnysse the same strete on the west syde, towardys Sant Peter's Chirche, and their owne torches to stande on the est syde ayenst them, as ffer as their nombre shalle extende, and the residue to be supplied w^t the craftes of the Citee and torches of wardes and chirches thereunto appoynted.

Item. The torche berers appoynted by the Citee to be clothed in white gownes, to the nombre of cccc. psones, to be divided, the one half to stande before such craftes as shalbe appoynted to garnysse Cornehull from the Ledyn Halle unto the Stokkes on the northe syde, and the ðr half to stande and attende upon the craftes that be appoynted to stande in Chepe on the same syde, begynnyng at Sant Thomas of Acres, and so contynuyng to the lytill conducte in Chepe, a dystance of a yerde space to be betwene of evy of the torche berers, clothed in whyte.

Item. The ij. Bridge Maisters to have thordring and setting forthe of all the felishippis and torches; and to see as welle the stretys affore rehersed welle ordred and sufficiently garnysshed w^t ffolkes and torches, as the Stokks, Pultrye, Pouleschercheyarde, on the bothe sydes, Ludgate, Fletestrete, to the Temple Barres, in evy place where as conveniently any may stande, and in suche places as to theyme shall seme good to ffurnysse bothe sydes of the strete w^t torches to the most honor of the Citee; and the same Bridge masters to have attending upon theym xij. siaunts

and xij. yeomen of either of the conters; and the bedyll of evy ward to take hede of the torches to their warde, belonging in such place as the same torches shal be appoynted.

For ording of craftes in their standyng is ffirst the Goldsmynes, to begyn at the Olde Chaunge, evy ffelishipp after there worship and old ordre, to stande in their rowmes, downe Chepe to the great condyte, and so throughout Cornhull to Saint Peter's, on the sowthe syde, and none to stande on Pultrye, nor at the Stokkes.

And that the remeint of all the ffelishippes, Chepe and Cornhull furnysshed as is afforesaid, shall stande in Grascirche Strete, next the straungers, in Poules Chirch Yarde, on bothe sydes of the church, to Ludgate, and downe Flete streete.

The crafts appointed to stande in Chepe :

Goldsmynes.	Taillers.
Mercers.	Skynn ^{rs} .
Grocers.	Habdasshers.
Drapers.	Salters.
Fishmongers.	Iremong ^{rs} .

An ordre taken for the bestowing and setting of suche torches as shall come from the churches and inhitaunts of evy warde of this Citie, and of their attendaunces at the passing by of the corps of the most noble Princesse Elizabeth, late Quene, begynning at Iremong^{rs} Hall, besides Blaunchappulton, and continuyng to the Temple Barre, ffirst from the seid Iremong^{rs} Hall to Gracechirch, cccxlvij. torches, whiche shalbe hadde from the wardes and pisshes of Aldgate, Portsoken, Lymestrete, Towre, Byllynsgate, and Brigge, vj. wardes.

From Grascirche Strete to Seint Petyr's in Cornehill, cc. torches, whiche shalbe had of straungers and of the wardes and pisshes of Bisshopesgate and Cornhull, ij. wardes.

From the Stokks to the grete conduit in Chepe, cxlvj. torches, whiche shalbe had of the wards and pisshes of Candlewickestrete, Langbaune, and Bassieshawe, iij. wardes.

From Poules Churcheyerd to Ludgate, v^c. torches, which shal be had of the wardes of Cordwain^{rs}strete, Walbroke, Colemonstrete, Bradstrete, Quenehith, Vyntre, Dowgate, and Bredestrete, viij. wardes.

From Warwick Lane ende downe Bowyer Rowe to Ludgate, and from Ludgate down Fletestrete to the Temple Barre, cccclxxx. whiche shalbe hade of the wardes

and chirches of Farndon infra, Farndon extra, Chepe, Aldrichegate, Crepulgate, and Castlebaynard, vj. wards.

Hereafter folowyth the a viewe takyn by every alderman in his their sevall wards of the number of torchis than can be founden in their wards, as well in chirches as amonge the inhabitants.

	Church Torches.		Torches.	
Cornehull	Ch. Eccie l.	Inhabitants	vij.	lvij.
Far. infra	Eccie lij.	Inhabitants	lxj.	
Lymestrete	Eccie v.	Inhabitants	vij.	
Bishopsgate	Eccie lj.	Inhabitants		
Algate	Eccie	Inhabitants		
Aldrysgate	Eccie xl.	Inhabitants	xij.	
Candilwikstrete	Eccie xxxiiij.	Inhabitants	xvij.	
Towre	Eccie xv.	Inhabitants	lx.	
Cordwynerstrete	Eccie xxxij.	Inhabitants	xlx.	
Vyntrye	Eccie lvj.	Inhabitants	xv.	
Castelbaynard	Eccie xij.	Inhabitants	xxvij.	
Quenehithe	Eccie xxxvij.	Inhabitants	xxij.	
Coleman strete	Eccie xix.	Inhabitantes	xvj.	
Chepe	Eccie	Inhit in tota itt varda		
Bredestret	Eccie	Inhibiit	xl. torches	
Farndon w'aut	Eccie lxij.	Inhabitante	xxx.	
Langbo"ne	Eccie xlvj.	Inhabitante	lj.	
Walbroke	Eccie xxxiiij.	Inhabitantes	xl.	
Billingesgate	Eccie xlv.	Inhabitaunts	lvij.	
Bassynghawe	Eccie vij.	Inbitaunts	xij.	
Dowgate	Eccie xij.	Inbitaunts	xxxvij.	
Bradstrete	Eccie	Inbitaunts	lxiiij.	
Crepulgate infra	Eccie	Inbitaunts	lxxiiij.	
Crepulgate extra	Eccie ix.	Inhiit	xix.	
Pons	Eccie	Inbitaunts	lxxx.	
Portsoken	Eccie	Inhabitaunts	xix.	

Sm^a. m^{li}. vj^c xl.

Rep. 1, 123 to 126.

BLAUNCH APPULTON.

There is a locality mentioned in the foregoing detail which is not familiar even to the Citizens of London, generally, viz. "Blaunchappulton."

By some this designation has been supposed to mean Whitechapel; but this place is not so far east.

It was formerly called "*Blaunchappulton's Lands*;" many districts in the city being called "*lands*," before the city was divided into wards, respecting which Maitland states:—

"Though I cannot ascertain the time when this city was at first divided into wards, yet I am of opinion that the first division thereof was not on account of the Government, but rather that London, like the other cities and towns of the kingdom, was anciently held of the Saxon kings and nobility in demean, and whose several properties therein, being so many sokes or liberties, were under the immediate dominion of their respective lords, who were the governors or warders thereof; whence I imagine arose the Saxon appellation ward, which signifies a quarter or district."

I am informed by some of the city authorities that here was formerly "The City Garden," and that there was then an officer called "The City Gardiner." Houses are now built on the site; and the rents received are stated in the City Records to arise from *Blanch Appleton's Lands*: it is probably the name of some former female owner of the property, Blanche Appulton. But the district is peculiar in civic history for a singular exemption, which I shall presently notice.

In Stow's *Surveye of London*, 1603; reprint by W. J. Thoms, Esq. F.S.A., Secretary to the Camden Society, 1842, page 56, account of Aldgate Ward:

"Then have you Blanch Appleton; whereof I read, in the 13th of Edward I. that a lane behind the said Blanch Appleton was granted by the King to be inclosed and shut up.

"This Blanch Appleton was a manor belonging to Sir Thomas Roos of Hamelake, Knight, the 7th of Richard II. standing at the north-east corner of Mart Lane, so called of a privilege sometime enjoined to keep a mart there, long since discontinued, and therefore forgotten, so as nothing remaineth for memory but the name of Mart Lane, and that corruptly termed Marke Lane.

"I read that in the third of Edward IV. all basket makers, wire drawers, and other foreigners were permitted to have shops in this manor of Blanch Appleton, and not elsewhere, within this city or suburbs thereof."

Maitland calls it a manor house, and that a mart or fair was holden there.
The following is the order of Common Council in relation to the above permission :

" 1464, 3 Edw. IV. Oct. 12. Jor. Cooke, No. 7, fol. 43.

" Common Council.

" It was agreed and ordained that the basket-makers and gold-wire drawers and other foreigners contrary to the liberties of the said City, and using mysteries within the said City, should not from henceforth hold shops within the liberty of the said City ; but if they would hold any shop or dwell in the same City, they should dwell at Blanche Appleton, and there hold shops, so as they might have sufficient dwelling there."

The following description of the locality of two messuages is to be found in the Hustings Book, vol. iii. fol. 372, 1561, 3 Eliz. "Jacentibus in Blanchapleton et Mark Lane, in parochiâ Omnium Sanctorum Stayning, in wardâ Turris."

THOMAS LOTT.

43, Bow Lane, 30th November, 1846.

XV.—*An Account of the Scheme for erecting a Royal Academy in England, in the Reign of King James the First.* By the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

Read 17th December, 1846.

WHEN the present Society of Antiquaries of London determined on printing from time to time communications which were made to them, in a series of volumes to be entitled *Archæologia*, they determined also that there should be prefixed to that work an Introduction, in which should be given a history of their own foundation, and of the attempts which had been previously made to collect the lovers of history and antiquities in associations for the prosecution of their inquiries, and for mutual assistance in their studies. It is not necessary to inquire to whom they committed the task of preparing this Introduction. It is done perhaps as well as the state of the knowledge of the literary history of the country at that period allowed. But when looked at from times when the public mind is not so easily satisfied to remain in ignorance of the minute facts in the history of great undertakings, it cannot, I fear, but be regarded as imperfect and unsatisfactory.

This is not said in reference only to the account which is there given of the scheme for erecting a Royal Academy, which was very near being accomplished under the auspices of King James the First, but there is much confusion and uncertainty in the account which is given of Archbishop Parker's Society and of the Society professedly of Antiquaries, which met in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, and became dissolved, by what means or for what reason is not very clearly shewn, in one of the early years of the reign of King James. Even of the Society which was first formed in the year 1707, the parent of the existing Society, or rather, the present Society in embryo, the account is not so satisfactory as it ought to be; and very slender indeed is the information respecting the means by which the charter was obtained in the reign of King George the Second, and the share in this most eminent public service which was taken by each of those noble-spirited persons by whom this most important work was accomplished.

If among the improvements of which this Society may be thought susceptible, within the legitimate range of its charter and statutes, some one of those who preside over us would recall to our memories at our anniversary meetings those who were the founders and early benefactors of the Society, it would be but a just tribute to their memories; and if to this were added, after the manner of other societies, both at home and abroad, notices of those who have shewn themselves, with feebler powers and less favourable opportunities, willing to lend their aid in retrieving the minute facts of history which constitute what is called antiquarian knowledge, as year by year their places in the Society are left void, facts for the future history of historical research would be accumulated, and some excitement also given to others to labour in the great and good works for which this Society was instituted.

I should not have presumed to make these remarks but under a serious conviction of their importance; or to say any thing which looks like censure on the only historical tribute which the Society has paid to its founders and the illustrious men who were its predecessors in attempts to secure the same objects by similar means, were I not deeply impressed with a sense of its inadequacy, and at the same time feeling that this Society is especially bound to keep up the memories of those who were famous in their generation. In the scheme for the Royal Academy, on which a person eminent in his day for learning of all kinds, and for zeal to recover the nation's antiquities in particular, laboured for nine years, and at length succeeded in obtaining for it the approbation of his Sovereign, the celebration of eminent persons deceased was a principal feature. This was the case also with the French Academy, which can hardly be said to have so early a date as the scheme of which I now propose to give an account.

This design originated very soon after the dissolution of the old Society, which was called expressly the Society of Antiquaries, and who have left notes of their transactions. That was a merely voluntary association, and there is perhaps no reason to doubt that one cause of its dissolution was the jealousy of the government of King James lest points should be handled which it was thought inexpedient to allow in a body of men who were in no way linked with the State except by the common bond of allegiance. The precise time of its dissolution is left a little uncertain. The year 1604 is usually named as the time when the meetings were discontinued, though it is sometimes said that the meetings were continued to the year 1614. However that may be, in 1616 or 1617 a zealous antiquary of the time formed a design for another society having the same objects in view, together with some which had not been contemplated by the older society, which was to be established on the basis of a royal charter, and which was to be to a certain extent controlled

or guided by the public authorities. Of this scheme there is an account in the Introduction to the *Archæologia*, extending through several pages. But the account there given will be seen to be very imperfect when it is known that the writer was even unable to discover the person who was the author of the scheme, and that he knew nothing of what was done respecting it subsequently to the year 1619, whereas the approbation of the Sovereign was not obtained before the year 1624, and there is evidence of an attempt to interest King Charles in the design as late as 1626.

In fact the anonymous writer of that Introduction derived all his information from a manuscript which is in the library of this Society, No. 103, written in the year 1619, together with some information given by Oldys in pencil notes in the manuscript respecting a manuscript nearly similar, but of the date 1617, which he had seen in the library of Mr. West. He did not know, or if he did he has not availed himself of the knowledge, that there are three manuscripts in the Harleian Library which relate to this design in a more advanced state.^a Those, however, which are contemporary and nearly identical, were all written in the year 1621, and therefore can contain nothing of what occurred subsequently to that year. For all the later history, we are, as far as I know, indebted solely to the manuscript which I have now the honour to lay on the table of the Society. This manuscript contains several hints of occurrences in the prosecution of the design in its earlier stages; but it contains also the constitution of the Society, as it was finally settled in a personal interview of the author with the Sovereign; a particular account of the honours and privileges which His Majesty expressed himself willing to grant to the persons who were admitted members of it, including drawings of the ribbon, pendant, and jewel, which the members of the new literary order, for it was to be nothing less, were to be allowed to wear, together with the names of eighty-four persons, among whom are the most famous antiquaries of the time, and other persons the most eminent in other departments of literature, who were to form the working part of the Society, or to be the class to be called *The Essentials*. This valuable manuscript was prepared after the death of King James, to be placed in the hands of his successor, in the hope that he might be induced to favour the design, of which only the death of his father, it seems, had prevented the accomplishment.^b

^a The numbers are 6103, 6143, and 7579.

^b This manuscript was evidently intended to remain with the King, for whose especial information it was prepared. I can give no information how it passed into private hands, and can trace back its history only to the time of Sylvanus Morgan, the author of "*The Sphere of Gentry*," who had collected many curious manuscripts. The Society's manuscript belonged to the same person. Mine was bound up by him with three genealogical tracts. Where the volume lay, after the dispersion of his

It is remarkable that neither Mr. West's manuscript, nor the manuscript in the library of this Society, contains the name of the author, or any very distinct intimation of him: nor do any of the three Museum manuscripts afford the name, or any thing that would lead easily to the knowledge of the author. The manuscript now on the table of the Society contains the author's name only as it appears without any particular mark of distinction, among the eighty-four, leaving us still to find out the author as we can. The writer of the Introduction to the *Archæologia*, following as it seems a few hasty suggestions of Oldys, names Sir George Buck, whose name had occurred to Oldys by observing what he thought a similarity of style in the two. Ferrers, of Baddesley-Clinton, a well-known antiquarian name, is also suggested. A person named Basset, quite unknown, and really a non-existent, is another guess. The author unquestionably was none of these, but Mr. EDMUND BOLTON, an eminent scholar and antiquary of the time, who delighted in shrouding himself in pseudonyms, and in sending forth his writings, printed or manuscript, without a name, and frequently without a date. Of the process by which this conclusion was arrived at, it is not necessary to trouble the Society with a recital. It will perhaps for the present at least be taken upon authority that there are too many minute circumstances all converging in this person, and nothing which is contrary to this conclusion, to render it in the slightest degree uncertain or doubtful. One proof however it may be fitting to mention; the author of this scheme was known to the Duke of Buckingham, standing to him in the relation of "a poor kinsman," and Bolton dedicates to the Duke his two principal published works; also, that the pseudonym of Philanactophil, which may be analysed into "Friend of the King's Friend," is subscribed to the dedication of "Florus" and of "Nero Cæsar" to the duke, known works of Bolton, and that it is the pseudonym under which the author conceals himself in the manuscript now before us, and in one of the Museum manuscripts.

Bolton had lived in the early part of his life in those parts of Leicestershire where the Villierses and Beaumonts were seated. In Mr. West's manuscript it seems that it was expressly stated that he lived at Goadby itself. This fact is material to

library, I know not, nor any thing of its history, till about the middle of the last century, when it was in the possession of the Rev. George Ashby of Barrow in Suffolk, a Fellow of this Society and a well-known antiquary. When Mr. Ashby died, his manuscripts were bought of his executor by Mr. Deck, a bookseller of Bury St. Edmund's. Of him it appears to have been purchased by Mr. George Bird Burrell, who was a glazier living at Thetford in Norfolk, and who collected many antiquarian and natural curiosities. At the sale of Mr. Burrell's effects after his decease, it was bought by the learned Editor of *Stephens*, Mr. Barker, by whom, in 1828, it was presented to me.

the history of the design, since it indicates the means by which he obtained easy access to the Duke of Buckingham in the years of his rising influence at court, by whose assistance it was that the project came to be so favourably regarded by the King. Bolton was born in 1574 or 1575; he studied several years in the University of Cambridge at Trinity Hall. He then resided for several years at the Inner Temple, studying law and history. At this period of his life he travelled over many parts of England and Ireland in search of antiquities. Finding himself cut off by his religious profession, being a Roman Catholic, from success in the ordinary walks of life, he conformed to the bent of an early inclination, devoting his life to literature, and especially critical and antiquarian literature, and with so much assiduity and success that there was probably no person of his time except Camden, Spelman, and Selden who went beyond him. His largest printed work is his "*Nero Caesar*," in which he brings coins, medals, and inscriptions in aid of the information left by the Roman historians. There is a work of his on *Armories*; a Translation of *Florus*; and many minor tracts of the time may be traced to him, amongst which is one entitled "*Hypercritica*," which is never mentioned but with some token of approbation.

He was thus a man not without a reasonable pretension to put himself forward as the originator of a design for the union of scholars, and especially antiquarian scholars, in some conspicuous Society. Especially when to his personal merits it is added that he had very early contracted a friendship with Camden, and was well known to very many persons of great eminence. Without this, a scheme so magnificent would assume the appearance of a mere wild and visionary project of a man of romantic mind, if it fell not even among the vagaries of an undisciplined or even unsound mind. However startling from its vastness and magnificence it may appear, it certainly originated in the mind of a scholar worthy to be the author of such a design, only perhaps filled with too high a notion of the dignity of the literary character, and its importance as an element of national greatness; it was talked of in Parliament, it had the countenance of the Chief Minister of State; and it was finally accepted, and all but ratified, by the Sovereign himself.

The inception of the design is to be referred to the year 1616 or 1617. This was in the second year of Villiers's introduction at Court; and there can hardly be a doubt that Bolton saw in the rising influence of his countryman and distant kinsman a circumstance favourable to the success of his design. It must also be mentioned to the honour of Villiers that he was a lover and encourager of the arts and literature by natural inclination. The subject was first moved to him, having then become Marquis of Buckingham; and Bolton was introduced by him to the

King when at Newmarket, in 1617. Then and there the first outline of the project was presented to his Majesty. The Marquis of Buckingham also spoke of it in Parliament, where the design was favourably received by many of the lords. This was probably in March 1621, when the Marquis opened a design for a college for the education of the young nobility, as we find on the journals.^a

The project had therefore by this time acquired a substantive existence, and what in 1617 and 1619 had appeared only in the form of a petition to the King, and a memorial to his Majesty, the Sovereign, and the other Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, which is the form in which it appears in the Society's manuscript, the projector was now able to present to the world, as we find it in the Museum manuscript Harl. 6143, as

"The Proposition made in Parliament concerning an Academ Royal, or College and Senate of Honor, by the Lord Marquis of Buckingham, and there approved; as it was occasioned and founded upon the reasons severally presented to his Sacred Majesty and to his Lordship before Christmas last, A. D. 1620, in the name of The Honor of the Kingdom and of the Antiquities thereof."

The writings of Bolton are wordy and pedantic even beyond the measure of his age. The opening of his petition to the King will shew of itself the character of his style and manner.

^a Die Lunæ Mar. 5, 18 Jac. I. 1620-1.

The Lord Admiral moved, "That, forasmuch as the education of youth, especially of quality and worth, is a matter of high consequence, that therefore to provide that such persons in their tender years do not spend their time fruitlessly about this town or elsewhere, his lordship wished that some fit and good course might be taken for erection and maintenance of an academy for the breeding and bringing up of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom in their younger and tender age, and for a free and voluntary contribution from persons of honour and quality for that purpose."

The motion was generally liked and much commended, and thereupon many grave and judicious speeches used by sundry lords, touching material points considerable in the undertaking and perfect accomplishment of this honorable project; namely, concerning the place where such academy shall be seated and erected; likewise what qualities, arts, sciences, and exercises shall there be taught and practised; also upon what persons necessity to be there brought up shall be imposed; they how to be maintained; and to what kind of young gentlemen freedom shall be left to resort or live there as they shall please; with other circumstances.

That the matters and points aforesaid might with more conveniency be opened and discussed, the Court by general consent was adjourned during the pleasure of the Lords.

" Most dear and most dread Sovereign,

" May it please your sacred Majesty,

" For the universal embetterment of your people in their manners, for the more advantage of your kingly prerogative, certainly for your Majesty's greater comfort, and the everlasting fresher glories of your name among us :

" Thus most humbly submitted work doth reason for a Corporation Royal to be founded under the title of King James his Academe or College of Honour.

" Sýr,

" Moses heard Jethro, and old Rome heard Hermodorus for composing her Twelve Tables. The matter makes the author. But your Majesty's humblest loyal subject speaks nothing herein but your own most princely thoughts and wishes over. Many years' meditations shipt into one halff hour's reading. May it please your Royal goodness to vouchsafe it."

The Society will now perhaps prefer to have the substance rather than the words : yet Bolton had not miscalculated on the best mode of gaining the attention of the King, for he expressly informs King Charles that the allusion to Jethro and Hermodorus had especially won upon his father's heart. As he proceeds he calls to the King's recollection the old and then extinet Society of Antiquaries, which he represents as having consisted of a President, Clarissimi, other Antiquaries, and a Register. He names many eminent persons who were members of it ; speaks of its dissolution ; and mentions many distinguished persons who had seen its fall with regret ; naming the Earl of Arundel, Lord William Howard, Sir Fulk Grevile, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Henry Savile, Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, and eighteen other persons whose names are eminent in the literature of that age. He then proceeds to the main purpose, the opening of his design. It is nothing less than " to convert the Castle Royal of Windsor, (which he thinks, on account of its elevated site, the fittest place for the purpose,) or if not Windsor, what other place his Majesty shall be pleased to appoint, to an English Olympus ; nay, rather not to convert it, but only to obtain so transcendant and pompous a favour, as that his sacred self and nobles stellified in the Order of the Garter, as in their proper sphere, would receive and take in this humanity of heroic faculties into that as it were divinity of their splendour, place, and calling : to erect thereby an order within the Order of Saint George, and as it were to draw a narrow circle within a large, concentrick, that company to consist of selected persons competent for such a noble use, with particular privileges, fees, and ornaments, and they incorporated under the

title of a brotherhood or fraternity associated for matters of honour and antiquity, and under a certain canon of government, at His Majesty's pleasure; a member subject to the famous Earl Marshalship of England during the exercise or agon: the rules and laws to be such as shall by moral learning be found most apt to habituate heroic virtues, for the love thereof to enflame man's heart with the sober desire of glory. The officers to be chosen answerably worthy to such laws; men whose pay and ends must be only honour. All questions of heroic doctrine to be distinctly spoken unto out of writing upon sufficient warning first given, not after the tumultuous, violent, and clamorous manner of ordinary schools, but after the grave and honourable forms of Parliament: the speech or discourse to remain under the author's subscribed name and seal of arms. The general exercise to be summary at Saint George's Feast, the particulars to be quarterly; the names, styles, and armories of the brethren to be publicly set over each gentleman's head, and all to remain upon record with the Register of the Society."

The petitioner then presses his suit by the use of various arguments, many of them taken from the precedents of antiquity, and all tending to shew that the scheme would conduce to national honour and virtue. They were such as were at once likely to occur to a mind habituated to the study of ancient literature, and which had also formed a just appreciation of the character of the King whom he addressed.

The Museum manuscripts are written in penmanship of singular beauty, and have been placed in most delicate covers, having evidently been intended for the perusal of great persons whom Bolton sought to interest in his design. There can be no doubt also that he now assiduously applied himself to gain for the scheme the countenance of other persons, whose claims to interfere were only literary, and that the eighty-four were induced thus early to give in their adhesion. Several of them were gentlemen about the Court: others were officially connected with the Marquis of Buckingham, and he names expressly one person, who seems to be Sir Thomas Aylesbury, whose office brought him frequently into the presence of the Marquis, on whom he chiefly relied for keeping the design in the Marquis's mind, and whose removal to a higher office he regrets as being a very unfavourable circumstance. Others were heralds, antiquaries, poets, artists, men of acknowledged merit, and collectively of no small influence. These eighty-four were selected by him long before the Sovereign was induced to yield his assent, for several of them were dead when the list now before us was written out by him in 1626.

The project lingered through the years 1622 and 1623. Far more urgent affairs

occupied the time and thoughts of the Marquis of Buckingham, and Bolton was nearly forgotten.

The King however during these years appears to have grown more and more in love with the scheme. "He grew," says Bolton, "so favourable to it, that, besides approbation of the whole, because it was purely for the public, it finally pleased him, after some years had passed from the time of the first overture thereof, to enlarge the institution itself with more grants and faculties than were desired." In fact the King had come to the determination if not to establish it precisely in the form in which it had been first submitted to him, yet with small variation from that design, and to confer upon it honours and privileges that might have more than satisfied any reasonable demand. And this brings down its history to the summer of 1624.

It must have been by the express command of the King that Bolton waited on his Majesty in what proved to be his last northern progress, when at Rufford in Nottinghamshire, the seat of the Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury. This was in August, 1624. Bolton had a long personal conference with the King, and received what he understood to be a final sanction and approbation of the scheme, with alterations suggested by the King himself: "confirming," says Bolton, "with his royal assent, upon a final survey, and in full approbation of the grounds, means, and ends thereof, granting many gracious and illustrious favours, privileges, as well to the thing as to the persons." Very minute circumstances in the detail of the scheme came under the royal notice, for the device for the seal being submitted to James, he approved of it, "only somewhat in it concerning himself modestly traversed."

The Academy Royal of King James as at this time finally settled was to be a corporation, with a royal charter, to have a mortmain of 200*l.* a year, and a common seal.

It was to consist of three classes of persons, who were to be called *Tutelaries*, *Auxiliaries*, and *Essentials*. The *Tutelaries* were to be the Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, with the Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellors of the two universities. The *Auxiliaries* were to be lords and others, selected out of the flower of the nobility, and councils of war and of the new plantations. The *Essentials*, upon whom the weight of the work was to lie, were to be "persons culled from out of the most able and most famous lay-gentlemen of England, masters of families, or being otherwise men of themselves, and either living in the light of things, or without any title of profession or art of life for lucre, such persons being already of other bodies."

Then as to the privileges to be granted to them. These were (1.) Precedence of

all persons of their own degree : (2.) to bear their arms with the unicorn in rear and about the shield : (3.) to use the green ribbon and pendent device of the Society, composed of the four capital letters J. R. F. C. (Jacobus Rex Fundator Collegii) intertwined with a thread under a crown imperial : (4.) to bear their own arms, impaled with a demi-rose of England, united with a demi-chardon of Scotland, or else to bear this device on a canton or an inescutcheon.

We now come to a very important privilege or rather duty which received most express sanction from His Majesty. Bolton's report here assumes a kind of historical and constitutional importance, which renders it proper that his words should be exactly quoted. "When among the many public services of the main body of the academy, consisting only of *Essentials*, the superintending of the review, or the review itself, of all English translations of secular learning, (one of the which, being of an author of high account and sovereign use, his Majesty named with much dislike), that good books might be sincerely turned out of foreign tongues into ours, was propounded, his Majesty did assent thereunto, gladly acknowledging that false weights and measures in words were as diligently to be discovered and as equally to be detected as in wares, and rather by so much more as things intellectual are more excellent than things palpable or corporeal ; and did also add of his own accord, that it should be theirs to authorize all books and writings which were to go forth in print which did not *ex professo* handle theological arguments ; and to give to the vulgar people indexes expurgatory and expunctory upon all books of secular learning printed in English never otherwise to be public again."

The general duties of the members of the academy are thus laid down :—

"To honour, love, and serve one the other, according to that of St. John : *Non tantum verbo et lingua sed opere et veritate*.

"To be knit together for the rights of monarchy, according to that title of the supreme obligation thereof,—*Populi Salus*.

"To celebrate the memory of the secularly noble of Great Britain, especially of England, and more especially the Sovereigns and Knights of Saint George or the Garter, in execution of that Scripture, *In memoria eterna erit justus*. That the history of our country may rescue itself from the shears and stealths of tailors, and obtain at last a grave and free authentic text, not only in our mother tongue, but in the Latin also, thereby to correct the errors and repress the ignorance and insolencies of Italian Polidores, Hollandish Meterans, rhapsodical Gallo-Belgici and the like, wherein Mr. Camden hath gone before unto us, to his everlasting praise. The constant register of public facts to be with them of the academy as in old Rome among the *pontifices*."

Then as to the general rule of their carriage.—“The same which Saint Paul prescribed, *Nemini offensionem dare*, and *Invicem honore prevenire*, in the lives writings and speeches of others; to pick out, if it may be, what to praise; to strangers respective and kind, and among themselves sincere.”

For the execution of the purposes for which the Society was formed, quarterly meetings were to be held, at which particular points were to be considered and discussed: and one great annual meeting was to be held on Saint James's Day in compliment to the King, afterwards changed to Saint George's Day, and there is reason to think that when Saint George's Day was fixed upon for the anniversary and feast of the present Society of Antiquaries, it was because that was the day on which King James's Academy was to hold its anniversary, as shewn in the manuscript in the Society's library.

Nothing is said in this final settlement of the scheme concerning the place of meeting, whether at Windsor, as originally designed, or in London. Nor is any thing said of the mode of election, or concerning the number of persons of whom the order should consist, whether it was to be confined to eighty-four Essentials, or that the number should remain unlimited; and this brings us to an exceedingly interesting part of our subject, namely, the list of the persons on whom in the character of Essentials the honour was to be conferred; a list framed it is probable by Bolton himself, but sanctioned and approved by the King. The list may be perused in the manuscript which now lies on the table of the Society, but perhaps the Society may bear the recital of the names, so many of them familiar and distinguished, with a notice of each, intended to indicate in the briefest manner possible the class to which each of them belonged. Some indeed need only to be named: there are some whose claims to admission into this honorable society it has been a task of some difficulty to discover; there are a few, and they are very few, whom I have been unable to trace in the history or literature of the time.

Sir William Alexander.—The poet of that name, afterwards Earl of Stirling.—He was at this time Secretary of State for Scotland. He was a great favourer of Bolton's project.—The manuscript contains a poem by him in approbation of the design.

Mr. John Angel.—Probably the gentleman of this name who held the offices of the King's Caterer, and Janitor of Windsor Castle.

Mr. William Austin,—of Lincoln's Inn, author of *Hæc Homo* and of *Devotionis Augustinianæ Flamma*.

Sir Thomas Aylesbury.—Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham in respect of his

office of Lord High Admiral, and afterwards Master of the Requests and Master of the Mint. He is said by Wood to have been a singular lover of learning and the mathematics.—He was executor to Hariot.

Sir Robert Ayton.—A Scotch gentleman, Secretary to the Queen of King James the First and afterwards to the Queen of King Charles the First,—a poet, and intimate with the poets of the time.

Sir Francis Barnham.—Son-in-law of Sampson Lennard and an intimate friend of Camden, in whose house he lived a year.—He wrote a genealogical history of his own family.

Sir John Bath, of Ireland.—His name occurs in Parr's Life of Usher in 1620, p. 430.

Sir John Beaumont, the father,—author of Bosworth-Field.—In the MS. is a sonnet by Sir John in commendation of the design.

Captain Bingham.—A scholar and military tactician, author of *The Art of Embattailing an Army*, a Translation of Xenophon's History, and Notes on Ælian's Tactics.

Mr. James Bishop.—Probably the "J. Bishop," a friend of Camden's, who having occasion to mention him in his Remains, p. 205, says "whose memory for his learning is dear to me."

Mr. William Bold.—The person of the name who travelled abroad with the two Savages, and who was engaged in collecting antiquities for Sir Robert Cotton.—See Cott. MS. Julius, C. III.

Mr. Edmund Bolton.—The author of the scheme.

Herald Bradshaw.—Successor of Vincent, as Windsor Herald, and one of Vincent's friends.

Sir James Burrowes, Norroy King at Arms,—afterwards Garter.—He was also Keeper of the Tower Records; author of a work on the Sovereignty of the British Seas and of Letters published with those of Busbequius.

Mr. George Chapman.—The poet, translator of Homer.

Mr. John Chapperline.—A writer of verse, intimate with many of the poets of the time, and celebrated by Davies of Hereford for his admirable taste and judgment in poetry.

Mr. James Clayton.—Possibly the friend of Sir John Beaumont, who prefixed commendatory verses to his poems, and a private friend of Bolton through the Beaumonts.

Mr. John Coburn.—For whose claims we must look to the Scotch antiquaries.

Sir Edward Coke.—The eminent lawyer.

Sir John Constable.—“The acute and learned,” as designated by Davies.—He was connected by marriage both with Lord Bacon and Sir Robert Cotton.

Sir Francis Cottington.—The eminent statesman.

Sir Robert Cotton.—The antiquary, *clarum et venerabile nomen*.

Sir John Danvers.—Doubtless the brother of Sir Henry Danvers, whose services to science are better understood, and who would probably have been found among the Essentials had not his elevation to the peerage, which had recently taken place, entitled him to rank among the Auxiliaries.

Mr. Christopher Darcie.—He was one of the Irish members.

Sir Kenelm Digby.—A well-known name, by which this Academy is connected with the Royal Society, of which he was one of the founders.

Sir Dudley Digges.—A member of the family at Chilham in Kent, which produced several persons eminent in the early literature of England; himself author of several pieces in verse and prose.

Mr. Michael Drayton.—The poet.

Sir William Ewers.—Probably the younger son of one of the Lords Ewers or Eure so named; but his claims to admission among the Essentials have hitherto eluded inquiry.

Sir George Fane.—A younger brother of the first Fane, Earl of Westmorland, said in the Peerages to have been “of great abilities and perfections both of mind and body.”

Sir Ralph Freeman.—Author of the Tragedy entitled *Imperiale*, and of other things—married to a relation of the Duke of Buckingham—Master of the Requests.

Mr. George Fortescue.—One of the minor poets of the time; a brother-in-law of Sir John Beaumont.

Mr. George Gage.—Cup-bearer to Queen Henrietta-Maria; distinguished for his knowledge of art.

Mr. James Galloway.—One of the Scottish members of the Academy; afterwards Lord Dunkeld.

Sir William Gordon.—Another of the Scottish members.

Mr. Thomas Habington.—The Worcestershire topographer; father of William Habington the poet.

Sir Thomas Hawkins.—The translator of The Odes of Horace, and of Caussin's Holy Court.

Sir Peter Hayman.—Probably of Somerfield in Kent; grandson of Bishop Horne of Winchester.

Sir Henry Holcroft.—An eminent scholar, published Translations of Justinian and Procopius.

Mr. Hugh Holland.—“*Musarum et Amicitiarum cultor sanctissimus*,” a pupil of Camden, and friend of Bolton, Jonson, and most of the men of their class; author of several works.

Sir Edward Hungerford of Down-Ampney.—Published two controversial Tracts written by his father; but it is not discovered on what his own claim to a place in the Academy rested.

Mr. Benjamin Johnston.—The dramatist.

Mr. Inico Jones.—The architect.

Mr. Edward Kyrton.—Probably a near relation of Sir Thomas Hawkins, whose merits rather than his own might gain for him admission into this Society.

Sir Thomas Lake.—One of the Secretaries of State.

Mr. Henry Liggon.—Possibly the son so named of Sir William Liggon of Madresfield. His contemporary, Liggon, author of *The History of Barbadoes*, was named Richard.

Sir Francis Lovel.—The “learned, judicious, and much honoured ally” of Davies of Hereford; a friend also of Sir Thomas Hawkins, to whose Translation of Horace he prefixed commendatory verses.

Sir Richard Lucy, of Broxbourne.—One of the Charlecote family, in whom at this period there was much of the literary taste and spirit.

Sir Roger Manners.—A member of the noble house of Manners, of whom, however, little is anywhere said, so that I the more willingly transcribe the testimony of his epitaph in the church of Whitwell in Derbyshire :

“A living academy was this knight;
Divinity, the arts, the tongues, what might
In learned schools exactly be professed,
Took up their lodging in his noble breast.”

He was a personal friend of Bolton.

Sir Robert Mansel.—Vice-Admiral of the fleet, and eminent for his skill in nautical affairs.

Sir Toby Matthew.—A well-known name.

Mr. Patrick Maule.—Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the two Kings, James and Charles; afterwards Earl of Panmure.

Sir William Monson.—An Admiral, and most intimately acquainted with the science and literature of his profession.

Sir Sidney Montagu.—Groom of the Bedchamber to King James.

Sir Francis Nethersole.—He had been Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, and was intimately connected with the literature of the time.

Sir Adam Newton, who had been Tutor of Prince Henry.

Herald Neve,—more usually written Le Neve, afterwards Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux; a very eminent member of the College of Arms.

Sir Thomas Nevile.—Probably a son of Lord Abergavenny, and grandson of the Earl of Dorset, who amused himself occasionally by writing verse. One of his pieces is in commendation of Sir John Beaumont's poem of Bosworth Field.

Colonel Ogle.—No doubt the Governor of Utrecht, "whose table," says Peacham, "seemed many times a little academy;" he had so many scholars about him discoursing of war, and of history, antiquities, and heraldry. *Complete Gentleman*, p. 204.

Mr. Michael Oldsworth.—Secretary to Philip Earl of Pembroke. He had been a member of the old Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. James Palmer.—Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

Mr. Endymion Porter.—A well-known name; a great friend of poets and artists.

Sir Edward Powel.—Master of the Requests.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard.—Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries; a scholar and a poet.

Mr. Patrick Ruthin.—An eminent soldier; afterwards Earl of Forth, in Scotland, and Brentford, in England.

Mr. Thomas Roper.—His claim to admittance must rest on his military skill if he is the gentleman of this name who was afterwards Lord Baltinglas.

Sir Edwin Sandys.—An eminent scholar and traveller—friend of Selden. Author of *Europa Speculum*. Endowed a metaphysical lecture in the University of Oxford.

Sir Nicholas Sanders.—He belongs to the class of mathematicians, and is often mentioned in Professor Rigaud's Life of Hariot. He was known also to Sir Robert Cotton, to whom he presented a manuscript. Cotton MSS. Julius C. 111.

Mr. Thomas Sackville.—Probably one of the younger sons of the first Earl of Dorset.

Sir William Segar.—Garter King at Arms.

Sir Richard Saint George.—Clarencieux.

Sir Henry Saint George.—Richmond Herald.

Mr. John Selden,—of whom no more need be said.

Sir Edmund Scory.—One of the minor poets of the time; a friend of Drayton and Jonson.

Sir Henry Spelman.—The distinguished antiquary.

Sir Francis Steward.—An admiral; but also a friend of Ben Jonson, and a member of Sir Walter Raleigh's Club at The Mermaid.

Mr. Richard Turpin.—Cannot have been a person of much eminence, though probably of the family of the Windsor Herald, and of the author of *The Calais Chronicle*.

Mr. Thomas Warrock.—A musician; organist at Westminster Abbey.

Mr. Lawrence Whitaker.—A great linguist and traveller; secretary to Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls.

Mr. White.—There are several persons of this name connected with the literature of the time as writers of commendatory verses and authors of small works.

Mr. Alexander Wye.—There was an Alexander in the Lippiat family of Wye at this period, but no trace has been found of his connexion with affairs of literature or science.

Mr. Thomas Wilson.—Uncertain who is meant.

Mr. John Williams.—Owen in his *Epigrams* speaks of three persons of the name. (Book x. Ep. 46.) This person I conceive to be the King's goldsmith of that name, an associate of Jonson, Donne, and other literary men of his time, and the "dear and worthy friend" of Drayton, who speaks of him also as "a true lover of his country," meaning Wales.

Sir Henry Wotton.—Another of those names which speak for themselves.

Mr. Patrick Young.—Keeper of the Royal Library at St. James's. "The most eminent Grecian of his time," says Wood.

Such were the men who were selected to be the founders of this Royal Academy; and there cannot be a doubt that if they entered cordially and unanimously into the design, much good might have been accomplished by them.

The history of the scheme has now been brought down to the month of August, 1624. The next step was to go through the forms necessary for the establishment of a new order in the State, and a new chartered community. But before this could be done, the King died. His death was in March 1625; and this event appears to have been fatal to the design, since, as far as any thing appears, for we have no direct information, the new Court looked less favourably on the scheme, or were too much occupied with other affairs to give to it much attention. The manuscript now before the Society affords, however, evidence that Bolton was not out of hope that the new King might take up what his deceased father had so directly patronized, and the appeal which it contains was accordingly made to him. One circumstance which deserves notice is mentioned by Bolton; that when the affair was under the consideration of King James, the Prince was by, and made the remark in

Bolton's hearing, that "it was too good for the times;" alluding it is probable to the increasing prevalence of the Puritan spirit, which has generally been considered as opposed to the heroic and the generous. The King, as far as appears, continued to think what he thought as a prince. The Duke of Buckingham became less favourably disposed towards it, so that when Bolton brought it to his recollection at the time when he went up to his grace with other members of the university to present the letters patent for the chancellorship, the duke suggested to him that he should take a period of more leisure to bring the subject before him, for his words would then make no impression. The final issue was that the whole scheme was abandoned by the politicians of the time.

When the great men of the first half of the seventeenth century were passed away, Camden, Vincent, Spelman, Savile, Howard, Cotton, D'Ewes, Dodsworth, Selden, the public taste in England which in their time and in the age before them had been rather for philological and historical studies, than for the study of natural philosophy, underwent a decided and most remarkable change. And the new schemes for union of intellectual men in societies were addressed to the philosophers and naturalists, rather than to the philologers and antiquaries. Sir Francis Kinaston's Museum Minervæ, and Sir Balthasar Gerbier's Academy had small affinity with historical investigation, and Cowley's Philosophical College was a scheme for natural philosophers only. None of these had the benefit of a royal charter, nor had they much more of an existence than as so many projects. In them also was included the education of youth. And it was not till after the Restoration that any society of learned men was formed in England with the sanction of a royal charter, and then it (that is, the present Royal Society) was expressly declared to be formed "for the improvement of natural knowledge." One member of Bolton's academy was alive, and was one of the original members of the Royal Society. This was Sir Kenelm Digby, almost the only natural philosopher and experimenter who was a member of the proposed Academy, and placed there rather it may be presumed as a philologer than a philosopher, for he was both.

The antiquaries were left without a centre of association. Ashmole has an obscure notice of an antiquaries' feast in 1659; but it can have been only a small private club. After a while the Royal Society admitted antiquarian papers into their transactions. But this was not enough to satisfy the cravings of the more zealous antiquaries; and one hundred and forty years ago a small number of them formed themselves into a private Society, which gradually extending itself, was at length honoured with a royal charter in 1751, under the protection and encouragement of which it has become what we here see it.

As to Bolton, some curiosity may perhaps have been raised respecting his own fate ; for it is impossible to look back upon him without regarding him at least as a man who was earnestly devoted to the attainment of a great public object, in which he sincerely saw nothing but what was good. He was not discouraged to the last, for in the latest memorial we have of the scheme, he says :—" Resting most assured of my grounds for such a deep engagement, I shall as little give over the pursuit thereof, as that most famous navigator did his proposition for the discovery of the world beyond the Atlantic Ocean." If successful, he would have had the rare distinction of having introduced a new element in English society, an order of men of literature, whose distinction was obtained by intellectual exertion as poets, scholars, philosophers, antiquaries, and artists. This might or might not have had a beneficial influence on the individuals themselves and on the whole community ; but it would have been a great change, and it was no mere visionary scheme, as the event proved, when it was adopted by the Sovereign. At least a liberal and generous experiment would have been made, and the principle, which is certainly a just and honourable one, have been recognized, that men eminent in those peaceful walks of life are not unworthy to share in a nation's honours and rewards.

Bolton's project was perhaps too ambitious. It partakes of the sanguine character of its author's mind. He was always forming designs of such immense magnitude that he actually accomplished none of them. Even his work on heraldry is but the fourth part of his whole design. His Nero Cæsar wants its intended counterpart, a Tiberius Cæsar. His scheme for a corpus of the English historians came to nothing ; and so did his project of a more minute and punctual history of the country than had been accomplished for this or any other people. In the latter part of his life we find him soliciting the city of London to engage in what was an excellent design, the preparing a map of the country five miles round London on a great scale. Such a work, if it had been accomplished, would now be thought a most valuable record. He proposed another scheme, which was for a history of the city on a most extended plan ; but when he talked of thousands of pounds for each of these designs, the citizens informed him that they had already had enough on city affairs. He was at the same time meditating a work in especial honour of the Duke of Buckingham, whose life was to be most minutely described in it. These were the subjects which were occupying his thoughts towards the close of life. The actually latest memorial I have seen of him is a letter to Lord Falkland, dated in August 1633, in the Museum. It may be presumed that he died soon after, but neither the exact time of his death nor the place of his burial is known.

XVI.—*Description of a Fictile Vase from Vulci, the allegory of which is supposed to be intended to commemorate the fate of the Family of Agamemnon.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum.

Read 15th and 22nd January, 1846.

THE Cylix, which I propose an explanation of in the present Memoir was found at Vulci, (see Plate VIII.) and formed part of the hundred select vases of the Princess of Canino. I also, as particularly illustrative of the same myths, accompany it with tracings of two other Vases from the same source. They all are portions of the great original discoveries of Hellenic fictile art at Vulci.

The Vase is of the most flourishing period of the art, with red figures upon a black ground, and exhibits all the usual delicacy of drawing of this style.

The interior of this cup (Plate VIII.) represents Peleus, draped in a peplos and long tunic, wearing the Thessalian petasus, and leading Thetis after her capture to Chiron. He holds a spear in his right hand, and takes with his left the wrist of the goddess. He turns round, and regards her with admiration. Thetis is draped as females usually are on vases of this class, except that her peplos is thrown over her head to indicate her bridal character, while her looks are modestly directed to the earth. On a vase where the names^a accompany the figures, Chiron is also present; and on another with the same subject, Aphrodite, and Apollo, and Artemis appear on the scene.

The subject of the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis probably formed part of the *Μυκρὰ Ἰλιάς*^b attributed to Thestorides of Phocis, Cinaethon of Lacedæmon, or Diodorus of Erythræ. It differed from the Homeric traditions. The interposition of Chiron, who acted as paranymp on the occasion, is mentioned by Pindar,^c and is the subject of several monuments.^d

I shall now proceed to consider the subject on the sides of the cup. (Plates IX. and XI. fig. 3.) Two men draped in long chlamydes, and wearing endromides, or hunting

^a Cf. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, t. iv. pl. XVI. and pl. CCCXIV. Milling, Vases de Coghill, pl. XLIII. LIV.

^b See Schol. ad Troades, from MS. Vaticanus, Rom. A. Vaticanus 909. Euripid. Troad., Glasg. 1829.

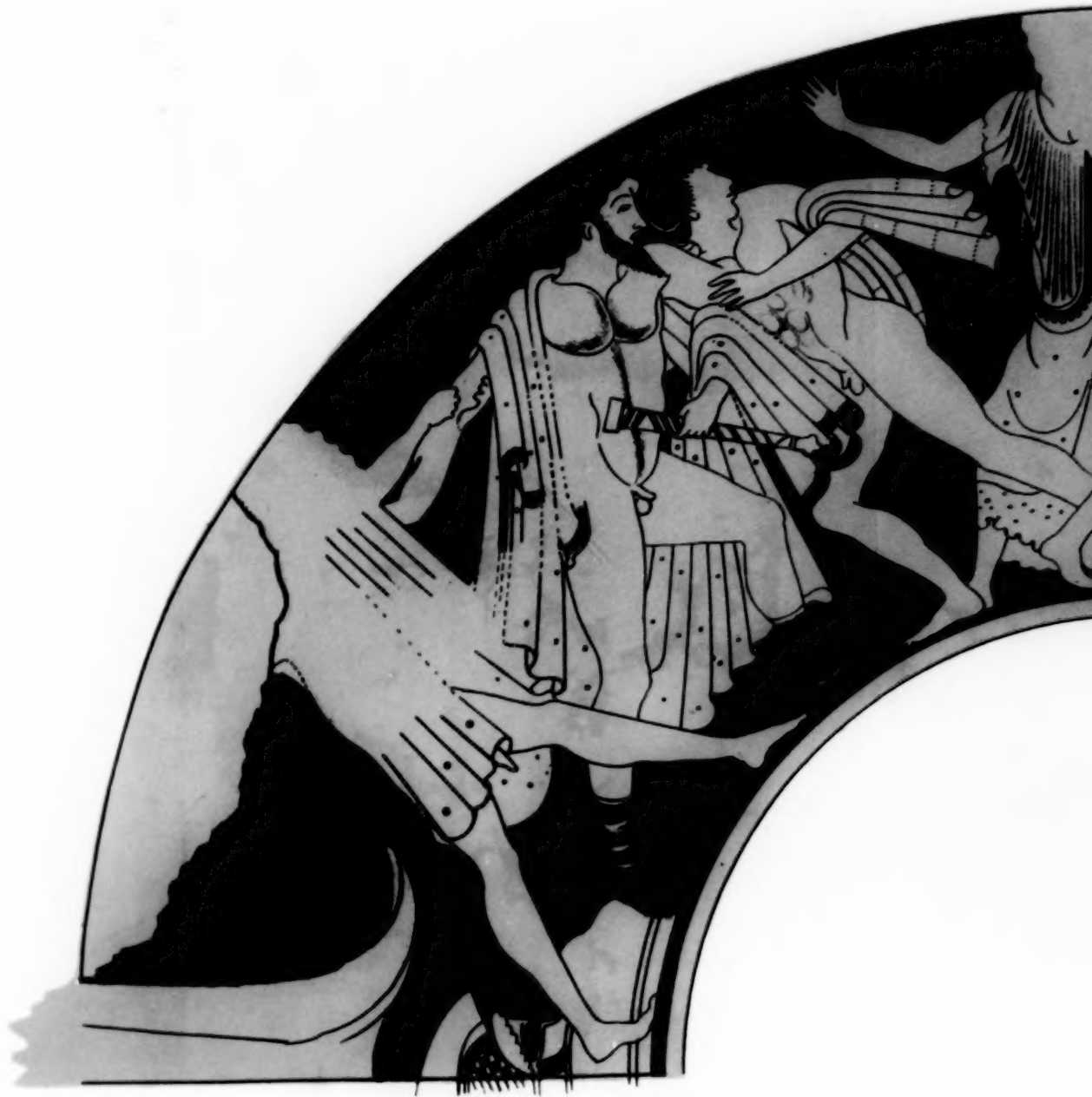
^c Nem. iii. 56.

^d Cf. Mon. Inst. Arch. 37. Welcker, Annal. v. p. 90. Muller, Handbuch, s. 413, I. p. 647.



Fictile Vase from the Canino Collection found at Vulci

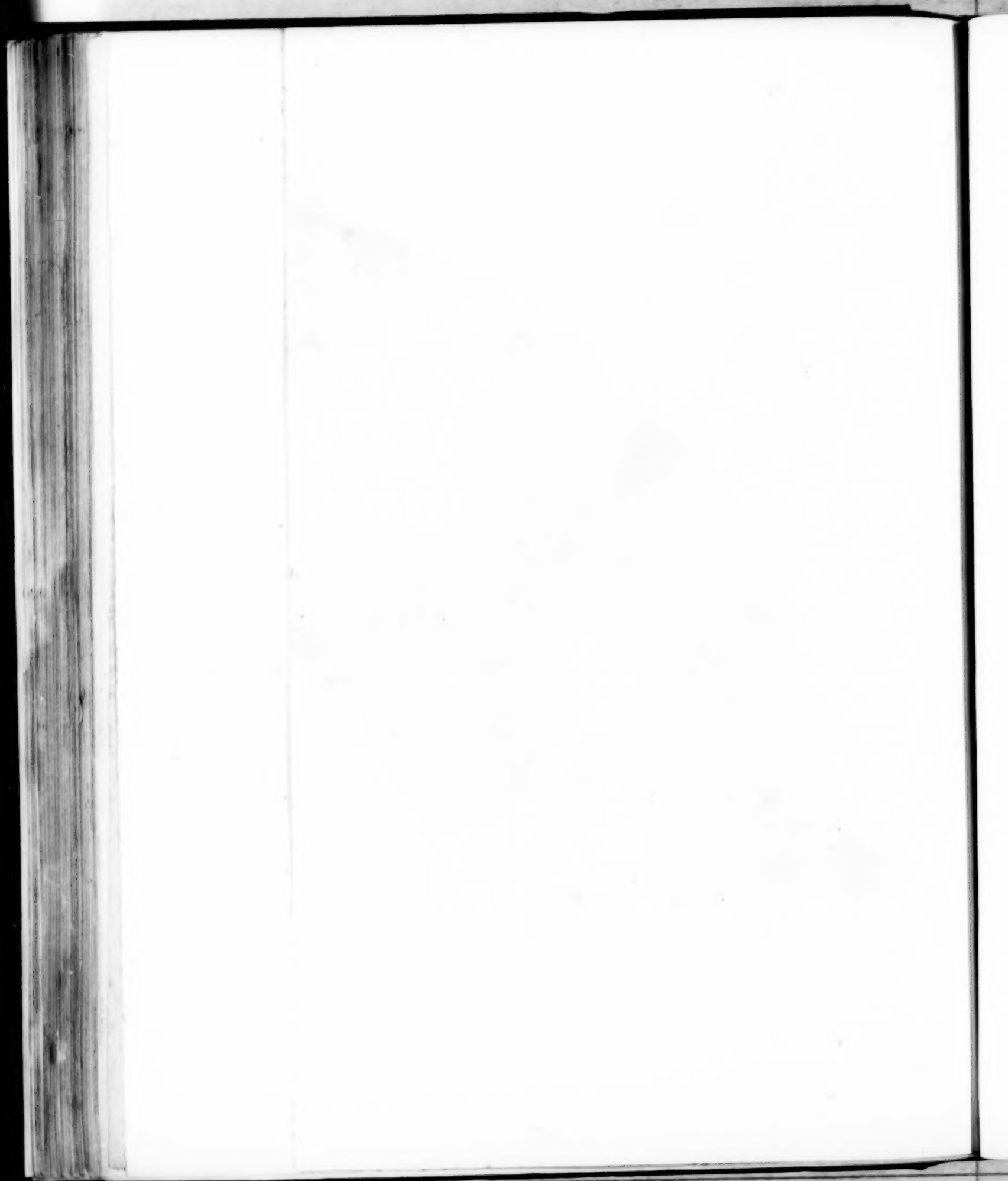
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Portion of the Myth upon the under sta



Inner side of the Fictale Vase from Vulci.



boots, are on the point of contending with their swords; each is restrained by a youth in front from attacking the other, while a bearded man behind each endeavours to remove their swords from their grasp. A female, draped in a talaric tunic and peplos, interposes at the centre of the picture. She rushes to the left, but stretches out her hands as if in alarm, and looks behind her. Under one handle is a pair of greaves, and under the other a crested helmet and Argolic buckler. The same subject occurs on a cylix (No. 808) from the Canino collection (Plate X.): the combatants are separated by a warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet and chlamys, in the same attitude as the female. They do not hold the scabbards of their swords in their hands; there is no armour at the sides, and all are naked except the central figure. On a Vulcian hydria of archaic style, with black figures, the same subject occurs, but very differently treated (Plate XII). The contest takes place between a youthful and a bearded figure; both are restrained by a youthful and a bearded figure, and an older bearded figure interposes, throwing up his arms to separate the combatants. It is evident from the similarity of the action that one and the same incident is represented. On a vase engraved in Tischbein,^b the two combatants are equally naked, and hold their scabbards in their hands, contending with their swords; an old draped figure separates them; a subject mistaken for Dolon surprised by Ulysses and Diomedes. But, in order to verify this scene, it is necessary to recur to some monuments of a later period, where it is represented under circumstances rather different, and then to consider whether the interpretation proposed agrees with the circumstances of the event alluded to. The subject has been alluded to by M. Gerhard, in his *Rapporto Volcente*, as the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon.^a The first monument to which I shall call attention is the Iliac table, now preserved in the Museum of the Capitol^b at Rome, where there can be no doubt, for we have the word $\mu\eta\nu\iota\varsigma$, Achilles, Nestor, and Agamemnon are seated. Achilles has his sword half out of his scabbard; and Agamemnon what should apparently be his, but what in reality is the celebrated sceptre of the house of Atreus. Nestor separates the combatants. Behind Achilles stands Pallas Athené.^c Now this is the manner in which this subject is treated in all works of late art. Thus the Greek Council is represented sitting in

^a Pl. XXIII. explained by Italinsky as Dolon: Ulysses and Diomedes re-engraved, Dubois Maisonneuve, vii. pl. XV. p. 11. Fiorelli, *Commentatio de Inscr. Græc.* Goett. 1804, explains in a most unsatisfactory manner this inscription. Inghirami, *Gal. Om.* follows the usual explanation of this scene.

^b *Annali del Inst. d. Cor. Arch.* iii. 8vo. Rom. 1831. Cf. *Mus. Etrusq.* 1737. Welcker, *Annales de l'Institut Archeologique*, xvii. 142, note 1.

^c Inghirami, *Gal. Om.* tom. i. tav. XV.

the illustrations of the Milanese codex of Homer, in which two portions of the incident are represented. Achilles has his hand upon his sword; and on his side are Diomedes and Ulysses. Agamemnon sits on the other side, with Idomeneus and Menelaus. Nestor is in the centre; the Greek army stands behind. The second instance is Achilles contenting himself with abusing Agamemnon, with Nestor still in the centre. But the subject has been treated in another manner on several sarcophagi. The most important of these is the Barberini, which contained the celebrated Portland Vase. Achilles is here without armour.^a He has started from his chair. On his left hand is an argolic buckler; in his right he brandishes his sword. Agamemnon is seated on the right of the composition holding a parazonium, and Ulysses appears to restrain or endeavour to escape from the scene. A youthful warrior like Achilles, probably Diomedes, stands before Agamemnon, behind whom is an old man and another warrior. On the other side of the sarcophagus, and in a chair, is Nestor seated, and three armed Greeks. Two females, supposed to be Briseis and Chryseis, appear in the scene; one seems alarmed at the violence of Achilles. Under the chair of Agamemnon is a helmet.^b Now this is important for the interpretation of the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles; but it is not easy to interpret the appearance of the females in the scene. Yet, on the bas-relief published by Winckelman,^c the same subject is evidently repeated. Achilles has risen irritated, and brandishes his sword: Agamemnon and Nestor are seated. The Greek army with their horses are present. Three females appear, one more than usually agitated, at the scene; but there is no armour. A terra-cotta also found at Capræ,^d representing a hero clapping his hand upon his sword, has been attributed to the same subject. Now it will be remembered that Achilles is placed on the right side in these compositions, and restrained by Ulysses and Diomedes, while Agamemnon is generally soothed by Menelaus and Idomeneus; yet I cannot conceal how little I think that the explanation proposed answers the condition of the sarcophagi. Chryseis, in the Homeric, which the bas-reliefs follow, was not present in the scene, neither was Briseis; both were in the tents. Achilles did not draw his sword, he only laid his hand upon the hilt, and even in this he was restrained by Pallas Athené; yet no Pallas is present on either sarcophagus. These sarcophagi much more resemble another version of Achilles and the *ἐν Σκύρῳ παθήνευσις*.

^a Gal. Om. tom. i. tav. XXIV. XXV.

^b Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, tom. ii. tav. XXXIII. Bartoli, *Antichi Sepolchri*, tav. XXX. Montfaucon, *Antiquités Expliquées*, tom. v. p. i. lib. iii. c. i. ii. Venuti, *Spiegazione dei Bassirilievi nell'urna d'Alessandro Severo*. Foggini, *Museo Capitolino*, tom. iv. tav. I. Re, *Reflessioni antiquarii sulle sculture Capitoline*, tom. i.

^c Mon. Ined. No. 124. Inghirami, *Gal. Om.* tav. XXIII. p. 63.

^d Inghirami, l. c. xxiv.





Myth on a Kylix from the Canino Collection N

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I must now revert to another explanation, of which this part of the vase is susceptible,—the contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles,—the ὁπλων κρίσις of Æschylus.^a Yet this subject is remarkably rare, and is only known from the silver cup of Stroganov, where Ajax and Ulysses plead their cause before Pallas Athené, who is seated in the centre armed with her shield and lance, while the fatal armour lies before her.^b But there is no clue to any violence on the occasion of the judgment, either in the dramatists or the writers of the Post-Homerica.^c If referrible to this portion of the Iliad, the alarmed female must be Thetis terrified at the violence created by the strife, and the older male figure replacing the female, probably Agamemnon. In some of the later ones, indeed, the subject of the contention of the two was the possession of the Palladium,^d where the late epitomist has in all probability blundered the story of the two Ajaces, or else that of Diomed, into the mythos. But the solution of this subject is not satisfactory, and the recognition of Paris by Cassandra, or the strife of the Atridæ, may perhaps be represented. The subject is evidently related to this portion of the Iliad.

The subject of the reverse I conceive to be of the highest interest for the illustration of the Attic dramatists. It is the judgment of Orestes before the Areiopagus, one of the subjects which appears on the productions of the potters' furnaces contemporary with the Ὀρεστέïα or grand trilogy of Æschylus, (the Agamemnon, the Eumenides, and the Choephori), a clear and distinct proof that arts and literature marched hand-in-hand in the early times of Greece. Orestes before the Areiopagus is new to archaic vase art; but the whole of the subject of the fictile and sculptured Oresteia is so important, and so varied, that, although it has engaged the attention of Millin,^e M. Raoul Rochette,^f and M. Welcker,^g it deserves, from the continual recurrence of new monuments, a fresh classification. (1.) The subject of the young Orestes seized by Telephus^h occurs on a *crater* in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.ⁱ The

^a Schol. ad Sophocl. Ajacem, 190. Cf. Æschyl. Fragm. Dindorf, 8vo. Par. 1842, p. 213. Ovid, Met. xiii. the argument of the Μίτρα Ἰλίας. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1051. See also the extracts of Pacuvius and Attius, l. c.

^b This monument, first published by Koehler, Magazin Encyclopedique, 1803, v. p. 372, by Millin. Gal. Myth. 629, is conjectured by Inghirami, Gal. Om. cx. to be the dedication of the armour of Dolon.

^c Cf. Quint. Smyrn. Paralipom. v. 125—332, supposed to be a reproduction of the Æthiopis of Arctinus; Johannes, Tzetzes, Posthom. 480—484, 495; and the Argument to the Ajax of Sophocles.

^d Dictys Cretensis, lib. v. sub fine.

^e Oresteïd.

^f Mon. Ined. Oresteïde, p. 115, and foll.

^g Rhein. Mus. iv. 606. u. ff.

^h Schol. ad Acharn. Aristoph. v. 332.

ⁱ Welcker, in Bullet. Arch. Napol. Feb. 1843, No. 5, p. 33, No. V. in s. vi. 1572.

Mysian monarch is here shown wearing the Mysian *cidaris*, arrived at Argos for the cure of his wound, and recognised by the Argives; he holds the young Orestes in his arms, and threatens to stab him if touched. Before him stands Agamemnon. The same subject occurs on an Etruscan sarcophagus, published by M. Raoul Rochette and M. Otto Jahn.^a Clytemnestra is here present, having urged on Telephus to the deed,^b while Achilles and Menelaus attack the Mysians, although restrained by compassion for the child. Clytemnestra restrains Agamemnon. This part of the Oresteid also is on the sarcophagus from Toscanella, in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican. These subjects are all to be sought in the plots of the Telephus of Æschylus.^c

The opening scene of the Choephoroi of Æschylus, and the Electra of Sophocles, are the common subject of the Athenian lecythi, with figures traced in black, red, and occasionally in various colours. The type of this vase was peculiarly sepulchral,^d and hence the subject of the libations and offerings offered at the tomb of Agamemnon was well suited for it. On one published by M. Raoul Rochette,^e Orestes, wearing the petasus and chlamys, holding a spear in his right hand, stands before the upright stelé, or pillar-tomb of Agamemnon, which is surmounted by an antefixial ornament; Electra is seated at the steps, and behind her is Chrysothemis, with the square basket, as canephoros. Another vase of the Basilicata style^f represents the tomb of Agamemnon, as described, but with his name *Αγαμέ[μνων]* inscribed on it. The pillar is placed on steps or three bases; Electra is tying a garland round it on one side, and on the other is Chrysothemis, with a basket of fruit and garlands, which she is bearing from her mother Clytemnestra, as she describes herself in the Electra of Sophocles. *Ἐκ τε μητρὸς ἐντάφια χερσὶν Φέρουσαν οἷα τοῖς κατὰ νομίηται.* At the side of the tomb are an *anochoe*, two branches, and garland. The magnificent Athenian polychromatic lecythus, with Electra and the female attendants, in the British Museum, is also to be referred to this part of the mythos.^g On a third vase,^h referring to the same subject, Orestes naked, wearing a petasus, and holding a spear, stands before the tomb of Agamemnon, which is in the shape

^a Cf. also Jahn, Telephos, and Troilos, Kiel, 1841. Raoul Rochette, M. I. pl. xlvii.

^b Welcker, loc. cit.

^c Welcker, loc. cit. p. 34. Cf. also Dempster, Etruria Regalis, t. I. tab. L. p. 343, and LI. LII.

^d See Aristophanes, Eccles. 1041.

^e Monumens Inédits, pl. XVI. p. 156. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CLVII.

^f Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. pl. CXL. Gargiulo, Raccolta dei Monumenti più interessanti del R. Museo Borbonico.

^g Raoul Rochette, Peint. Ant. pl. VIII. IX. p. 415, and foll.

^h Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CXXXVI.

of a square Doric pilaster, surmounted by a helmet: on the stelé is the name ΑΓΑΜΕ[ΜΝ]ΩΝ, and at the base are triglyphs. Electra [ΕΑΕΚΤΡΑ] is seated with her hands upon her knees in an attitude of dejection, and Chrysothemis holds a pyxis, while she lifts up her veil with one hand and looks behind her. She is followed by Pylades, wearing a chlamys, and holding a spear. On a vase, in the Basilicata^a style, published by Millingen, Electra is represented seated alone at the tomb of Agamemnon, in this case shaped like a naos, holding a vase. Pylades and Orestes are present. With this must be placed the vase of Carelli, edited by R. Rochette; ^b where Electra is seated on a pedestal of three steps, surmounted by a stelé, with an Ionic capital, and tied with a fillet. Electra holds the hydria (as on the previous vase), in which were borne the λουτρά, or the κτερίσματα, ^c and χέρνιβες, and on the steps are several vases of the shape of the cantharus, lecythus, oxybaphon, hydria, or calpis, cylix, and a pomegranate.

On a vase of the Hamilton collection, ^d represented in Italinsky, the tomb of Agamemnon is a square upright pillar placed upon two bases, surmounted by a crater; on the lower step is an amphora, a cup, and a sash; on the upper step Orestes is seated, conversing with Pylades, who stands facing him; both are draped, and hold sticks. Electra stands behind them upon the upper step, and ties a sash round the tomb. She is draped in a tunic, which exposes her right arm and side, and her peplos is thrown over her head: in the area is a patera, and a fillet apparently from a bucranium which has been lost. The composition of this vase owes much to a Neapolitan restoration; but the action seems to be that which precedes the prayer delivered by Orestes and Electra seated upon their father's tomb.^e

Another vase represented Orestes, ^f draped in a chlamys, and holding in his left hand a stick, and in his right a cup, standing at the square pillar-shaped tomb of Agamemnon, round which are tied a black and a white sash. On the base of the tomb are a cantharus and two cylices; at the other side stands Pylades wearing a chlamys, and holding a spear and crown. A fuller form of this picture occurs on a vase of the Basilicata style, in the Museum at Naples; ^g Electra is seated on the base of three steps, on which rises the Ionic column which represents the tomb of Agamemnon; and she is surrounded by three *anochoæ* and a cantharus, by which the

^a Peintures antiques et inédits de Vases Grecques, tirées de diverses Collections, avec des explications, pl. IV. p. 25; repeated, Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, ii. CXXXIX.

^b Mon. Ined. pl. XXXI. A.

^c Schol. ad Sophocl. Electram, 436, ἀπὸ τοῦ χέειν αὐτὰ κάτω τῆς ἑρας ἡγουν τῆς γῆς.

^d Italinsky, fo. Naples, 1791, tom. i. pl. LXXXVI.

^e Æsch. Choeph. 499, cf. l. 334.

^f Millingen. Peint. Ant. p. 34, note 2.

^g Inghirami, loc. cit. ii. tav. CLI.

libations have been made at it. Orestes, draped with a chlamys, and wearing a petasus, pours wine from a cup; behind is Pylades seated, and a naked youth in an attitude expressing astonishment. Hermes, *χρόνιος*, crowns the tomb, towards which advances an old figure holding a sceptre, and wearing an exomis. Another, in a peculiar cap, is seated on a *προσκεφάλαιον*, or pillow, behind; and a female, Chrysothemis, stands holding an alabastron. In the figure advancing towards the tomb we must recognise Agamemnon; a youth and reclining figure are at the ends of the composition. Hermes, who is invoked both in the Choephoroi and in the Electra, is present on another vase,^a where Electra is seated at the foot of the tomb, shod. The stelé is here replaced by an Ionic column on two steps, on one of which is a hydria, and on the other a lecythus and fillet. Before her stands Orestes, wearing a chlamys, and a pileus on his head, holding in his right hand a cantharus, and in his left a spear. Behind Electra stands the Hermes, *χρόνιος*, holding up his hand, and Chrysothemis holding an alabastron. The same subject appears on another vase^b formerly in the collection of the Empress Josephine. Orestes, wearing a pileus off his head, holds a spear in his right and a crown in his left hand, at the tomb figured as an Ionic column, on a base of two steps, on which is an amphora. Before him stands Electra as a canephoros, holding a basket in her left and a sash in her right hand; in the area is a crown. The subject of the four occurs on another vase, published by Inghirami;^c and on one given by D'Hancarville,^d where the Ionic column is replaced by a Doric one, with a garland. On one side Electra places fruit from a basket on the tomb; and on the other Orestes, holding a spear in his right hand, and his left enveloped in his chlamys, stands conversing with her: and again in Italinsky,^e Electra, draped in chlamys and peplos, and shoes, *ἀρβύλη λακωνική*, holds a garland or fillet in her right hand, and in her left a hydria in which are two sprigs of laurel, and round it a fillet: at her feet is a plant, perhaps the asphodel, which grew on the tombs. Electra is unaccompanied by her maids; either that the artist has abridged the scene or else that he has chosen the moment when she fervently prays to the eidolon of Agamemnon. Before her stands Orestes in conversation with her, wearing the pileus, chlamys, and endromides, and holding in his hand an inverted spear. In the area is an argolic buckler and fillet. Another,^f

^a Milling. Peint. Ant.; Inghirami, Vas. Fitt. ii. tav. CLIII.

^b Millin. Peint. de Vases Antiques, vulgairement appellées Etrusques, tom. ii. pl. LI. Raoul Rochette, tom. ii. pl. LI. Rochette, Mon. Ined. P. I. p. 159, note 47. Inghirami, ii. tav. CLVI. p. 75.

^c Tom. i. XXI.

^d Antiquités, Etrusques, Grecques, et Romaines, tom. iv. pl. LXXXI. Inghirami, loc. cit. tom. ii. pl. CXLII.

^e Pitture di Vasi Antichi, tom. i. tav. XV. Tischbein, fo. Naples, 1791, pl. XXXVI.

^f Museo Chiusino, tav. CXCIII. Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. ii. tav. CLVIII.

connected with this portion of the Oresteïd, represents Electra seated, holding a lecythus; behind stands Pylades, enveloped in a cloak; and before her Orestes, also enveloped in his cloak, to avoid recognition. In the interior is Orestes half naked, seated upon a chair, his right hand stretched out, and left holding a stick.^a A lecythus, also published by Inghirami, represents one figure at a sepulchral stelé.

Now thus far we have only considered the vases representing the opening of the Oresteïa of the three dramatists—the arrival of the two friends disguised as travellers from the court of Træzene. In the Electra of Sophocles, which the fictile artists appear to have chiefly followed, the friends in the first instance decorate the tomb of Agamemnon with locks of hair^b and libations, and they then proceed towards the palace. The particular incident of the Electra is the death of Orestes, feigned by the pair of friends, and the bringing of the brazen hydria, called the *τύπωμα χαλκόπλευρον*,^c in which his body is represented as *φλογίστην ἤδη καὶ κατηνθρακωμένον*, *i. e.* already submitted to fire and reduced to ashes. Now on one of the vases of Lamberg^d this very incident is represented: Orestes and Pylades advance barefooted towards Electra, Orestes first holding the bronze hydria, draped in a chlamys, and holding two spears. Electra, it will be remembered, gives her brother her father's sword, an action represented on a vase of the Basilicata style, and on a vase formerly in Sir W. Hamilton's^e possession, Pylades stands armed with a thorax fitting closely to his shape, and holding an argolic buckler and spear. Orestes brandishes a sword, with which he is always represented killing Ægisthus, and his chlamys slipping off his arm. Electra draped in a tunic excites her brother to the deed; and behind them is either the tomb of Agamemnon or the throne of the palace at Argos. This armed type is perfectly in accordance with the Choephoroi^f of Æschylus, calling the two heroes the *διπλῶς Ἄρης*, which suggests their armed appearance on the sarcophagi and vases. From this point the slender plot of the dramatists passes to the matricide of Clytemnestra and the death of Ægistheus, a crime to which he was impelled by the commands of Apollo, and by Fate. And we, accordingly, find on the Mirror published by Dr. Braun, where the hero (Urusthe) is represented armed, and stabbing Clytemnestra,

^a Inghirami, V. F. tom. iii. tav. CCXLVI. Gal. Omer. iii. tav. IX. p. 57.

^b Schol. ad Soph. Elect. 50, et seq.

^c Electr. l. 54. Cf. Schol. ad eund. τὸ ἄγγος τὴν ὑδρίαν; and Æschyl. Choeph. l. 684.

^d Laborde, Vases de Lamberg, i. pl. VIII. Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. XXXIV. p. 159.

^e Tischbein, fo. Naples, 1791, pl. LXXXVII.

(Cluthumstha,) the Semna Thea, or rather Diké,^a present under the name of Nathum, or Fatum; on another he is stabbing his mother, but no Fury is present.^b On the stamnos, in the Berlin Museum, with red figures, Orestes, OPEISTES, as an armed youth, stabs AITISΘOΣ, Ægistheus,^c who is bearded, on the seat or throne of Pelops,^d while KATTAIMNEΣTPA hastens with a pelekys,^e the same weapon with which she had destroyed Agamemnon, to the assistance of her paramour. Another vase of the Museo Borbonico represents Orestes pursuing his mother; but he is impelled to the deed by Pylades, not Electra.^f It is Orestes who destroys his mother, while Pylades despatches Ægistheus, on the terra-cotta published by Visconti;^g but on a relief formerly in the Palazzo Circi della Pedacchia at Rome, Electra encourages her brother to destroy Ægistheus, as in the Electra and Choephoroi, while Clytemnestra hurls a footstool at her son.^h

The most celebrated monument of this subject is the sculptured Etruscan sarcophagus, which gives an epitome of the Oresteid.ⁱ The right side is injured, and the wanting portion probably contained Orestes killing Ægistheus; the next is Orestes stabbing Clytemnestra. Six^k days after the matricide of Clytemnestra, her mad and fury-haunted son is represented performing the last offices of the perideipnon^l to his mother, and awaiting the judgment of the people of Argos. Now to connect this with the Oresteid of Æschylus. Orestes first proceeds to Delphi. Hither he is pursued by the relentless Eumenides; and, wildly brandishing his sword, startles the Pythia. This part of the Oresteid is perhaps the most common on works of art, because of the chthonic character of the scene. It is found generally with an abridgment of some of the details. The

^a Inghirami, Gal. Om.-t. ccxx. Æsch. Choeph. 947.

^b Oreste stretto al parricidio dal fato specchio Etrusco di Giuseppe Bassegio, illustrato da E. Braun. fo. Roma, 1841. Gerhard, *Miroirs Etrusques*, pl. CCXXVII.

^c Gerhard, *Vases Etrusques et Campanéens de Musée Royal de Berlin*. fo. Berlin, 1843, pl. XXIV. p. 35.

^d *Πελοπός ἐπὶ προπατόρος ἔδραν*. Euripid. Orest. l. 1365.

^e Electra, 97, et seq., Schol. ad eund. l. 195, and Schol. 8, *γένυς γὰρ εἶδος πελέκεος*. Æschyl. Choeph. 887.

^f Welcker, *Bullet. Arch. Napol.* Feb. 1843, No. v. p. 34.

^g Museo Pio Clementino, v. 22, tav. A. 6. Millin. *Gal. Mythol.* clxv. 618, 619. Welcker, *Zeitschrift*, s. 434, u. ff. s. Rochette, *Mon.* xxix. A. 2, p. 145.

^h Gerhard, *Vases*, loc. cit.

ⁱ Micali, *Stor. d' Italia*, tav. CIX. Rochette, *Mon. In.* xxix. i. 6. Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* vi. tav. A 2. Cf. also Sarc. found in Vigna Argoli at Rome, 1839, p. 2, et seq.

^k Euripid. Orest. 40. Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 112.

^l *Paræmiogr. Vet.* a Gaisford. Svo. Oxon. 1840, p. 41—301. Cf. Orest. l. c. *ἀποκτείνας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα περιδεῖπνον ἐποιήσεν*.

fullest representation is that on the Naples vase, on which are Apollo Loxias, the Pythia,^a and four of the torch-bearing Eumenides. The same scene with the alarmed Pythia, but only one of the Eumenides, and Apollo and Artemis as the *ἐπικούριοι*, is found on the Lamberg Vase, published by Dr. Jahn, probably from Ruvo.^b On another vase of the Museo Borbonico^c at Naples, two Furies pursue him, one holding a mirror and snakes, to the omphalos of Loxias; he is accompanied by Electra, and the Pythia is seated on the tripod, Apollo on the omphalos, which is thickly crowned with fillets. Another vase of the same style represents Orestes accompanied by Electra before Apollo at the prophetic tripod, and the Pythia.^d On the vase in the Berlin Museum found at Ceglie, published by Rochette^e and Gerhard,^f the same incidents occur, with the introduction of a Fury, and a female form supposed to be the shade or eidolon of Clytemnestra, but more probably Electra. On the Vatican vase Apollo and Athene defend Orestes from the Eumenides, while a winged figure, probably a Victory, soars in the air, to indicate the repulse of the Furies.^g There is another vase in the British Museum with red figures, and of the style of Apulia, in which the scene is differently represented. Orestes, draped in a chlamys, which is fastened by a fibula across his throat, kneels upon the step or altar of the temple of Delphi. His pilos has fallen off his head, and is only restrained by the straps. No Fury is here present; for the artist has either left them to the mind's eye, as in the Choephoroi Orestes sees them, while to the chorus they are utterly invisible,^h or else they have fled before the power of Loxias; but I prefer the former explanation. Apollo stands behind, with his drapery wrapped round his arm: in his right hand he holds a laurel branch; in his left are two leaves, which he holds over the head of the agitated Orestes. Before Orestes is an Ionic column, and on the area is a bucranium. On the base is a false inscription. On the vase published by Millin, Orestes holds in one hand two spears, and in the other a sword, and has sunk on the altar, while Apollo and Pallas, who interpose in the Oresteid, hasten to his assistance.ⁱ A vase, published by

^a Bull. Arch. Napol. 1844.

^b Vasenbilder, 4to. Hamburg, p. 1849, and fol.

^c Inghirami, V. F. iv. tav. CCCLXXXV. CCCLXXXVI. Cf. Raoul Roch. Mon. In. pl. XXXVI., XXXVII. 186.

^d Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, tom. iv. CCCLXVII. Tischbein, ii. tav. IX. p. 10.

^e Mon. In. pl. XXXV. p. 192—196.

^f Ant. Bild. No. 1003, p. 285.

^g Visconti, in the Atti dell' Accademia Romana di Archaeologia, t. ii. p. 601 and foll. Rochette, Mon. In. xxxviii.

^h Choeph. i. Cf. the Iphigeneia, l. 281, 282.

ⁱ Millin. Mon. In. i. 29. Vases, ii. 68. Gal. Myth. 171—623.

M. Rochette, gives another version of the mythos; Orestes has already received purification, and enters the temple attended by his friends Pylades and Electra. It is, however, possible to refer this scene to a much later period of the mythos, to the closing scene of the return from the Colchian Expedition. A vase at Copenhagen abridges the scene, and represents Orestes protected by Apollo against one Fury armed with a snake and torch; ^a and a small black vase from Sicily, with the subject in relief, represents Orestes only at the altar. ^b On the vase published by D'Hancarville, he contends with two Eumenides. ^c The Orestes of Euripides, which treats of the period immediately subsequent to the matricide, introduces Apollo on the scene, enjoining to Orestes a year's purification, and banishment to Azæ in Arcadia, previous to his appearance before the Areiopagos. Ordered by Apollo, according to the Eumenides of Æschylus, to submit his cause to the tribunal of the Areiopagos, Orestes quits Argos for Athens, where he arrives on the day of the choai, the second day of the celebration of the Anthesteria ^d or festival of the Lenæan Dionysos, on the 18th of the month Pyanepsion, in the reign of Demophon or Pandion ^e II. He is received with as much civility as his peculiar unpurified condition would permit. He is still tracked by the dread Eumenides, and his cause is mythically conducted before the Areiopagos by these demons, or in a human sense by Tyndareus the father, and Erigone ^f the daughter, of Clytemnestra. The scope of Æschylus, which was to give the legend a more exalted character, with the great political aim of sustaining the aristocratical influence of the Areiopagos against the encroaching power of the democracy and of the orators, has invested this portion of the Oresteïd ^g with a halo of peculiar dignity. The twelve judges continue mortal, but Apollo pleads for Orestes, and the Furies for revenge. Pallas-Athené acts as the *εἰσαγωγὸς* or *ἡγέμων* of the court. According to the hypothesis of Müller, the gerontes of the chorus of the Agamemnon reappear in the Eumenides in the character of Areiopagites. Their number must be twelve, because Apollo and the Erinnyes speak an Iambic distich eleven times, counting each except the first and last. The peculiar number he refers

^a Thorlacius, *Vas pictum Italo-Grecum, Orestem ad Delphicum tripodem supplicem exhibens*, Kopenhagen, 1826; reduced in Müller, *Denkm.* ii. t. 13, 148. Jahn, loc. cit. p. 7.

^b Now in the British Museum. Raoul Rochette, pl. CLV. p. 197. De Witte, *Cat. Dur.* No. 1381, p. 343.

^c *Ant. Etr. Grec. &c. tom.* ii. pl. XXX. T. David, tom. ii. pl. XXXI. p. 123. Inghirami, *Gal. Omer. tav.* III. XI.

^d Schol. ad *Ran.* loc. cit. Tzetzes, ad *Lyc. Alex.* 1734.

^e Schol. ad *Ran.* 615, and foll. *Iphig.* in *Taur.* 910, and foll.

^f Tzetzes, loc. cit. *Iphig.* in *Taur.* l. 931.

^g Müller, *Diss. on Eumenides of Æschylus*, Engl. translation, Cambr. 1835, p. 243, et seq.

to a general one of the councils in the heroic times, but he has overlooked the key to this part—their replacing the twelve gods at the trial of Ares^a.

This institution had originated, according to the oldest tradition, from the murder of Halirrhoetius, the son of Poseidon,^b by Ares, who had killed him while attempting the virtue of Alcippe, his daughter by Agrauros, the child of Cecrops. On this occasion the twelve great Attic gods sat as judges. The other derivations of its name, from Areios pagos, Ἀρείος πάγος, the blood-stained hill,^c or from Ares as the δικάστης of the hill, or from Ares having fixed (πύγνυμι) his spear there, are evidently secondary to the time when the temple of Ares had been *fixed* upon its apex, and become the settled tribunal of criminal offences.^d Six generations later, Cephalus was tried before the same body for the murder of his wife Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus; and, still later, Dædalus for that of the Attic Talos;^e and the grand trial of Orestes for the matricide of Clytemnestra, who was connected indirectly with the Attic race through the Theseid, completes the mythic and heroic functions of this court. But this court was probably constructed at the expense of the Ephetai, only second in importance to the Areiopagos: for it may be observed, that the Argives had anciently the privilege of sitting^f as judges at this latter court, which was held at the Palladium, as the Areiopagos was under the mythic protection of Pallas-Athené herself; and Solon in his reforms increased the powers of the Areiopagos at the expense of those of the Ephetai. This latter court is stated to have been founded by Demophon, in whose reign Orestes arrived at Athens. What more natural than to have transferred the mythic trial to the Areiopagos, and represent the goddess herself as present at the one tribunal, because her ξόανον was at the other? In the Eumenides, Pallas-Athené charges each of the Areiopagites to take a ballot stone from the altar, and throw it into the urn appointed for the purpose. This would well agree with the action of the vase, the judges approaching to the altar, or λήθεις ἀναιδείας καὶ ὕβρεως,^g to lift the votes there deposited; but, as the καλίσκος δικάστικός is not here,^h and the ballots are

^a Cf. Paus. i. c. 28, 5; 21, 7; iii. c. 14, 2; that is, supposing Ares and Poseidon were replaced by two other divinities in the court.

^b Hellanicus in lib. i. (Atthis) in Bachmann's Anecdota, p. 142, 22, et seq.

^c Bachm. loc. cit. Bekker, Scholia in Platonem, 8vo. London, 1824, 4. Phædr. vol. iii. p. 229.

^d Hellanicus, Atthis, lib. i. in Schol. ad Euripidis Orestem, l. 1648. Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, 8vo. Par. 1841, p. 56.

^e Ibid.

^f Hesychius, ἐπι Πάλλαδι. Cf. Bekker, Anecd. Lex. Rhet. p. 212 and 311. The Palladium was that which Demophon had taken from Diomedes, who had killed in his flight several persons; hence the institution of the court.

^g Paus. Att. i. c. xxvii.

^h Cf. Bachman, loc. cit. p. 333; καλίσκος ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ δικάστικῃ. Pollux, viii. c. 5. s. 17.

arranged along the two sides of the altar, I prefer the explanation of the particular moment at which Pallas-Athené is, *κρινάσα ἴσας ψήφους*, "passing judgment on the equal voting."^a The absence of Loxias and of the Erinnyes is easily solved on the hypothesis that the artist has followed another legend, and represented Tyndareus as the accuser, who in that case would be the figure turning from the altar, and pointing to the one enveloped in his cloak.

The number of votes at the right side is six, half of the whole tribunal. Those on the left, owing to their differing in shape and being so close to the garment of Pallas-Athené, are not so distinct; they are apparently six. (Plate XI. fig. 3). Now there were two modes of voting; one with black and white beans,^b recalling to mind the *chthonic* divinities, and sacred to the white and black Erinnyes; the other by solid and perforated stones, in relation with the punishment of stoning^c inflicted for murder, as the ostracism was with that of banishment beyond the sea. The figure on the extreme right I regard as Orestes, because he is enveloped within his garment, *χλαυιδίῳ ἔσω κρυφθεὶς*,^d an attitude recalling extreme mental suffering. Œdipus at Colonus, on the Pompeian painting, is so draped;^e and Agamemnon, when afflicted at the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, appears deeply veiled on the altar of the Florence gallery,^f and also on the Pompeian painting,^g the manner in which he was represented by the artist Timanthes.^h Erechtheus in the same manner expresses his grief at the loss of his daughter Oreithyia, Achilles for Briseisⁱ and Patroclus.^k This attitude was particularly tragic. In the *Φερύγες ἢ Ἑκτορος λύτρεά*, The Phrygians, or ransom of Hector, of Æschylus, Achilles^l was represented in this attitude; and in his Niobe the same writer had represented the unfortunate mother sitting speechless and enveloped [*ἐγκεκαλυμένῃ*] for three days on the tomb of her children.^m All the

^a Cf. Æschyl. Eumenid. ; and Iphig. 1436, and foll.

^b Bachmann, Anecd. Lips. 1828, p. 333.

^c Euripid. Orest. l. 50.

^d Ibid. 42.

^e Mus. Borbon. v. 23, in supposing this picture to be rightly assigned; it has, however, much analogy with Iphigeneia at Aulis.

^f Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. xxvi. p. 129, 130. Lanzi, Descr. d. Gall. d. Firenze, p. 166-169. Carli, Descr. d. Mantov. 1785, p. 284. Uhden Abhandlung d. Königlich. Akadem. d. Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1812, p. 74. Welcker die Æschyl. Trilogie, 412, 413.

^g Zahn, Neuendecte, Wandgemälde in Pompeii, Pl. XXIX. Raoul Rochette, Choix des Edifices, &c., Pl. XIV. Mon. In. xxvii.

^h Rochette, Mon. In. p. 129-180. Plin. xxxvi. 10-25. Cicer. Orat. 22, 74. Quintil. ii. 13. Val. Max. viii. 11, 6.

ⁱ Gerhard. Auser. Vas.

^k Raoul Rochette, M. In. lxxx.

^l Dindorf, Poetæ Scenici, App. p. 21.

^m Ibid. and Script. Vit. Æschyl. Cf. Aristoph. Batr. v. 942.

Fig 2



Fig 1.



Fig 3.



Remaining Portion of the Myth upon the under side of

Fig 2

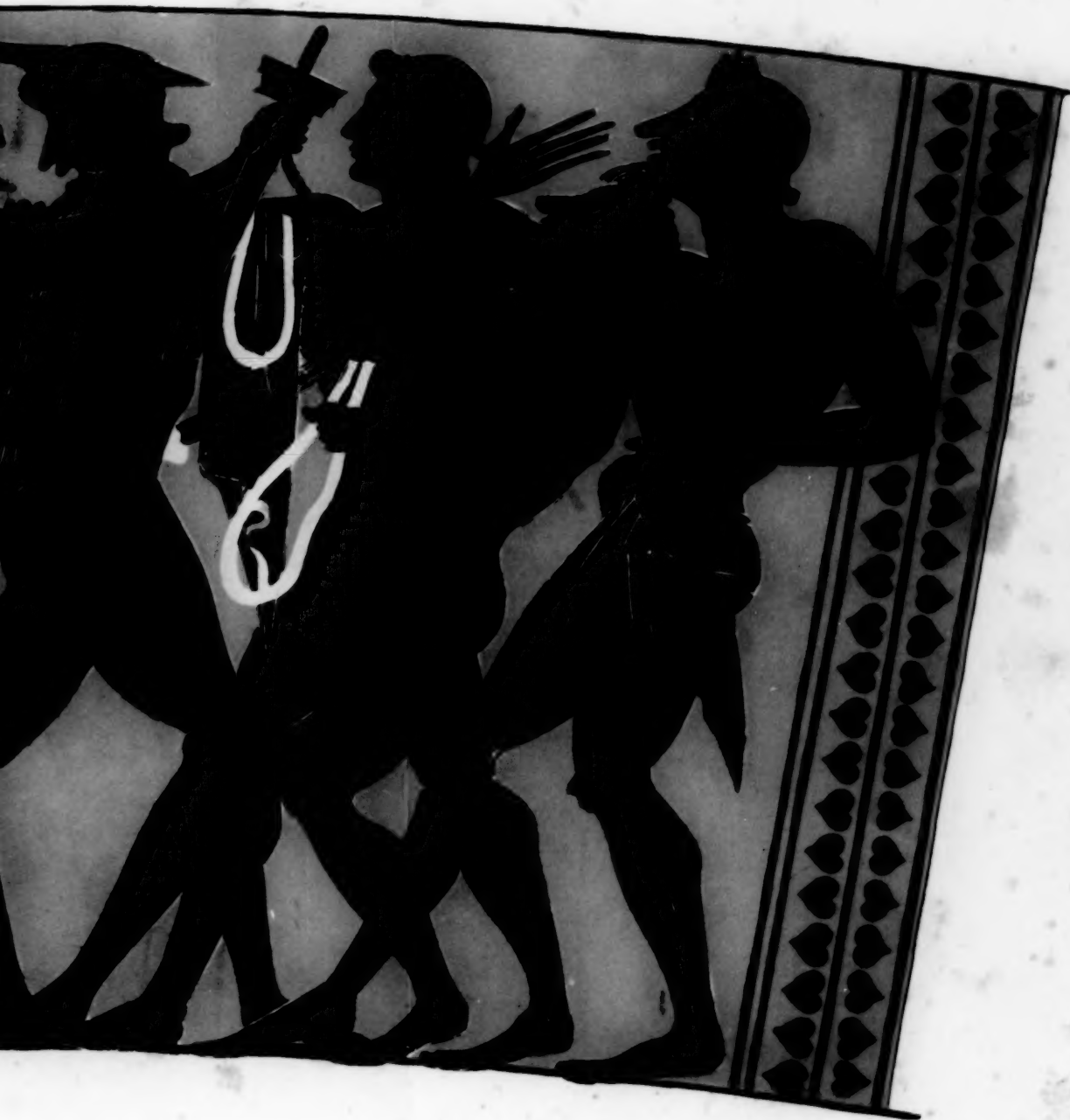


of the Pelide Vase from Vulci.

J. Baire del.



Vulcan Hydria of
referred to



of archaic style.
red to in p. 151.

figures are draped alike, and carry knotted sticks,^a the usual mark of elegance or dignity among the Greeks, and which continued, with the tribon or cloak,^b to indicate people of dignity till a late period. All in the present scene wear shoes, with the exception of Orestes, who is unshod, and is, therefore, called by the false Anacreon λευκόπους;^c for there can be no doubt, from the gloss of Hesychius on ἀργυροπέδα,^d and ποδάργγος, as equal to λευκόπους, and the epithet applied by Euripides in his Cyclops to the Bacchæ, βάρκαϊς σὺν λευκόποσιν,^e that the expression alluded to the unshod insanity of the hero.^f He appears subsequently to have walked barefooted, scatheless over the burning coals of the altar of the Artemis Tauropolos, in the Chersonese, a ceremony retained by the priestesses of the Artemis Perasia, in remembrance of the deed at Castabala.^g At the Asylum he finally recovers from his madness.^h The same artistic balance which prevailed in grander compositions is present on this cylix, for it is to be observed that there are the same number of figures on each side, and of the same relative ages, and that the centre of the composition is occupied on each side by a female. Some other monuments of this portion of the Oresteïd exist, in which Pallas-Athené takes a prominent part. On the Pourtales Vase,ⁱ published by M. Panofka, she appears with Ares and Hermes leading Orestes before the Areiopagos. On the silver Corsini Vase, found at Antium, edited by Winckelman,^k Pallas places her suffrage in the urn of Mercy, held up by a priestess with a torch, or an Erinny, between Ares seated on the crest of the hill, a dikastes or Tyndareus, Orestes, and Electra. Pallas-Athené and the urn, with or without Ares as the dikastes of the hill, is found on the coins of Tegen.^l (See Plate XI. figg. 1, 2). A lamp with the same subject is known.^m The vote of

^a False Anacreon, Od. li. Herodian. Orellius, Vit. Secundi, p. 208.

^b Or the ἔξωμος, Bachmann, Anecd. II. supra cit.

^c Od. 31.

^d Vocibus.

^e L. 72.

^f Cf. λευκόπους. Schol. ad Aristophanis Lysistratam, l. 33, whose reasonings are wrong, as the whole passage applies to the Alcmaeonidæ, who are connected with the Oresteïdæ even in the false Anacreon, loc. cit.

^g Strabo, xii. c. 2.

^h Rerum Mythicarum Latini Script. tres, ii. 202.

ⁱ Panofka, Cabinet Pourtales, pl. VII. p. 40. This subject, however, has much relation with the mythos of Sisyphus.

^k Mon. In. No. 151, fo. Prato. 1834. Gal. Mythol. clxxi. 624. Paciaudi Peloponnesiaca, p. 68. Cf. Panofka, loc. cit. for the possibility of the torch-bearing figure being an Erinny. Böttiger, loc. cit. a vase of the Koller Collection in Berlin. Raoul Rochette, M. I. pl. XXXV. Another at Naples. M. I. lxxvi. 8. p. 419.

^l Millingen, Recueil de quelques Medailles Grecques, 4to. Rome, 1812, who balances between the εἰρήνη Ἀφιδαντεῖον, and this subject. Aristid. in Athen. Orat. i. p. 13. He ultimately reverts to the Pallas-Alea. Cf. Mionnet, ii. p. 255, No. 68, p. 256. Supp. iv. 293, No. 115, with AA and IE in area. This flint was supposed to be deposited in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, according to L. Ampelius, Mirab. cviii. Sicyone in Achaia in foro ædes Apollonis est. In ea sunt &c. calculus quem Minerva sortita est. De Orestæ cervice. Heinsius has restored calculus. Ed. Valpy, loco, 8vo. 1822; but it is necessary to carry it on, sortita est de Orestæ cervice.

^m D'Hancarville.

Pallas-Athené liberates the hero from death, but not from the presence of the Erinnyes; but, in gratitude to his protectress, he erects an altar to the goddess Athene Areia.^a This completes the circle of the locality, the temple of Ares being on the summit, and that of the Erinnyes at the base, of the Areiopagos. The necessity of expiation compels, according to the dramatists, Orestes, accompanied by his friend Pylades, who replaces the Iolaus of the Heracleid, the Perithoos of the Theseid, and the Patroclus of the Achilleid, to proceed to the Tauric Chersonese,^b to obtain the archaic statue of the Artemis-Hecate. He is urged to this by the oracle of Apollo. This goddess is not the threefold Attic type of Alcamenes, but the light-bearing Selene, who is represented holding in each hand a torch, and attended by her dogs,^c allied with the Pheræan Hecate of Thessaly,^d on earth the protectress of the folds, adored by herdsmen,^e and the mistress of the invisible world repelling or invoking phantoms.

Now the vases of the Basilicata are richest in this portion of the Oresteid, and they seem to have followed the Iphigeneia of the dramatists. On a vase of Apulian style, of the collection of Sir William Hamilton, Orestes, having the name ΑΙΠΙΟΣ inscribed above his head, is draped in a short tunic, bearded, and bound with his hands tied behind him on the altar;^f and on another vase, published by M. Raoul Rochette, the same incident is represented. The name ἄγριος is an appellation equivalent to the name Orestes, according to the scholia of Proclus upon Plato's Cratylus.^g On both these vases he is attended by his friend Pylades, recognised by his sister Iphigeneia, and in the presence of Thoas. On the first-mentioned vase he is still persecuted by the Erinnyes, for a dark Fury rises from the earth at the side of the altar. On the vase published by M. Raoul Rochette^h he is conducted by the royal herdsmen into the presence of the monarch. Two men draped in short tunic and anaxyrides, and wearing the cidaris, conduct the friends chained, preceded by Iphigeneia, to the altar of the Tauric Artemis, on a bas-relief in the Villa Albani.ⁱ Now, a Ruvo vase, published by the Institute at Rome,^j represents Orestes with his name in the Doric form, ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, seated on the altar of the Tauric Artemis, behind which rises a laurel. He is barefooted, holds a stick.

^a Paus. viii. 5.

^b Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc. Alexandr. 1374. Cf. Rer. Myth. Scriptor. Mythogr. tres, a Bode, ii. s. 202. Cui responsum est sic eum posse sanari, si Dianæ Scythicæ simulacrum de Taurica regione ferret. She was worshipped at Hala and Brauron. Spanh. ad Callim. H. dec. 173. Euripid. Iphig. in Taur.

^c Mus. Berl. Jahn, Vasenbild. Orestes, taf. I.

^d Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc.

^e Ibid.

^f D'Hancarville, ii. 68.

^g Boissonade, 8vo. Leps. 1820, p. 47, 48, s. 86. Cratylus, s. 26.

^h Mon. In. pl. XLI.

ⁱ Guattani, Notizie, 4to. Roma, 1786. lxxxij. t. I.

^j Monumenti, 1837, pl. XLIII

and bends his eyes downwards to the earth. Behind Orestes is Pylades, ΠΥΛΑΔΕΣ, clad and shod; and Iphigeneia, ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ, advancing towards him raising her veil, and attended by a Canephoros priestess, holding her basket upon her head, and carrying an *cœnochoe* in her hand. Apollo holding his bow, and Artemis wearing a *cidaris* and long tunic, as the Tauric divinity, are placed above. Behind them is a hexastyle peripteral Ionic temple. The details of this scene, which allude to the final expiation of Orestes between the temples of Apollo and Artemis,^a throws considerable doubt on the explanation proposed for the vase of the Lamberg Collection, where the laurel behind the altar has been supposed to represent the Troizene expiation.^b The incident of the stealing the Hecate statue, evidently borrowed from the theft of the Palladium by Diomedes and Odysseus, is given on a vase in the Louvre; and their removal of it from the altar, on a mirror of the Berlin Museum.^c The conveyance of the Palladium to the ship occurs on a monument of the late Roman period found at Freinz Lammersdorf, and published by Ulrichs.^d The friends naked, armed with drawn swords, advance with Iphigeneia, who holds the Palladium in her hands, to the shore, at which lies a ship; behind them is the temple, the altar, and a deer, the victim of Artemis. The same incident occurs on the slab of a sarcophagus formerly in the Palazzo Accaramboni, connected with a fragment in the Villa Albani.^e

Two other sarcophagi with this portion of the incident, formerly in the Grimani Palace at Rome, and now in the possession of the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar,^f have been published by Millingen; and with this portion of the Oresteid the sarcophagus found at Ostia, and now in the Berlin Museum, is directly connected.^g The relation of the Orestes mythus with the Æolic migration describes him as bearing the Artemis statue to Antiochia, to Amanus, so named from the cessation of his madness, and to Comana, where he deposited his hair in the temple of Enyo, founded in imitation of the Tauric Artemis. Castabala also claimed possession of the statue of the Artemis Tauropolos, under the name of Perasia, left by

^a I would also class hypothetically among the vases of the Oresteid, the cylix published *Ann. de l'Inst.* tom. ix. p. 188—206. Mon. 1837. Pl. XVI, where Orestes, as an armed warrior, ΑΕΣ, (which correct to ΔΕΣ, for *ὁΠΕΣτης*) is attended by Electra into the presence of Apollo ΔΩΝ for Απολλων.

^b Laborde, *Vases de Lamberg*, xiv. Cf. also Quintil. iii. c. iii. s. 8, for a similar incident to Augustus.

^c Ibid. Tom. i. vignette No. 6. Gerhard, *Miroirs*, CCXXXIX.

^d *Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinland*. Bonn, 8vo. 1842, tab. iii. iv. fig. 3. *Kunstblatt*, 1822, Nr. 3, s. 12.

^e Winckelman, *Mon. In.* No. 149-167.

^f Millin. *Oresteide*, Pl. III. IV. Rinck in *Kunstblatt*, 1828, s. 166.

^g Obtained by M. Bunsen for Berlin. *Bull. de l'Inst. Archæol.* 1829, p. 216; 1830, p. 262. Gerhard, *Berlins Antike Bildwerke*, i. s. 101, ff.

Orestes.^a From hence he returns to Athens, where he arranges the marriage of his sister, Electra, with his friend Pylades, the subject of a Nolan vase in the Museo Borbonico. But the circle of the Oresteid is not complete; the vengeance of Apollo is to be visited upon the line of Achilles, because Neoptolemus had offered sacrifices to his father in the temple of that god.^b Hermione, betrothed to Orestes, was seized by Neoptolemus; but Orestes, aided by his sisters, succeeds in despatching him by treachery, at Delphi. This forms the subject of the Pourtales vase published by Panofka, where, according to the tradition of Conon, he is murdered along with his brother Oneiros; and of two mirror cases of bronze, one of which has been published by Gerhard, in his work on mirrors, pl. XXI. On this Neoptolemus flies, unbearded, and draped in a chlamys, to the altar of Apollo, on which he kneels with his left knee. In his left hand he grasps a palm branch, while with his right he brandishes a sword against his opponent. Orestes is armed and bearded, and pursues him sword in hand, with an Argolic buckler on his left arm. Electra, on the other side, draped, endeavours to strike him down with a pelekys. A second mirror case, in the possession of S. Campanari, has, in the same style of art, only Orestes and Neoptolemus, for Electra is here omitted; but Orestes has on his shield the head of the Gorgon. On two alabaster sarcophagi from Chiusi the same scene is beheld, with or without the appearance of Electra; but Orestes in both instances is assisted by Pylades. The accounts of the death of Orestes are as conflicting as the general mythus of the Oresteid. The Argive tradition, probably invented in historical times, makes him die bitten by a serpent, and be obscurely buried in Tegea, in Arcadia.^c

Euripides restores him to the throne of Argos; but the general tradition makes him die in Arcadia,^d when on the point of embarking for the Æolid migration. Other versions make him go to the Orestii, or pass the remainder of his days among the Azæ,^e where Euripides,^f having in his mind the tale of the expiation of Hercules at the Lydian Omphale, places him for a year between the Argos judgment and the grand trial of the Areiopagos. Now a peculiar tradition which connects the Oresteid with the legend of the Dioscouri on the one hand, and the Theseid on the other, is the death of Orestes and the descent of Pylades with him to Hades.^g The vase

^a Tzetzes, Schol. ad Lyc. loc. cit. Strabo, xii. c. 2.

^b Tzetzes, loc. cit. Lat. Myth. Tres, i. 40—140.

^c Herodot. i. 67. Paus. iii. c. 6.

^d Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 1874. Vell. Pat. i. c. 2.

^e Tzetzes, loc. cit. Paus. viii. s. 5.

^f Orestes, l. 1663. Tzetzes, ad Lyc. loc. cit. *παρὰ τοῖς "Αζαῖς" Ἀρκασίων*, where it is possible to read *παρὰ Τεγέαις* Ἀρκασίων.

^g Nonnus, Narr. Vigint. in Creuzer, Meletemata, 8vo. Lips. 1817, pars iv. p. 82. Eudocia, Viol. p. 317.

already cited of the Pourtales collection gives the version of Orestes bitten by the serpent on the altar of Delphi. Now on the sarcophagus, where the principal incidents of the Oresteïd are sculptured,^a Orestes and Pylades kneel on the altar of the Tauric Artemis, and defend themselves with drawn swords against warriors armed with swords, helmets, and peltæ, or gerræ, apparently the Scythians. One of the Erinnyes is here present, and Charon rises with his mallet from the earth, probably in allusion to the descent to Hades, for the presence of the Erinnyes shows that it must have been intermediate between the murder of Clytemnestra and the expiation at Troizene, the asylum, the Chersonese, the fountain of the Hippocrene, or the confluence of the six rivers into the Metaurus, at the Brettii.^b His bones, of gigantic magnitude, (ἐπταπύχεις) are found in their soros under a smith's furnace by the Lichas Spartan, transported to the Oresteium,^c and buried in the temple of the Moirai, at Lacedæmon, as those of the unhappy Œdipus, close to the naos of the Erinnyes, and within the precincts of the Areiopagos, at Athens.

They do not rest here: the Laconian or Arcadian tradition transports them to Aricia, from whence, with the worship of the Tauric or Orthosian Artemis, they are transferred and deposited before the temple of Saturn, at Rome.^d

Now the deductions in reference to art to be drawn with respect to the Oresteïd are these: 1. From its appearance on sarcophagi, vases, cups, and mirror cases, it cannot be considered of a character peculiarly sepulchral, but rather as a legend generally employed to represent the all-pervading influence of destiny on the actions of human life, and the punishment and remorse of guilt.^e 2. From its never appearing on vases with black figures, and first occurring on those with red, and so frequently on the later vases, on which are also scenes taken from the New Comedy, it is evidently posterior to the Oresteïd of the dramatists. Now the earliest, the Æschylus trilogy, was performed in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad (B.C. 458); yet many of the vase subjects are evidently after subjects painted by great painters, such as Theon for example, after the details of Euripides, and consequently not older than the fourth century B.C. which must be the epoch of the red-figured vases.

^a Vid. supra, Micali, Storia d'Italia, tav. CIX. Rochette, xxix. A. 6. Inghirami, Mon. Etrusc. vi. tav. A. 2.

^b Cf. Laborde, Vases de Lamberg, xiv.

^c Herod. ix. 11. Paus. iii. 3, 6; ii. 8; viii. 5, 4.

^d Rer. Myth. Script. Lat. Myth. tres, ii. 20, 202. Cf. i. 20. As the Diana fascelis a fasce, non tantum a face cum quo pingitur. The whipping at her altar referred to the former human sacrifices.

^e Cf. the idea, Hor. Od. iii. 2, 30.

XVII.—*Observations on Two Bas Reliefs of Assyrian Sculpture removed from Khorsabad.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. F.S.A. Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum.

Read 19th March and 2nd April, 1846.

I HAVE the honour to lay before the Society of Antiquaries to-night the drawing of two heads in bas-relief, and of heroic size, forming a portion of the recent discoveries of Mr. Botta at Khorsabad. They were sent by Mr. Rassam, Her Majesty's Consul at Mossul, to Sir Stratford Canning, and by him to Sir Robert Peel, who has sent them to the British Museum for examination and inspection.

I shall first proceed to describe the heads themselves, (Plates XIII. XIV.) and then to consider the circumstances connected with them in relation to—1. The locality where found; 2. Their peculiarities of art; 3. The epoch; 4. The relative state of civilization among the Assyrians.

I. The first head is that of a warrior, bound by a kind of turban, consisting of a plain kerchief^a tied by several folds close to the head, and fitting like a cap, the ends being fixed above the ear; the nose is thin and aquiline, the beard thick, and disposed in formal vertical curls; the hair behind is also curled in the same manner, much resembling the adjustment of hair on the Persian figures at Persepolis.^b The other head, which faces to the left, is one of the figures attendant upon the monarchs of the sculptures, which have been called by M. Botta eunuchs; it has the features of a man, rather full, with aquiline nose, soft expression, hair gathered in undulating curls to the back of the head, where it clusters in short spiral curls, with a light fillet, coloured blue and red, passing over the head.^c The chin is particularly double; and there are ear-rings, resembling^d the Egyptian symbol of life. The slab has

^a A people called in Egyptian texts the Ruten, who are supposed by some to be the Lud-im, and by others the Ar-vad-im, or Arvadites, (a people with red hair and blue eyes, and probably the Leuco-Syri,) wear the same cap. Cf. Hoskin's Travels in Æthiopia.

^b Sir R. Ker Porter's Travels.

^c These heads were first conjectured to be those of women.

^d I say resembling, for they differ much on the subject of this portion of the crux ansata. See Letronne, *Revue Archæologique*, vol. i. p. 483. *Annales de l'Inst. Arch.* Svo. Par. tom. xv.



Bas-Relief of Assyrian Sculpture from Khorsabad.

J. Baire lith.



Bas-Relief from Khorsabad.

J. Basore lith.

been sawn out of the monument ; and the back has also been so treated in order to reduce the weight. It has apparently been taken out of some of the passages of the mound excavated by M. Botta,^a where similar figures, the lower part of which had suffered much from the injurious effects of time, had been discovered.

Two figures complete,^b with heads like the above, were discovered by M. Botta at the locality marked XXVI. in the plan sent to M. Mohl : one draped in an under linen tunic, over which is thrown an upper woollen garment, with a border decorated with embroidery, and brought under the right arm. The wrists of the first figure were ornamented with a pair of bracelets like a torquis of the Persian, the ends terminating in the heads of lions. On the thick part of their arms were spiral armillæ resembling ῥαδιες of the Greeks. The eyes of these figures, as of the head under consideration, were coloured with sthem or stibium, the hair black, and the faces probably red.

The head of the figure, who is in the car^c of the Assyrian monarch and which carries the parasol or chattrā over his head, is also identical with these, although of smaller proportions.^d These figures may be, indeed, princes of the blood royal, and the absence of beard may be intended for extreme youth ; but I am not indisposed to consider, with Botta, that they are eunuchs, from the absence of beard, and great fatness ; and this class held the highest offices of state in the Assyrian court.

I shall proceed now to narrate the circumstances and results of the discoveries of M. Botta, following the descriptions of M. Longperier,^e who has condensed and arranged the matter of the letters of M. Botta,^f in a manner at once lucid and complete, and accompanied them by some excellent suggestions.

After excavating for some time with little success on the Nebi Iunas, or site as supposed of the ancient Nineveh, M. Botta was induced to commence at the village of Khorsabad, a short distance north-east of Mossul, on the left bank of the Khausser, built on a little elongated hill, lying east and west, and having on the eastern extremity a cone, said to be modern and artificial. The whole edifice discovered

^a *Revue Archæologique*, Fevrier, 1846.

^b *Revue Archæol.* loc. cit. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 8vo. Pars Fevrier et Mars, 1845, p. 201.

^c *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. et Oct. 1843, pp. 201—214, pl. XVII.

^d *Journal Asiatique*, 1843, pl. XVII. Longperier in the *Revue Archæol.* Juillet, 1844, p. 9.

^e *Revue Archæologique*, Juillet, 1844, pp. 1—24. I regret that I have been unable to see the *Nineve e le scoperte di Botta*, par Gotto Calvi, 8vo. Milan, 1845.

^f For Botta's Letters, cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 14 Juillet, 1843, pp. 61—72 ; Sept. et Oct., 201—210 ; Fevr. 1844, p. 91, and foll. ; Sept. et Oct. 1844, p. 301 and following.

appears, in all probability, to have been analogous to the pyramidal or conical tomb of Sardanapalus, which is seen upon the coins of Tarsus; and which had beneath a substructure ornamented with bas-reliefs. The tomb, temple, or palace at Khor-sabad, (for, in the absence of a positive knowledge, it may be conjectured to be either of these classes of edifices,) consisted of a building, built upon a foundation of inscribed and baked bricks, laid upon a layer of sand about ten inches thick, brought from the Tigris, upon which was placed another layer of bricks, several rows deep.^a The body of the building consisted of several rather thick walls, with various passages leading into halls. The substance of the walls was formed of a mixture of clayey earth and chalk, which was riveted with large slabs of a grey marmoriform gypsum, known as the Mossul marble, very soft and friable, varying from ten to twelve feet square, and about one foot thick. These slabs were surmounted by rows of glazed bricks, principally white and yellow, and disposed so as to represent an architectural ornament, with others enamelled with cuneiform characters in white upon a green ground. Above these was a terra cotta cornice of striated oves, which is conjectured, from the quantity of carbon found on the floor, to have formed part of a wooden ceiling, destroyed by a supposed conflagration of the edifice.

The general scope of the sculptures, which exist in the exterior of the walls of the passages and halls, executed in a bas-relief, occasionally of a very bold character, seems to be the capture of a city, and other triumphal exploits of an Assyrian monarch. Commencing with the northern end of the west extremity of the hill, which was bifurcated, the discoverer found a hall, entered by a passage, and having the walls covered with bas-reliefs,—A warrior wearing a casque and coat of mail, falling, run through by the lance of his opponent, and supported by two archers; a double crenelated tower, with very disproportionately large figures, one on each tower, lifting the hands in despair, or hurling a javelin; two archers, wearing the *cidaris*^b and coats of mail, one discharging an arrow at the fort, the other covering his companion with a circular buckler, ornamented with a zig-zag pattern, followed by two archers who stand and discharge arrows at the fortress. These figures were three feet high, and surmounted by an inscription.^c On the north wall was a figure the same height, bearded,^d with a sword, and the handle of a lance; and close to this last the lower part of the figure of a man eight feet high, richly clad in a tunic and large fringed robe,^e

^a The layers of these bricks had been cemented by a layer of reeds and bitumen.

^b These two are engraved in *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pp. 61—72, pl. II.

^c Given in *Journ. Asiat. Jan. et Fev. 1844*, pl. XXIV.

^d *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pl. III.

^e *Journ. Asiat. Juillet, 1843*, pl. IV.

the feet in crimson leather sandals, which are raised up on the heel behind like shoes, and recalling the term of Boeotian shoes which Herodotus applies to the Babylonians. He is probably one of the royal cortège. On the wall facing this are the lower portions of six figures;^a five simply clad, and the sixth apparently the bird-headed divinity, who appears in these pictures winged and wearing boots.^b These are accompanied by a man with a sort of breastplate, like the Egyptian *uta* or pectoral plate, having before him three females, one carrying a purse, a second holding an infant by the hand, and the third carrying a sack on the shoulders.^c All these are about three feet high, and surmounted by a mutilated cuneiform inscription of thirty-two lines, which had apparently been encrusted with bronze. The passage between the two lintels was also ornamented with an inscription of thirty-two lines, which had been encrusted with copper.^d Another wall^e was discovered in front of the north wall, with two colossal figures, one bearded, gradient to the east, and carrying a coffer or basket in his hand, having before him an unbearded figure with the hair curled at the base of the head, like those conjectured to be eunuchs,^f with a large garment, and narrow sleeves terminating at the shoulders. At this spot M. Botta discovered a remarkable circular table^g or altar, on a triangular base, with lion's feet, the edge engraved with an inscription,^h and a second and third passage, each paved with a large stone bearing a cuneiform inscriptionⁱ like the first. On the wall of this passage was a bird-headed divinity, richly girdled, holding in one hand a small basket, followed by a bearded man draped in a short tunic covering a long fringed habit, open in front, and holding in one hand a tripod vessel, probably a censer or fire vessel, such as is often seen on the late Pehlevi gems.^k After this figure followed a horseman,^l of smaller proportions, wearing a short tunic and anaxyrides, the lids of his eyes coloured with stibium; and in returning to the west were two galloping and a walking horseman. In the third passage, almost facing, was a small figure, of three feet high and more; to the east, two horsemen with lances, galloping; all bearing traces of colour. Northwards of this passage

^a Journ. Asiat. loc. cit. pl. V.

^b In certain slabs this divinity appears, as Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVI. Cf. also the conical gem of chalcidony found in the excavations. Longperier, Rev. Arch. p. 8.

^c Journal Asiat. Juillet et Août, 1843, pl. VI.

^d Edited in Journ. Asiat. loc. cit. pl. IX.

^e Ibid. pl. VIII.

^f Ibid. pl. X.

^g Ibid. pl. XI.

^h Ibid. pl. XII.

ⁱ Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XIII.—XV.

^k Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVI.

^l Ibid. pl. XIX.

was found one of the principal reliefs.^a An Assyrian monarch wearing the peculiar conical tiara of many colours, with a small stud or point, bearded, stands in a biga holding a bow in his left hand; at his side is his charioteer, driving; and behind is one of the so-called eunuchs, holding up his parasol, who does not march behind as at Persepolis, or on the hexadrachms of Persia, but is actually in the car at the side of the monarch. The horses are most richly caparisoned; and the mode of tying the tufts of their manes and their tails resembles the processions at Persepolis. Not only does the costume of these horses, with a collar round the chest, and counterpoises on the back, resemble that of the Egyptian chariots, but their harness is nearly identical; but the grooming of the tufts, mane, and tail is peculiar to the Assyrian, Persian, and Greek schools. Above this car is a very mutilated inscription;^b and it is preceded by an animal supposed to be an elephant,^c and followed by a horseman on a richly caparisoned horse. On the east wall of the second passage were found two horsemen advancing forwards, the second horse indicated by a double line, as in Egyptian and early Greek art; the horsemen were armed with tunics of mail, lances, quivers, and swords.

In an angle of the hall entered by the first and second passages were found two colossal figures of eunuchs, unbearded, and armed with swords. Before them were two figures of colossal proportions, facing one whose head was bound with a long sash behind, much resembling the fillets on the heads of the kings of Egypt, and earrings in shape of the emblem of life or ♀, wearing the outer woollen garment of the Assyrians, with richly embroidered border, and inner linen tunic, with bracelets of rosettes and spiral armillæ, standing before an Assyrian monarch, draped in a richly embroidered and fringed Babylonian garment, wearing earrings, bracelets, armlets, and pointed conical cap decorated with stars and rosettes, having a sword at his left side, on the pommel of which he places his left hand; his right hand holds a sceptre. These figures have been conjectured to represent the monarch and Baal;^d but, as the mitred figure is nearly identical with the monarch of the car, and that of the celebrated bas-relief at the Nahr el Kelb, I am disposed to consider it is a conquered prince before the Assyrian conqueror. Similar figures appear on the cylinders found at Hillah,^e with different animals at their feet; and one, the supposed Sandon or Sardanapalus, much resembling in

^a Journ. Asiat. Sept. et Oct. 1843, pl. XVIII.

^b Ibid. pl. XVIII.

^c Journ. Asiat. Jan., Fevr., 1844, pl. XVII.

^d Revue Archæol. loc. cit.

^e See Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, pl. XXX. p. 187; pl. IV. No. 20, generally with Sabæan types, as the Sun, Moon, Pleiads, &c.

attire, is seen on the coins of Tarsus.^a At the entrance of a hall running from the north end of the second passage^b was a car with three figures and two soldiers, surmounted by a band of inscriptions; and another division of sculptures, much injured, in which was a man swimming in a river, and mountains, up which were advancing soldiers, in peculiar machines with wheels, perhaps intended for battering.^c

On the wall which faces the passage is the assault of a fortress, the principal scene of the whole composition.^d It consists of a fortified hill with a triple wall. At the top is a fortress of seven-squared, loop-holed towers, with a connecting curtain, built out at one rounded slope of the hill, in order to render the hill more inaccessible. The other side is naturally protected by a forest, indicated on the picture by a single tree. In the centre a man, much resembling the personage in the presence of the monarch previously described, elevates both hands, while flames burst forth in three places from the tower. Other personages appear on the ramparts, but their forms are so much destroyed that it is difficult to discover whether defence or supplication is their object. On the hill, immediately below the acropolis, is a single line of cuneiform writing. Below this is a square building with windows, and a rounded door, apparently a palace or temple, and three alarmed figures. To the right of this is a rectangular object, which I suspect represents either a garden or a tank. Below this part of the hill is the first wall; the fortified face has nine loop-holed towers, crenelated above, with rounded door-ways in the curtains. Each tower, except the one on the extreme left, has a scaling ladder placed against it, upon which the besiegers are swarming, much in the same style as on the marbles of Xanthus. Below these towers is a high crenelated wall, without doors or loop-holes, on which the towers stand, and a ditch or river is below it; and this part of the town exactly coincides with the descriptions of Ctesias of Nineveh, regarding the lower wall, on which three war-chariots could drive abreast, and on which were placed the tower bastions of the city. Between the ditch and the wall are traces of figures empaled, with pikes thrust through their breasts, coinciding, as M. Longperier has justly remarked, with the fact of Cyrus having crucified 3000 prisoners at the capture of Babylon. The assault is vigorously conducted; a tall ladder, reaching from the river to the wall, is placed at each side of the flank, and up rise the besiegers;

^a Numism. Chron. 1845, p. 14. Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 626. Supp. vi. 550, No. 545.

^b Journal Asiatique, Lettre III., Jan. et Fevr., 1844, pl. XXII. 2.

^c Ibid. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXIX.

^d Ibid. Jan. et Fevr., 1844, pl. XXV.

they are dressed in tunics, with spears and shields, circular, and apparently wicker, like the Persian γερραί. The town represented in the sculptures agrees in many respects with the accounts of Babylon and Nineveh, from its squareness and peculiar bastions, and massive bronze gates. Besides the escalade of the troops, the fortress is attacked by a succession of cars, in much the same manner as the Pharaohs are represented commencing their assaults. A king in his chariot, attended by his charioteer, leads the van, preceded by a warrior.^a Four other cars of the sons or generals of the monarch, each containing a chief or prince, discharging an arrow at a figure at a distance, with a charioteer, and two warriors, with the corpse of a fallen enemy, wearing a kind of woollen cloak, trampled by the horses, are seen. All these are surmounted by inscriptions,^b which are in their turn surmounted by a band of figures. On going out of the Hall of Battles, as it has been called, by the third passage, and in turning to the right hand towards the north, was a fourth passage, leading to the Great Hall, in which was discovered a colossal figure, bearing an inscription like that of Xerxes at Persepolis, and that of the Assyrian monarch at the Nahr el Kelb.^c Further on were a suite of colossal figures, two with their hands and feet manacled, preceded by three, so called, eunuchs, and brought into the presence of the, so called, Assyrian monarch or divinity.^d On the north side of the same hall were seven other persons, one in a richly embroidered robe, on which was an inscription, and part of the figure of an eunuch fan-bearer, both in red sandals; at the feet of the last figure are two captives kneeling, bearded, and clad in the skins of animals, with two other prisoners standing, on whose garment is a cuneiform inscription of three cuneiform characters. The prisoners wear pointed sandals, like those of the, so called, Sesostris at Karabel. On the passage of the fourth gallery, and on turning to the right, is a high scarped mountain, covered with trees, and surmounted by a crenelated castle, below which rises a stream, running down to the foot of the hill, and passing by the walls of a city, surrounded by a terrace, supported on a wall pierced by four gates; on this wall grow trees. The rocks are represented as squared, and these have been conjectured by M. Longperier to represent the suspended gardens, said to have

^a Journal Asiatique, pl. XXXIX.

^b Journal Asiatique, Juin, 1844, pl. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXIV. The poles of the chariot have at their termination a figure of the bird-headed divinity, holding the ☿, crux ansata, or symbol of life.

^c The figure at the Nahr El Kelb has been hitherto generally called Persian, but it is Assyrian; the era when executed, probably, was when Tartan, general of Sargon, marched upon Ashdod. The inscription is given in Journal Asiatique, Jan. et Fevr. 1844, pl. XXVIII.

^d These are given in Journal Asiatique, pl. XXVII.

been made by Semiramis at Babylon. Part of a man advancing towards the city only remained here. The greatest figures discovered were in a fifth passage,^a parallel to the second, consisting of one in a cidaris and rich robe, holding a sword and lotus sceptre; another, unbearded, and holding a fly-flap; and a third, unbearded, and facing the principal figures. The most extraordinary part, however, of this portion of the monument were the man-headed bulls, carved in a very salient relief, found on one of the advanced massives of the passage, decorating a magnificent gate,^b and having behind them the bird-headed divinity.^c Although this combination is not found on any cylinder, yet the man-headed bull is common to many, where this monster is represented combating with a man, and is certainly anterior to the Persians, although adopted by them as the Gaiomords on the stair-case and at the palace of Persepolis. They replace here the lions guardians of gates of the Egyptian system. Besides these figures, in other passages were found a feast, consisting of four persons at each table, attended by slaves, and a divinity in a framework, resembling in shape an Egyptian symbol of life, and the figures of eunuchs, already described in an early part of my paper.

It would appear from the ethnographical table of nations that Nimrod went from Babylonia into Assyria, or rather that he went out of Shinar or Singara into Assyria, and founded Nineveh. Nimrod is placed as one of the descendants of Ham, and is called a son of Cush, by which it has been conjectured that he came from the Asiatic Cushites in Arabia; but the trace of the name of Cush is extant in the name of the city Alkosh in Assyria. It is indeed hardly probable that a tribe from the south should have marched northwards to Nineveh, while the whole ethnographical distribution is from north to south and west, centered in Ararat, and radiating to the Mediterranean and Central Africa: but it is not improbable that Nimrod was at the head of a nomadic tribe, which engaged in the occupation of the chase and war, and subsequently established themselves on the Euphrates and Tigris, passing from Armenia, and inhabiting for a time the mountains of Singara. The foundation of two such important cities, at a distance so great as Nineveh and Babylon, points to a conquest of a tribe already in occupation by another probably pastoral; while the construction of the tower of Babel indicates a certain knowledge and habits among the builders, which must be referred to a race not engaged either as hunters or shepherds, and places Nimrod distinctly at the head of a conquering aristocracy.

The Greeks attributed the foundation of Nineve or Ninoe to Ninus, and of

^a Journ. Asiat. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXV.

^b Ibid. Juin, 1844, pl. XXXVI.

^c Ibid. pl. XXXVIII.

Babylon to Bel, probably from the similarity of names, and from their adopting the subsequent traditions of the Assyrians and Babylonians. But there is sufficient resemblance between the names of Ninus and Nimrod to suppose them to be intended for the same person, and they are as nearly allied as the Egyptian Men-i and Mitsra-im.

From the time of Nimrod till the eighth century B. C. little or no light is afforded in the Bible of the relative political condition of Nineveh and Babylon. The greatest confusion prevails with respect to the history of Assyria; but a compendium of it may aid in considering the age of the monuments in question. In B. C. 770, Phul, the father of Sardanapalus, compelled Menahem, king of Israel, to pay 1000 talents of silver, and become his ally. The influence of Assyria was courted by the factions which followed after the death of Jeroboam II.; and Tiglath-Pileser assisted, for a remuneration, Ahaz king of Judah against Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Syria, took Damascus, slew Rezin, and transferred the inhabitants, as well as those of Israel, to Kir. Salmanassar, Shalman, or Enemessar, his successor, rendered tributary Hoshea king of Israel, and ultimately reduced Judæa to an Assyrian province; transferred the inhabitants to Assyria, subdued Palestine, Elam, and Kir. The Assyrian empire at this period is supposed to have extended from Persia to the Mediterranean, and from the Caspian to the Red Sea. Sargon, the successor of Salmanassar, took Ashdod and threatened Thebes; but his success does not appear to have been permanent, for the Jews seem to have embraced the Egyptian alliance. Sancherib or Sennacherib, his successor, marched for the conquest of Egypt, and demanded that Jerusalem should be surrendered^a to Rabshakeh; but while on the march, the Egyptian monarch Tirhaka advanced against him, and the loss of his army by pestilence compelled him to raise the siege of Jerusalem and return to Nineveh. The Medes then revolted, and under Dejoces formed an independent kingdom. Merodach Baladan attempted to do the same at Babylon, but his successor Belibus was taken prisoner by Sennacherib, who appointed his son, the Ésar-haddon of the lists, viceroy. After a reign of eighteen years, Sennacherib was murdered by his sons, Adramelech and Sarezar, in the temple of Nisroch, and was succeeded by his son Esar-haddon, who was succeeded by Saosdouchinos and Kinneladanos. From this period the Chaldeans rose into power. Twenty-one years are given for Nabopolassar, and forty-three for Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by Evil-Merodach, who reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by Neriglissar for four years, and by Nabonedus, who reigned seventeen; who was conquered by Cyrus, and his kingdom absorbed into the Persian empire. The last

^a Isaiah xxxvi. 1. 2 Kings xviii. 14—16.

monarchs were all Chaldeans of the Babylonian dynasty, for Nabopalassar, viceroy of Babylon, with Cyaxares king of the Medes, took and destroyed Nineveh.

From the very earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy this nation seems to have been in relations more or less amicable with the people of Mesopotamia, and the biblical account points out their common origin. Egypt, in fact, was colonized from the northward by a nation possessing traces of Caucasian descent, and, when she had arisen to eminence, and began to contend for the empire of central Asia with the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchy, influenced in a remarkable degree the arts of the people with whom she came in contact.

One of the earliest Egyptian accounts of the *Neharana* occurs in the fragments of a tablet in the Louvre, brought from Egypt by Champollion, and executed for Aahmes, a military functionary under the rule of the sovereigns Aahmes I., Amenophis I., Thothmes I., and Thothmes II.^a He seems to have been employed in the razzias of the last monarch in *Neharana*, when he captured twenty-one human hands, a horse, and a chariot. In the reign of Thothmes III. we find that monarch exacting tribute from *Neharana*, Babylon, and Is; and under Amenophis III., Thothmes IV., and Sethos I. the limits of the empire of Egypt reached to Mesopotamia, apparently to the banks of the Phrat. Under the succeeding reigns the Egyptian power probably extended still farther, but little is known monumentally of the state of internal Asiatic politics till about the time of Necho. From this period the Assyrian empire may be said to be well known. The traces of Egyptian influence are perhaps most unequivocally shewn in the monuments of the Persians, and in the type of the divinities of the Arian religion; but as the Persians, far from originating, seem to have adopted, the arts of the nations which they conquered, and as their more immediate possessions had been derived from the Medes, the Chaldees, and the Assyrians, it is more than probable that such departments of art as do not resemble either the Egyptian or Ionian Greek styles are referable to the Medo-Chaldaean people. The art of seal engraving, shewn in the numerous cylinders which were employed for sealing the exterior edges of square baked brick documents,^b in order to hinder counterfeiting, was manifestly among the Assyrians anterior to the Persians, although it is evident that such cylinders must have been in use at the epoch of the Persian conquest of Babylon and Assyria, because the cylinder of Darius found in Upper Egypt, on which that monarch had placed his name in Persian, Median, and Babylonian cuneiform characters, was a decided imitation of the Babylonian

^a Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ägyptischen Alterthums*. Fol. Leipzig, 1842; taf. XIV. A.

^b A brick, with an inscription in the Ninevite hand, thus sealed, is in possession of R. Stuart, Esq.

cylinders. But the costume and art of the cylinders manifests a great relation with the monuments at Khorsabad. The alabaster vases at Paris and in the treasury of St. Mark, with the quadrilingual inscriptions in hieroglyphical, Persian, Median, and Assyrian characters, containing the names and titles of Artaxerxes, Longimanus, and Xerxes, shew how readily the Persians availed themselves of the art and literature of their vassals; and the Darics, evident imitations of the Croesids, in circulation in the westernmost portion of their empire, were borrowed from the conquered Ionia.

II. It is impossible, with the bricks of Babylon and Nineveh before us, not to admit that in their cuneiform writing the Persians only adopted a mode of writing already prevalent in the Assyro-Chaldæan empire. There is no trace of their using any alphabet connected with the Phœnician system, and it might reasonably be doubted whether the Greek claims to the invention of the purely phonetic alphabet are not well founded, because, the higher any of the primæval languages are investigated the more traces they exhibit of an ideographical and syllabical construction. The memorials of the arts of the Assyro-Chaldæans previous to the discovery of the Khorsabad remains were comparatively few, and not calculated to impress the mind with a high opinion of the capabilities of the people; but the heads from Khorsabad, the drawings of which I exhibit to-night, are not merely remarkable, but occupy an appreciable position in the art-history of mankind. They are both in bas-relief, well and roundly executed, with the countenances graceful and full; the proportions rather inclining to enbonpoint, and strongly recalling the style of art prevalent in Egypt during the period of the XXIInd dynasty, when the Egyptians had marched to Phrat, and were defeated at Karkemish. In general breadth and scope, they also bear great relation with the monument of Xerxes at Persepolis. The hair of the stouter head, or so-called eunuch, has its curls formed by short spirals; and the plaited disposition of the hair of the warrior is also extremely like the charioteer on part of this monument. The lines of the Persepolis staircase sculpture are more rigid, but in the friezes of a tomb from Lycia, now in the British Museum, the softness and rather effeminacy of treatment is visible. This monument was executed soon after the Persian conquest of Lycia, and consequently marks the development of Perso-Greek art.

The eyes and brows of the head of the eunuch are most peculiar in their treatment; the eyebrow is literally cut out and coloured black; the lids of the eyes are shell-like, and dyed with stibium, and the pupil is for a full eye, and coloured black. A singular effect is produced by the pupil not being so large as the eye, but this was, no doubt, very different when the monument was *in situ*, as the height must

have rendered it less striking. The chin is peculiarly double and full, although the rest of the face indicates youth : but it would appear from the Egyptian monuments that some of the tribes of central Asia—the Cheta, for example, a people in the vicinity of Mesopotamia—had this physical developement. There is a smile upon the features ; and the whole bears much relation to the Egyptian sculptures in part of the treatment, while on the other hand it unequivocally is of the same school as early Persian art, and the rigid works of the Archaic-Greek school executed prior to the Persian invasion of Greece. At the same time it exhibits in itself the adult effort of a school which must have had an origin either in the Assyrian or the Egyptian people.

Now the brow and lids of the eunuch recel, in a most striking manner, an inlaid wooden statue, in which the brows and eyelids would have been inlaid in some other material, probably in some metal. A small Babylonian statue, found by Mr. Steuart at Hillah, and now in the British Museum, is of the same school, and probably had its eyes inlaid. In Egyptian statues of wood of any consequence, and in many of the finest mummy-shaped Egyptian coffins, the eyes are inlaid ; in such case the brows and lids are usually composed of bronze, the white part of the eye of ivory of the tusk of the hippopotamus, and the pupil itself of obsidian. In some cases blue porcelain, and even stone, was substituted for the brows and lids. Such accessories probably accompanied the Archaic statues of Greece : for the blending of materials is of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. Although the general treatment of the eyes bears much relation to the Egyptian, it is not complete ; neither the brows nor lids of the eyes are unnecessarily produced towards the ears, and the ears themselves are placed in their right relative position, and are sculptured with a truth, fulness, and delicacy which would be creditable in modern art. No colour remains in the bearded head of the warrior ; but the whole of the monument at Khorsabad appears to have been elaborately decorated with different tints, in the same manner as the intaglio reliefs of the Egyptians. Considered with relation to Eastern ancient art, in the fulness and softness of the limbs, in the roundness of the attitudes of the limbs, and in the elaborate pictorial accessories, they must class with the happiest efforts of the Eastern school ; and, as they are evidently posterior to the earlier period of Egyptian art, I do not see why they may not have been executed by artists who were acquainted with its peculiarities. The gigantic proportions of the principal figures, the attack of the town, the name on the city, the larger size of the figures on the walls, the bird-headed deities, the human-headed bulls, recall Egyptian art ; and who can doubt the intimate relations of Assyrian art with Egypt ? On a tablet in the British Museum an Assyrian divinity or monarch is represented marking with a chisel the

notched palm-tree, in the same manner as the god Thoth on several Egyptian monuments. On a cylinder in possession of Mr. Farren, found at Hillah, bull and animal-headed divinities, exactly resembling the gods of Egypt, are engraved.

III. Now as to the epoch of these monuments: it is of course impossible in the absence of any certain knowledge of the import of a single word of these inscriptions to decide upon the subject intended.

The fall of Nineveh itself to the victorious confederates, Arbaces the Mede and Belesis king of Chaldaea, have been conjectured with much plausibility,—the son of Pul perishing in the midst of the flames.^a

The siege of the Phœnician Ashdod, by Esar-haddon, whose name has been imagined to be that on the hill of the city, has been also conjectured to be the subject of the monument;^b and the reign of Sennacherib, from some peculiar custom observed in the treatment of the prisoners, has been conjecturally assigned to it.^c Although from its art-peculiarities any period not more than eight centuries B.C., the object of this treasure sepulchre still awaits its Œdipus. Had it been a monument of the Medes or the Persians, it would have contained bilingual inscriptions in these languages; but, as it is accompanied with a local Assyrian inscription, a sixth variety of the cuneiform character, it must, I think, be placed anterior to either the Median or Persian conquest. The city itself is apparently one of Mesopotamia; it much coincides with the description of Nineveh or Babylon. But up to the eighth century B.C. we are totally ignorant of the political and relative condition of these two provinces, and the vicissitude of a stormed and burnt town is a common occurrence to most wars. At the same time the general character of the art is rather that of decadence.

IV. Now as to the state of civilization: the arts must have attained no slight eminence among the Assyrians when these works were executed; sculpture in bas-relief, the imitation of the human form, and combined design were perfectly understood; the application of colour to sculpture, an art even now but feebly comprehended, was thoroughly appreciated; the literature of the people fixed.

In fortification, the principles of defence by short curtains and tall looped crenelated towers was as well known as among the Greeks, the wet ditch and the

^a See M. Longperier, *Revue Archæol.* loc. cit.

^b Löwenstern Isidore, *Essai de déchiffrement de l'Écriture Assyrienne, pour servir à l'explication de Monument de Khorsabad*, 8vo. Paris, 1845. *Dublin University Magazine*, Jan. 1847. Some passages in the *Life of King Darius*, written by himself.

^c Mr. Bonomi informs me that some of the prisoners, in a drawing not yet published by M. Botta, have rings in their mouths, to which is attached a cord: this he compares with 2 Kings, xix. 28, "And my bridle in thy lips."

sally port adopted. The defence it is true does not appear vigorous, but the attack is remarkably so: the besiegers approach the wall within bow shot; the war chariot adorned with gold and silver, the bow, quiver, lance, and sword, and coat of mail are worn; in passing the marshes the soldiers are trundled on in foot-cars. The greater portion of the force appears to be cavalry, an arm always too much esteemed by the Orientals. The richness of their attire shews the developement of the Assyrian looms. At the earliest period of Biblical history a goodly Babylonish garment and a coat of divers colours is mentioned. According to Herodotus,^a the Assyrians wore a linen tunic to the feet, over which was thrown another tunic of linen, while upon this was placed a white woollen coat with a short fringe; besides which, each of the Babylonians carried a signet ring and a stick.^b Ezechiel, who had been carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, and was consequently well acquainted with the customs of the Assyrians, describes them as horsemen gorgeously clothed in blue,^c girdled with belts round their loins, and wearing dyed tiaras on their heads. Belshazzar clothed Daniel in scarlet, and placed a chain of gold round his neck. Nicolaus Damascenus, who wrote indeed when the history and customs of Assyria were a matter of by-gone times, describes the attire of the effeminate monarch Nanarus or Nanabrus,^e as a delicate garment round the body, with earrings in the ears, and shorn head.^f The faces of the Assyrians and the Chaldees seem to have been painted with vermillion,^g but no trace of this colour remains on the features.

The inner edges of the eye-brows are coloured black to represent the *στίβιον* or stibium, which was applied to the inner ciliar. In the account of Nicolaus, Nanabrus is said to have abandoned the customs of his ancestors, residing in the palace, leaving the very use of arms, colouring his face, and painting his eyelids *τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ἐπὶ γράζόμενος*,^h and rivalling his concubines in the adjustment of his locks. A Biblical mention of stibium occurs in the book of Job,ⁱ a work it is to be remembered supposed by some to have been composed among the Chaldees. Job named one of his daughters Keren-hap-puch, or the stibium horn, referring to the horn-like case in which it was kept. Jezebel coloured her eyes with antimony to see Jehu.^k Paint for the face, and antimony, are mentioned by the prophets Jeremiah^l

^a Lib. i. 195.

^b Cf. Strab. lib. xvi. p. 1058. Ed. Fale.

^c Ch. xxii. 6-12. Ezechiel was made captive B.C. 595.

^d Ch. vi. 29.

^e The name *Ναναβρος*, I suspect, is *Νανός* "Αβρος, the effeminate *Νανός*, as 'Απραῖος the Mede is for 'Αρβακίης.

^f Nicolaus Damascenus, 1805, p. 229, 230, *κατεξυρήμενος*.

^g Ezechiel, loc. cit. and Ctesias in Diodor. ii. 23; Nicol. Damasc. loc. cit.

^h Nicol. loc. cit. also *καθ' ὅπεστι βισμένος τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ*, which cf. with Heliodor. 121.

ⁱ Job, xlii. 14.

^k 2 Kings, ix. 10.

^l Jer. iv. 30.

and Ezechiel as part of the toilet, especially of meretricious females.^a Among the Egyptians the use of antimony dates from the fourth dynasty, the eyes both of the male and female sex being tinged with this collyrium. The word *stem* occurs on a tomb of the fourth Egyptian dynasty.^b The same substance was found in the coffin of a warrior, by Passalacqua.^c It still continues in general use among the modern populations of Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Babylon. Josephus^d reproaches the zealot faction at Jerusalem with adopting the custom. Among the Greeks, at all events among the European Greeks, it does not appear to have prevailed even among the female sex; but, in proportion as the dissoluteness of Asiatics crept into Rome, Juvenal describes it among the other abandoned customs of a man of effeminate and dissolute morals. Pliny^e speaks of it in such a manner as shows it to have been exotic among the Romans; and towards the close of the Empire the Christians^f of the Eastern and African churches declaim in unmeasured terms against its abomination.

^a Loc. cit.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. pl. XIV. p. 112. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Ägyptischen Alterthums*. Fol. Leipzig, 1842, taf. VIII. A.

^c *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 115.

^d *Bell. Jud.* v. c. 9.

^e *Tanta est decoris affectatio, ut tingatur oculi quoque.*

^f Cf. Tertullian and St. Cyprian, *De Discipl. et Cultu Virgin.*

XVIII.—*Letter from Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., addressed to ALBERT WAY, Esq., Director, communicating a transcript of a MS. Treatise on the preparation of Pigments, and on various processes of the Decorative Arts practised during the Middle Ages, written in the twelfth century, and entitled Mappæ Clavicula.*

Read 22nd January, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,

Middle Hill, 9th January, 1846.

THE Manuscript entitled MAPPE CLAVICULA, signifying the Little Key of Drawing, or Painting, is a small duodecimo volume of sixty-seven leaves of vellum, written in the twelfth century. It appears to be perfect, except a leaf torn out between pp. 64 and 65 of the modern paging, and a little cropping in two leaves.

It was purchased at Paris, in 1824, from the Rev. Mons. Allard, Curé of the church of Saint Eustache, and had previously belonged to Mons. J. Rabaut.

I have always considered it to be one of the most curious and interesting treatises relating to the art of painting, or rather the composition of colours for painting, in existence. It is very remarkable in many respects. Its antiquity exceeds that of all other works treating of similar arts with which I am acquainted. The character of the writing appears to be that used in England or Flanders in the time of Henry II.; but from an English word being used in the work the presumption will be, of the two nations, in favour of England. Should it be an English work, we may fairly infer that these "secrets" are those which were known to our Saxon artists and artificers. The passage which quotes the English word is in chapter exc. where the shrub "caprifolium" is translated "goat tree."^a This is a singular circumstance, and seems to me to indicate, as I said before, that the author or the transcriber was an Englishman, for had he been of any other nation he would most naturally have translated it by the language of his own country. Moreover, in the very next chapter, he mentions the herb "*greningpert*," a corruption, I suspect, of "*greningwert*," the Saxon *p* being easily mistaken for a *p*; (and we know that several English names of herbs end in *wort*,^b as St. John's Wort, &c.) which I consider an additional mark of his being an English author. It is evidently the work of a person well

^a The term "gate" for "goat" explains the reason why the family of Yate bear three gates for their arms, and a goat's head for their crest; a gate formerly being pronounced (as it is now in some counties) a yat, or yate: both are, in fact, puns upon the name.

^b Wurt in old German and Saxon signifies a herb, as we know from the Latin name of Wurtzburgh, which is translated Herbipolis.

practised in the arts which he describes, and he has apparently some classical learning, since there is little doubt that he had read Vitruvius, for he gives an extract from him, although he does not mention him by name; the chapter on Brick Walls, "*De latericiis Parietibus*," being, I believe, taken from that author, and probably also the chapter on Lime and Sand.

The author does not confine himself to the composition of colours, but treats of a variety of other subjects, in a concise and simple manner, and generally very intelligibly; as for instance, Architecture, Mensuration of Altitudes, the Art of War, &c. The various articles on these and other subjects may be summed up in the following: namely, 1. Softening gold so as to mould it with the fingers; 2. To melt gold without the aid of fire; 3. To write in gold, silver, and quicksilver letters; 4. To gild other metals; 5. To restore tarnished silver to its brilliancy; 6. To gild on stone, wood, glass, and leather; 7. To proportion buildings; 8. To build in water; 9. To build brick walls; 10. The choice of sand; 11. To make mortar; 12. To make glue for wood or bone; 13. To make glass; 14. To stain glass with various colours; 15. To stain or dye leather, bone, horn, and wood; 16. To varnish paintings; 17. To prepare size for painting on walls; 18. To make soap and starch.

He gives us instructions in other arts, which have been long lost; such as, 1. The composition of Niello; 2. Encaustic; 3. Ancient ink; 4. The mode of softening glass, crystal, and ivory; 5. Of making fiery arrows, and empoisoning them; 6. The mode of using the battering-ram, &c.

The variety of synonyms given to the same trees, shrubs, or herbs in pp. 238 and 239 will be interesting to the botanist, and valuable to the artist, for by some one of these different names he may be able to identify a plant which would otherwise remain unknown to him. One secret the author appears to be afraid of entrusting even to his own son, or, at all events, not to his book, for he conceals the names of the materials under fictitious letters, as in chapter ccxij. where he speaks of the composition of a water which may be set on fire and yet the material which it surrounds shall remain unconsumed. His mode of measuring heights is simple and easy: the method of making fiery and empoisoned arrows, and of using, preserving, and improving the battering-ram, throw light upon the details of the art of warfare of that time. It may be doubtful, however, whether the soap-boiler of the present day could improve his own system by the author's.

He makes a curious remark on the nature of the ox and the horse, by a paradox, observing, that if oxen drink first, then there will be enough water for both oxen and horses; but, if the horses drink first, there will not be sufficient either for horses or oxen.

His instructions for writing in gold and silver letters are particularly interesting

in the present day, when so much labour and ingenuity is expended in reviving, by fac-similes, ancient illuminated MSS.

It is observable that most of the countries, in which the materials quoted were produced, are in the East; for instance, Alexandria, Ethiopia, Persia, Cappadocia, Egypt, &c., shewing that the principal trade for these articles lay in that direction. Allusion is sometimes made to Greece and Spain, often to Italy, but rarely to Germany, France, or England. There are some passages which seem to indicate the work to have been compiled in Italy, or at least that these arts were originally developed there.

Among the more interesting facts, which the author relates, is one, which appears to me to fix a boundary to the question as to the origin of Painting in Oils, and to shew that it was, at all events, *after* the period when this work was written by the author, that that art was discovered. The statement I allude to is this:—In describing the mode of preserving pictures from injury by water he recommends the artist “to lay over them a coating of oil of *Cicini*.”^a It is clear from this that pictures were not at that time painted with colours ground up with oil, for, if they had been so, they would not need a fresh coating to preserve them from water. Now it would be very extraordinary if a person, so conversant in the composition and the use of colours as this author seems to be, who must have had consequently much intercourse with painters, should be totally ignorant of the art of mixing the colours with oil, if it really was in general practice. I may adduce, in corroboration of this supposition, the picture of Lorenzo of Venice,^b painted in 1369, and described by Zanetti, which shows clearly that the practice, recommended by the author of *Mappæ Clavicula*, was still in use two hundred years after his own time; therefore, when it is stated that Theophilus mentions painting in oil as known before the eleventh century, the two statements seem to be irreconcilable.

I have, however, a MS. of the Latin Gospels of the tenth century, in which the figures of the Evangelists are deemed, by a lady skilled in painting, to have been done in oil. They are evidently of the Greek style of painting, as may be seen by comparison with other paintings in my Greek MSS. Should this conjecture be well-founded, it would be plain that Oil-painting must have been known *before* the *eleventh* century. Perhaps I may hazard a conjecture, that Theophilus (a Greek name) was a Greek artist, who came into Italy, and imparted the knowledge of his art to the monk Ruggiero, and that the author of the *Clavicula*, being an Englishman, and far distant from Italy, had not yet acquired that secret of mixing the oil and colours, which Theophilus may have known.

To return to the contents of the *Clavicula*.

^a Chapter cviii.

^b See Mrs. Merrifield's “Cennini on Painting.”

Another object of interest is the explanation of the Symbols of Weights and Measures, which partly resemble those now in use, and approximate also to those given by Rabanus, Abbot of Fulda, in some cases, but not in all.

Near the end of the MS. he gives two or three cases of natural magic, one of which is the now well-known experiment of water quickly whirled round in a vessel, and yet not falling out.

One of the most valuable entries in the book is one connected with philology, namely, the alphabet of Runes, if they are Runes, but which I am inclined to think are Oscan, or very early Greek, and derived originally from the Persepolitan, or Babylonian character. Those who will compare the earliest known Greek inscriptions, such as the Sigæan, will see at once that they are made in the same cuneiform manner as the Babylonian and Persepolitan letters, and appear to have very nearly the same form of strokes or lines, with the advantage of a more simple combination of these strokes, so as to make one character or letter. The Chinese character retains its Babylonian form to this day; and the Runes of the North I consider to be equally derived from the Babylonian, although arbitrarily altered from the Southern form, perhaps according to the will and taste of the leader who led his bands northward after the dispersion of Babel, or perhaps at a later time by some Priest or Magus of the tribe, or they may be the same characters altered in the lapse of time, like some of our own from the ancient Saxon. Some of the letters in this volume correspond with the characters of the "Lettras desconocidas," or unknown letters of Spain, as may be seen by referring to Laborde's Spain, Don Gabriel's Sallust, Velasquez, and the Oscan monuments. Those which correspond with Laborde are,—

✠	l	P	4	↑	X
h	i	l	s	t	q

The alphabetical names of ag, berch, cen, derhu, I do not remember to have met with before.

I have thus, my dear Sir, at your request, undertaken the above description of this volume, but I have felt myself totally incompetent to enter upon the task in such a manner as it deserves. To do it justice I consider could only be performed by some one, who, like yourself, had studied those arts which the book describes. I must request you therefore to pardon all faults, both of criticism, of judgment, and of simple description, and beg to remain,

My dear Sir, very truly yours,

THOS. PHILLIPPS.

TO ALBERT WAY, ESQ.,
Director of the Society of Antiquaries.

INCIPIT LIBELLUS DICTUS MAPPE CLAVICULA.

Sensim per partes discutuntur quælibet artes.
Artis pictorum prior est factura colorum ;
Post, ad mixturas convertat mens tua curas ;
Tunc opus exerce, sed ad unguem cuncta coerce,
Ut sit ad ornatam quod pinxeris, et quasi natum.
Postea multorum documentis ingeniorum
Ars opus augebit, sicut liber iste docebit.

De Vermiculo.

Si vis facere Vermiculum, accipe ampullam vitream et lini deforis de luto, et sic accipe unum pondus vivi argenti, et duo pondera sulfuris albi aut crocei coloris, et mitte ipsam ampullam super iij. aut iiij. petras, et adhibe ignem in circuitu ampulle ex carbonibus, ignem tamen lentissimum, et sic cooperies ampullam ex parvissima tegula: et, quando videris fumum exire ex ore ampullæ blavum, cooperi: et, quando exierit fumus crocei coloris, iterum cooperi: et, quando videris exire fumum rubeum quasi vermiculum, sic tolle ignem, et habes vermiculum optimum in ampulla.

De Lazorio.

Si vis facere Lazorium optimum, accipe ollam novam que nunquam fuit in opus, et mitte in eam laminas purissimi argenti, quantas vis, et sic cooperi ollam et sigilla; et mitte ipsam ollam in vindemia que est projecta de torculari, et illic bene cooperi de ipsa vindemia, et serva bene usque ad xv. dies; et sic aperies ipsam ollam, et illum florem qui est in circuitu laminarum argenti excuties in nitidissimo vase. Quod si amplius volueris habere, iterum fac quod supra scriptum est.

Item.

Si aliud Lazorium volueris facere, accipe ampullam purissimi cupri, et mitte in eam calcem usque ad medium, et sic imple illam fortissimo aceto; et ita cooperi et sigilla; et tunc mitte ipsam ampullam in terra, aut in alio aliquo calido loco, et ita dimitte usque ad unum mensem; et postea aperies ampullam. Istud Lazorium non est tam bonum sicut aliud, tamen valet ad lignum et maceriam.

Item.

Tertium Lazorium si vis facere, accipe flores blavos et tere, et exprime in mundissimo vase; et fac prius campum in ligno et in pargameno de albo plumbo; et mitte desuper, quando fuerit siccum, ipsum colorem, et tantum ita fac, usque quo videas ipsum colorem esse similem Lazorii.

De Viridi.

Si vis facere Viride Grecum, accipe ollam novam, et mitte in eam laminas purissimi cupri, et sic imple ipsam ollam fortissimo aceto, et ita cooperi et sigilla; et mitte ipsam ollam in aliquo calido loco, aut in terra, et ita dimitte usque ad sex menses, et tunc aperies ipsam ollam, et que in ea inveneris mitte super tabulam ligneam, et mitte ad solem siccare.

Item.

Si vis facere Viride Rotomagense, accipe laminas purissimi cupri, et lini ipsas laminas in circuitu de optimo sapone; et mitte ipsas laminas in novam ollam, et sic imple ipsam fortissimo aceto, et ita cooperi et sigilla, et (mitte) in aliquo calido loco usque ad xv. dies; et ita aperies ollam, et executies laminas super tabulam ligneam, et mittas ad solem siccare.

De Minio.

Si vis facere Minium, rubeum vel album, accipe ollam novam, et mitte in eam tabulas plumbeas, et imple ipsam ollam fortissimo aceto, et ita cooperies, et sigillabis; et mittes ipsam ollam in calido loco, et ita dimitte usque ad unum mensem; et postea accipe ollam, et discooperies, et quod fuerit in circuitu tabularum plumbearum executies in alio vase fictili, et sic pones ad ignem, et semper movebis ipsum colorem, et quando videbis ipsum colorem effectum album, sicuti nix, tolles de illo quantum tibi placuerit, et ipse color vocatur Cerussa. Reliquum vero dimittes ad ignem et semper movebis, usque quo sit factus rubeus, sicuti aliud minium; et ita tolles de igne, et dimittes in ipso vase refrigerare.

De diversis Coloribus.

Colores in pargameno spissi, et clari, hii sunt: Azorium, Vermiculum, Sanguis draconis, Carum, Minium, Folium, Auripigmentum, Viride Grecum, Gravetum Indicum, Brunum, Crocus, Minium rubeum vel album, Nigrum optimum ex carbone vitis. Hii omnes colores destemperantur a glarea.

De Mixtionibus.

Quod si volueris scire naturas et mixtiones istorum colorum, et qui sint sibi contrarii, diligenter aurem appone.

Azorium misce cum albo plumbo, incide de indico, matiza de albo plumbo.

Vermiculum purum incides de bruno, aut de sanguine draconis, matizabis de auripigmento. Vermiculum misces cum albo plumbo, et facies colorem qui vocatur Rosa; incides de vermiculo, matizabis de albo plumbo. Item, facies colorem de sanguine draconis, et de auripigmento; incides de bruno, matizabis de auripigmento.

Carum minium incides de bruno, matizabis de rubeo minio. Item, facies Rosam de caro minio et albo plumbo; incides de caro minio, matizabis de albo plumbo.

Folium incides de bruno, matizabis de albo plumbo. Item, misces folium cum albo plumbo; incides de folio, matizabis de albo plumbo.

Auripigmentum incides de vermiculo, et ipsi matizatura non est, quia stercoreat omnes alios colores.

Tamen si vis facere Gladum Viride, misces auripigmentum cum nigro; incides de nigro, matizabis de auripigmento.

Si vis facere similem, accipe azorium, misces cum albo plumbo; incides de azorio, matizabis de albo plumbo; et quando fuerit siccum cooperies de claro croco.

Temperatura.

Viride Grecum distemperabis cum aceto; incides de nigro, matizabis de albo, quod fit de cornu cervi. Item, misces viride cum albo plumbo; incides de viride, matizabis de albo plumbo. Gravetam incides de viride, matizabis de albo plumbo. Crocum incides de vermiculo, matizabis de albo plumbo. Indicum incides de nigro, matizabis de azorio. Item, misces Indicum cum albo, incides de azorio, matizabis de albo plumbo. Brunum incides de Nigro, matizabis de rubeo minio. Item, facies de bruno et albo plumbo Rosam; incides de bruno, matizabis de albo plumbo. Item, misces Crocum cum albo plumbo, incides de croco, matizabis de albo plumbo; minium rubeum incides de bruno, matizabis de albo plumbo. Item, misces Minium cum bruno; incides de nigro, matizabis de rubeo plumbo. Item, facias Carnaturam de rubeo plumbo et albo; incides de vermiculo, matizabis de albo plumbo.

Qui contrarii sibi sint Colores.

Modo si vis scire qui colores sibi sint contrarii, hoc est. Auripigmentum non concordat cum folio nec cum viridi, nec rubeo plumbo, nec cum albo. Viride non concordat cum folio.

Si vis facere campos, fac pulcram rosam de vermiculo et albo. Item, fac campum de folio distemperato cum calce. Item, fac campum de viridi distemperato cum acceto. Item, fac campum de ipso viridi, et quando fuerit siccum cooperies de caule.

Si vis scribere de auro, accipe pulverem auri, et distempera cum glute ipsius pargameni in quo debes scribere, et ad ignem de ipso auro cum glute scribe, et quando littera sicca fuerit, bruni de planissima petra, aut de dente apri. Item, si inde volueris vestimentum, aut picturam aliam facere, sicut superius dixi, aurum mittes in pargameno, incides de incausto, aut de indico, et matizabis de auripigmento.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS SEQUENTIS OPERIS.

Multis et mirabilibus in hec meis conscriptis libris cure nobis fuit exponere commentarium, non ut tangentes sacros libros, et multum laborantes nichilque efficientes videamur, sed distinguentes istam heresim fatali munere concessam, omnem picturam et laborem que in ipsis actibus sint inveniamus ista volentibus perspicere. Appellantes quidem hujus compositionis cogitationem "Mappæ Claviculam," ut omnis qui attigerit, multa probaverit, existimet clavis modum esse inhibitu. Sicuti enim clausas domus sine clavi impossibile est facile patere iis qui in domibus sint, ita et sine isto commentario omnis scriptura que in sacris scripturis scripta est, clausum et tenebrosam sensum efficiet ejus qui legerit. Conjuro autem per magnum Deum, qui invenerit, nulli tradere nisi filio, cum primum de moribus ejus judicaverit, utrum possit pium et justum sensum habere, et ista conservare. Multa, vero, alia de virtutibus eorum, que scribuntur, habentes, dicere digna, incipiemus ab ipsis capitulis.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA.

Aurum plurimum facere.	j.	Aurum ut solvi possit sine igne.	xxxviiij.
Item, aurum facere.	ij.	Aureas litteras scribere.	xxxviiiij.
Item, aurum facere.	iiij.	Aliter.	xl.
Item, id ipsum.	iiij.	Aliter.	xlj.
Auri plurimi confectio.	v.	Aliter.	xliij.
Auri confectio.	vj.	Auri inscriptio secundum primam.	xliij.
Secunda confectio.	vij.	Alia.	xlviij.
Auri confectio.	viiij.	Auri confectio.	xlvi.
Item, auri confectio.	viiij.	Auri alia scriptio.	xlviij.
Item, confectio.	x.	Auri alia scriptio sine auro.	xlviij.
Item, auri plurimi.	xj.	Alia.	xlviij.
Item, aurum facere.	xij.	Alia.	xlviij.
Auri infectio.	xij.	Aurei coloris scriptura in cartis, in	
Ex ere cornario quam oportet abscondere.	xiiij.	marmore, in vitro, ut videantur de auro.	l.
Auri confectio que non fallit.	xv.	Deauratio vitrorum in calamo et in ere.	lj.
Auri alia confectio.	xvj.	Aureum colorem habere que voles.	liij.
Item, id ipsum.	xvij.	Auri solutio ad picturam.	liij.
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Aurum probatum facere.	xviiij.	Deauratio omnium, si velis deaurare sive	
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Auri confectio.	xxij.	esse.	lvj.
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Auri concilio et reformatio.	xxiiij.	Deauratio facilis.	lviiij.
Item, auri coctio.	xxv.	Item.	lviiij.
Auri operacio.	xxvj.	Ferrum auro conjungere.	lx.
Auri duplicatio.	xxvij.	Idem, quasi decus.	lxj.
Aliter.	xxviiij.	Argenti confectio.	lxij.
Aliter.	xxviiij.	Eramentum candidum facere.	lxiiij.
Aliter.	xxx.	Album eramentum facere ad auri infec-	
Aliter.	xxxj.	tionem.	lxiiij.
Aliter.	xxxij.	Argenti confectio.	lxv.
Aurum durum fusile facere quod melius		Plumbum similem argento facere.	lxvj.
ab igne exeat.	xxxiiij.	Crisocolle confectio.	lxviij.
Aurum solvere.	xxxiiij.	Eris commutatio.	lxviiij.
Aurum liquidum facere.	xxxv.	Argenteis litteris scribere.	lxviiij.
Aurum mollire, ut in eo sigillum fingas.	xxxvj.	Ex ere argentum, vel elidrium, vel	
Auri solutio.	xxxvij.	aurum, facere.	lxx.

Quomodo oportet argentum nigrum candidum facere.	lxxj.	Eramenti gluten.	cvij.
Argenti mixtura.	lxxij.	Gluten de ligno vel osse.	cvij.
Argenti vasa tergere sine abusia.	lxxij.	De metallo auri ad coctionem.	cvij.
Argentum aureo colore apparere.	lxxij.	De metallo argenti.	cx.
Candidi confectio.	lxxv.	De lapide adamante.	cxj.
Liquidi argenti confectio per quam quis aurum deargentet.	lxxvj.	De conchilio tinctio porfirii.	cxij.
Argenti colorem saphirinum.	lxxvij.	De porfiro ^a citrino.	cxij.
Ut argentum et es auri colorem excipiat.	lxxvij.	De erisorantida.	cxij.
Argenti inscriptio Italica.	lxxvij.	De auri sparsione.	cxv.
De argento vivo scribere.	lxxx.	De oxiporfironto aporodinis.	cxvj.
Eris usum argento similem facere.	lxxxj.	De porfiro citrino.	cxvij.
Colorem viridem facere.	lxxxij.	De argissorantista. ^b	cxvij.
Indicum colorem facere.	lxxxij.	De argenti sparsione.	cxvij.
Collam Grecam facere.	lxxxij.	De smiria petra.	cxv.
Inauratio lapidis, vel ligni, vel vitri.	lxxxv.	De terra limia.	cxvj.
Ad colorandum aurum.	lxxxvj.	De lapide focario.	cxvj.
De dispositione fabrice.	lxxxvij.	De lapide fesso.	cxvij.
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De compositione Iarin.	lxxxvj.	Compositio litargiri ex plumbo.	cxvij.
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Compositio Lazurin.	lxxxvj.	Inauratio musii operis.	cxvj.
Ut pictura aqua deleri non possit.	lxxxvj.	De tabulis smirutatis.	cxvj.
Confectio pandii.	lxxxvj.	De coloratione musii.	cxvj.
Confectio ficarin.	lxxxvj.	Quian ita fiet.	cxvj.
Deauratio in ligno vel panno.	lxxxvj.	Cathmie compositio.	cxvj.
De lineleon.	lxxxvj.	Anfinus sic fit.	cxvj.
De lineleon in exauratio.	c.	Pandii compositio.	cxvj.
De inductione exaurationis petalarum.	cj.	Alia.	cxvj.
Tinctio stagnæ petale.	cij.	Aliter.	cxvj.
Confectio crisocolle.	cij.	Tinctio vitri prassina.	cxvj.
Aliud crisocollon.	cij.	Alia.	cxl.
Item, ad ipsum.	cv.	Tinctio sanguinea.	cxlj.
Item, aliud.	cvj.	Tinctio alithina absque igne.	cxlij.
		Minus tincta melini coloris.	cxlij.
		Antimis de damia.	cxlij.
		De lapide olimpio.	cxlv.

^a Sic : in the chapter corresponding to this title this word is written porfirio.

^b Sic : in the chapter this word is written argirosantista.

De lapide flavite.	cxlvj.	De metallo vitri et coctione.	clxxviii.
De lapide rubeo.	cxlvij.	De metallo plumbi.	clxxviii.
Compositio lulacis.	cxlviii.	Alia coctio plumbi ex ipso metallo.	clxxx.
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Pandius.	clv.	De porfirio melino.	clxxxvij.
Item, pandius.	clvj.	De prima tinctione pandii.	clxxxviii.
Pandius, ocrei coloris.	clvij.	De secunda tinctione pandii.	clxxxviii.
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Item, nigellum ad almenbuz.	clviiij.	Item.	excj.
Item, si vis aurum ponere in pellem.	clx.	Tinctio prassina ossium, cornuum, et	
Si vis colorare almenbuz.	clx.	lignorum.	excij.
Si vis neetere eramen, aut auricalcum.	clxj.	De veneti tinctione eorundem.	exciiij.
Connexio auricalci.		De melina tinctione eorundem.	exciiij.
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Deauratio facilis.	clxiiij.	De cebellino quomodo fiat.	excviij.
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putes inpistatum esse.	clxv.	Lucida quomodo fiant super colores.	excviij.
Inductio exaurationis petalarum.	clxvj.	De crisografia.	cc.
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Aurum probatum facere.		Confectio maltæ.	ccij.
Ad solidaturam de argento.	clxviii.	De lacca quomodo laboratur ad pingendum	
Ad solidaturam argenti non boni.	clxviii.	ligna, seu parietem.	cciiij.
De lapide orcho.	clxx.	De calce et arena.	cciiij.
De atriathe.	clxxj.	De latericiis parietibus.	ccv.
De lapide fumice.	clxxij.	Confectio saphiri.	ccvj.
Compositio auripigmenti.	clxxiiij.	Confectio vitri rubei.	ccviij.
Gluten auri ad fistulas.	clxxiiij.	Alio modo.	ccviij.
Crisopargia de petalis.	clxxv.	Gluten argenti et auri.	
Quomodo fiat sulfur coctum.	clxxvj.	Aliud gluten stagni.	ccviii.
Confectio ficarin.	clxxvij.		

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

Incipit liber dictus MAPPE CLAVICULA.

Aurum plurimum facere. j.

Sumes argentum vivum 3. viij. limature auri 3. iiij. et ex argenti boni limatura 3. v. eris cypri limature 3. v. auricalci limature 3. v. aluminis scissi et floris eris, quod Greci "Calcantum" vocant, 3. xij. auripigmenti coloris aurei 3. vj. elidrii 3. xij. et tunc miscebis omnes limaturas cum argento vivo, et facies in modum ceroti; et mittes elidrium et auripigmentum simul; deinde eris florem et alumen adiciens; omnia in patina super carbones pones, et leviter coques, aspergens desuper manu crocum aceto infusum, et nitri modicum, et croci quidem 3. iiij. minutatim asperges donec resolvatur, et patieris ut combibat; cum, autem, coagulatum fuerit, tolle, et habebis aurum cum cremento. Adicies autem superioribus speciebus etiam terre lunaris modicum, que Grece dicitur "Affroselinum."

Item, Aurum facere. ij.

Argenti 3. cypri 3. dimidiam, et auri 3. j. confla. Item, accipies arenam sub aream teris, et refrigeras donec siccetur, et commisces rursum sale, et assabis in fornace die et nocte; postea eximis et lavas donec sal effluat; et rursus siccas et macerabis aceto, et dimittes modicum donec combibat et siccetur; deinde rursus mittes in fornacem speciem non lotam, et hoc facies semel atque iterum; macerabis aceto quotiens in fornacem mittis. Mittere autem in fornacem debes quater vel quinquies, donec fiat quasi subcoctum, et cum tuleris, sumes tracturam argenti que, Grece, "Elquison" dicitur, equale pondus mensure superiori, et mixta omnia teris; deinde conflabis separatim, et paulatim ex ambabus speciebus eum quas confecisti sparges donec consumatur; deinde refrigeras, et invenies plumbum durum effectum. Hoc cum cepsonio, quod est cinis maceratus, confla de folle. Ut demonstrat se secundum claviculam. Psomion est cinis aqua maceratus quem substernis in fornace ad digiti crassitudinem.

Item. iij.

Accipies ad experimentum donec primitus discas non multum cum semel facias. Accipies cupri eris posios rufi 3. j. argenti 3. j. saponis sene boni, et confla paleis donec productum non crepet, et tunc confla cum eo auri 3. j. et nitri tantundem: postea convertis vatillos duos faciem ad faciem (id est, duas cavatas testas) et ponis in medio conflaturam latificatam (id est, late productam) que est preparata, et antisma commisces, quod est secundum barbillum eris jam curvati in barbillo, argenti 3. iiij. in barbillo invenimus auri magis equam portionem, sinopidis Pontici, partem unam, salis comunis partes ij. Que omnia simul terens, laminas substernis, et superaspergis, et fictili creta oblinis, ne respiret, et subice ignem donec estimes bene habere: aufer, habebis aurum optimum.

Item. iiij.

Argenti partes iiij. misii cypri partes iiij. elidrii contusi et cribellati partes vij. sandarace partes iiij. miscebis; et conflabis argentum, et asperges species superiores, et vehementi igne confla, commovens omnia pariter, donec auri colorem videas; et, eximens, extingue in aqua frigida, in cratera habentem hujus confectionem commixtionis. Misii cypri, et sandarace, et

elidrii partes equales; et facies pinguedinem mollem, conflu argentum, et cum adhuc calidum habetur, infunde in eandem pinguedinem.

^a Auri plurimi confectio. v.

Accipies cipurum quod calide productum sit, *id est*, ejus limaturam, teris in aqua cum auripigmenti crudi partibus ij. ut fiat glutinis pinguedo, et assa in cacabulo horis vj. fiet nigrum; hoc tollis, et abluis, deinde mittis salem equalem portionem, et teris pariter: deinde assa in cacabulo, et vide quid fiat. Si enim album fuerit, misce argentum; si flavum, misce aurum, equali portione, et fiet mirabile.

Auri confectio. vj.

Accipies fellis hircini partes ij. fellis taurini j. et elidrii triplum ad superiores species; et teris cum acceto diebus x. Deinde sumis crocum Licium vel Arabicum, et teris in mortario Thebaico in sole diebus canicularibus; adicies et acetum acerrimum, et tamdiu teris donec se crocum dimittat, et consumatur. Mittis autem aceti sextarium, et melius si plus, et patere siccari. Deinde accipies batracium metallicum, (quod alii "ciprum" vocant,) tere minutissime, et admisce crocum; deinde tolles crisantimum, (*id est*, aurum) quo pictores utuntur, (quod etiam pusam vocant), et tere similiter, et habebis in usum. Hoc autem facies ita. Sumes argentum quantum voles, et conflabis, et adicies salem tenuem tritum, et commovebis diutius donec solvatur argentum, postea pateris coagulari, et, cum adhuc fervet, diffundis in aquam marinam. Deinde iterum conflabis, et de prima compositione mittis, in libram unam, argenti 3. ij. et commovebis fortiter, et rursus dimittes coagulari: deinde iterum mittis et conflas et adicias de secunda compositione 4 j. Similiter commovebis plurimum, et rursus defundis. Item, tercio conflas, et adicias de tertia confectione sextarium, et habebis. Commove autem ferro novo quotiens commoveris, vel videris; et, ubi tibi visum fuerit accessisse in unum, admisce rursus argentum donec tibi videatur bene habere.

Confectiones iste sunt. Prima hæc.

Accipies fellis hircini partes ij. fellis taurini partem j. elidrii triplum ad superiores species, *id est*, partes novem, et teris cum acceto diebus x.

Secunda confectio. vij.

Crocum Licium vel Arabicum teris in mortario Thebaico cum acceto acerimo in sole diebus canicularibus, donec se crocum dimittat et consumatur. Mittis autem aceti sextarium j. et melius si amplius, patere siccari; deinde accipe batracium, (quod est cipurum,) tere minutissime, et admisce crocum.

Confectio tertia. Accipe crisantimum quo pictores utuntur, (quod etiam pusam vocant,) et tere similiter. Has autem confectiones habebis impromptu, et secundum ea que supradicta sunt, de prima confectione mittis in libram unam argenti 3. j. in 4 vero scripula ij. De secunda autem confectione vel compositione mittis in libram unam argenti 3. j. in 4 vero argenti scripulum j. Item, de tertia confectione in libram argenti mittis 3. j. in 4 vero argenti siliquas iij.

^a To this a later hand has written "*Nota bene.*"

Auri confectio. viij.

Ex argento puro producis laminas plures, et substernis eis medicamen quod declarabitur, et super asperges, et conflabis donec in unum omnia conducantur. Est autem hoc medicamen, quod "offa" appellatur: accipies auri scripula iiij. glutinis Macedonici 3. j. sulphuris vivi 3. j. nitri 3. ij. minii Hispanii 3. j. fellis vulpis totum, elidrii 4 j. croci Licii 4 j. et facis potionem ferream, in qua hec universa mittis, et ex hoc medicamine ut superius, et laminas substernis, et desuper aspergis. Mittis autem in libram j. argenti medicaminis 4 j. et conflas, et erit aurum.

Item. viiij.

Sumes aurum quantum volueris, et duplum miseos peregrini, et scobem prinapiam eris boni quantum et miseos, aut eris cipri conflati; permiscebis utraque, et facies de auro tubulum, atque in eodem deponis tria medicamina; et sic conflabis, refrigerens ut oportet, et eximis de fornace et abluis, et invenies auri plurimum pondus; quod cum ignem tetigerit, melius fiet. Cathmiam, aut trachiam, (est aut flava et laminosa, id est, lata,) vel calactiten per misce, donec tibi aurum exactum videatur.

Item, auri confectio. x.

Piritis lapidis (*id est*, petre focarie) tolle partes ij. plumbi boni partem j. confla pariter donec ut aqua fiet: posthac adice plumbum in fornace donec bene misceantur: postea tolle extra, et teris ex his partes iiij. et calcitis boni partem j. simul teris et assas donec flava fiant, et conflabis eramen quod ante purgaveris, et adicies ex medicamine ad oculum (*id est*, ad existimationem). Fiet aurum.

Item, Auri plurimum. xj.

Sumes auri primi quartas iiij. et eris cipri quartam j. simul conflabis, et limabis lima aurificis, et adicies argenti vivi 3. ij. simul teris, et adicies acetum modicum, et modicum salis, donec combibat argentum vivum limaturam, et fiet malagma; et dimittis siccari diebus vij. in ampulla vitrea. Postea sumes sulfuris vivi preparati siliquas iiij. et sandarace preparate, ex pusca salsa, et bubali lutei, siliquas ij. auripigmenti, quod de Scithico atramento fit, et fellis vulturis, siliquam j. Pariter conteris, substernis huic malagmati; et latificabit malagma quod residuum est medicamentum super malagma; et obturabis diligenter os ampulle, et gipso oblinies, et assabis in superiore dispositione fornacis diebus et noctibus iiij. quarta autem die transfer ampullam in inferiorem dispositionem fornacis, ut fiat quasi flavum, et tolle, et depone, et sumes argenti ciatos iiij. et procurati auri iiij. ta unam et conflabis, atque invenies quomodo se habeat, sanctum laudabile que secretum.

Item, aurum facere. xij.

Sumes auri ciatos .v. et eraminis procurati ciatos ij. et conflabis pariter, et limabis tenuiter; et mitte argenti vivi, quod de minio factum sit, quartas xij. et conteris limaturam, et adicies aceti acerrimi et salis modicum, donec argentum vivum combibat limaturam, et fiet malagma; et sinito coqui diebus vij. Est autem medicamen hoc. Sulfuris siliqua^a j., sandarace siliqua j., auripigmenti, quod de Scithico atramento fit, et fellis vulturini, siliqua j. Hec omnia simul teris, et

^a Siliquam, MS.

substernis malagma in ampulla; et oblinies gipso orificium ampullæ, et assabis in superiore dispositione fornacis, donec fiat subflavum; et tolles argenti, quod dicitur signati, quartas iiij. et auri, quod est in ampulla, quartas iiij. Simul conflabis, et invenies.

Auri infectio ex ere cornario quam oportet abscondere. xiiij.

Cipri partem j. fellis taurini partem j. miscos assati partem j. teris, calefacis, et invenies.

Auri infectio que non fallit. xiiij.

Auripigmenti scissilis ʒ. j. sandarace rufe pure ʒ. iiij. corporis magnesie ʒ. iiij. atramenti Scithici ʒ. j. Greci nitri, ad similitudinem nitri accidentis, ʒ. vj. tollis; teris auripigmentum valde tenuiter, donec fiat quasi fuligo; et commisce omnia, et adice acetum Egiptium acerrimum, et fel taurinum; et una contere, et fac lutosum, et sicca in sole diebus tribus. Tere, et reponere in ampulla; et assa, in qua nosti fornace, diebus v. Postea tollis, et teris, adjecto gummino trito ʒ. v. adicis aquam et facis lutosum, et formabis collirium, et sumis auri primi partem j. et collirii partem j. Confla aurum, et mitte in collirium; et, cum factum fuerit aurum viride, et quod teri possit, infecti auri partem j. et argenti j. conflabis simul, et invenies aurum. Si velis id primum facere, infecti auri partes iiij. et comunis partem j. simul conflabis, et invenies aurum optimum et probatum. Absconde sanctum, et nulli tradendum secretum, neque alicui dederis propheta.

Auri alia confectio. xv.

Eris partes iiij. argenti partem j. simul confla, et adice auripigmentum non ustum (*hoc est, crudum*) partes iiij. et cum valde calefeceris, sinis ut refrigeret, et mitte in patinam; obline argilla et assa, donec fiat cerosa: tolle et confla, et invenies argentum. Si autem multum assaveris, fit elidrium. Cui si partem j. auri addideris, fit aurum optimum.

Item, id ipsum. xvj.

Sumis aurum ita factum, in laminas producis, ad unguis crassitudinem, et accipies sinopidis Egiptie partem j. et salis partes ij. Simul miscos, et substernis laminam; et, cum substernis, argilla obturabis, et assabis horas iiij. Deinde tolles, et invenies aurum optimum, et sine aposia.

Aurum viride facere, conflatione, sine conflatione. xvij.

Aluminis liquidi partem j., amomi Canopice, (qua aurifices utuntur,) partem j., auri partes ij. hæc omnia confla; vide quid fiat.

Aurum probatum facere. xviii.

Armenii partes ij., zonitidi partem j. Tere omnia, adice lutinis taurini quartam partem, cathmie equam. Confla, et erit gravius. Hoc idem facies et in ere.

Auri coctio. xviii.

Salis triti, et aluminis scissi, partes equales, misce ad ʒ. j. scripula iiij. misii ciprii conteris

vatillum, pouum^a prepara; facis auri laminas tenues; componis unam inter unam; reple carbonibus, et incendis i.

Auri confectio. xx.

Ferri eruginis ℥. v. lapidis magnetis ℥. v. aluminis extranei ℥. v. mirre ʒ. ij. auri aliquid, teris cum vino; valde utile est. Sunt autem aliqui qui non credunt quanta sit utilitas ex humoribus, hi qui non per se demonstrationem faciunt. Oportet autem facientes divinis mirabilibus concedere omnia. Oportet facere sic per mixtionem confusa, et in fornace aurificis missa; foliis adhibitis ejus natura inveniatur.

Aurum gravius facere. xxj.

Operatio ex auro, ne vanus sit labor curaque, perficiendi, sed et cum lucro, commixtionem facere utilitas non modica erit. Cum aurum ignei coloris aspectum acceperit, accipies ferri Indici limaturas denariorum ij. teris optime, et mittis in aurum; deinde battis laminam, ut non sit pingue. Utere autem misio et absconde in aliud; cumque visum fuerit sufficienter habere, calefacies modicum, ut focum tetigisse tantum videatur. Inde autem cum tuleris, in novam patellam mittis, et operies. In coctura vero laminæ utere misio. Exercens autem purgabis, et ut voles ita expendes, et quantumcunque fuerit, misce nitri partes ij. et plumbi j. molipdinis partem j. Permisce aqua pinguedinem; componis super folia, aut corticem tenuem, et, ubi siccaveris, conflabis eam cum molipdino, et dimittis donec inurantur: remanet autem quod vis.

Auri concilio et reformatio. xxij.

Accipies auri ℥. v. et facies fistulas, et mittes auricalci limaturam equali modo, et alumen sissum, et misium ciprium, et sal montanum; et confla, donec separentur omnia a se: et, cum extenderis medicamina inde excusseris, mitte fistulam in conflatorium, et nitrum Thebaicum, et ita conflas; et dispendens invenies plumbum effectum, quod, in ignem missum, et cesum, eundem colorem reddat.

Item, auri conflatio. xxij.

Auri partes ij. argenti ij. lamine ciprie partem j. confla.

Quomodo oportet auri probationem facere. xxij.

Argenti limature partes iiij. cathmie, sinopidis misii, et eris usti partes singulas; omnia simul teris, cum muro (vino) lavas; et, cum permixtio pura fuerit, facis offulam, et erit bolarum conflatum et inunctum. Cum hoc confla auri partes iiij.

Auri operatio. xxv.

Auri partes v. lamine ciprie partem i. confla; argenti limature partes iiij. commisce supra dictis speciebus, simulque omnia conteris cum vino et lavabis; et, cum hec permixtio pura facta fuerit, fac offulam, et erit bolarii in moum^b. Huic conflato adjungis auri partem j. et ita simul conflabis.

^a Sic.

^b ? pro "modum."

Auri duplicatio. xxvj.

Auri ℥ iij. misii ℥ v. sinopidis ℥ v. prepara, confla aurum, donec hilare fiat, admisce illa duo, misium et sinopidem, in conflatura, et tolle.

Aliter. xxvij.

Auri partem j. argenti similiter j. eraminis j. Fac laminam ad unguis crassitudinem: huic substernis, et supra adicis infectionem misii assi partem j. Assas horis duabus; tolle, et invenies aurum duplicatum.

Aliter. xxviij.

Auricalci primi limature partem j. ut facile conflatur, cathmie Samie minas viij. misii assi partes viij. ad eⁿ minas xij. prepara: confla cum hac permixtione diligenter.

Aliter. xxviij.

Opocarpasum misce j. arborinum, quod est lacrima, quasi gummi, de arbore in qua arborinum nascitur. Aliqui autem volunt herbam vel arborem in Egipto.

Aliter. xxx.

Minium, et harenam montanam, auri limaturam, et alumen, cum aceto simul teris, et coquis in vase ereo, et commoves. Hujus scripture color per annos durat.

Aliter. xxxj.

Nitri rufi ℥. ij. minii ℥. iij. permisce, et tere cum aceto, et adice modicum aluminis, et dimitte ut siccetur. Deinde tere, et repone: et sumis auri limaturam, ad dimidium obolum, et auri-pigmenti, quod aurei coloris fit, ℥. j. Misce omnia et teris, et defundis gummi purum in aqua infusum, tolle, et signa que velis, sive epistolam, sive tabulas. Dimitte biduo, et coagulatur sigillum.

Aliter. xxxij.

Depone aurum in succo juniperi, qui bero "inbriome" dicitur.

Aurum durum fusile facere, quod melius ab igne exeat. xxxiij.

Aurum obrizum limas lima tenui, et comminue diligenter; et in mortario ophitis, sive por-fretico aspero mittes, ubi teri bene possit: et adicies acetum acerrimum, et teris pariter, diluis quamdiu nigrum fuerit, et fundis. At ubi acetum colorem suum habuerit, tunc demum mittis aut sal granum, aut certe affronitrum, et sic solvitur ut de eo scribi possit. Tunc condis in dolio vitreo, et gummi modicum ut teneat, sicut in minario genere. Ita et argentum, et auricalcum, et ferrum, solvi possunt. Ut autem aurum, cum scripseris, possit lucere, coclea marina, vel aprino dente, literas perfica.

^a ? pro "adde."

Aurum solvere. xxxiiij.

Melanei partem j. auripigmenti partes iij. auri partem j. tollis, sed aurum producis diligenter, quantum potes, forficabis, et adicies argenti vivi partem j. aceti acerrimi partem j. et omnia simul commisce: tere in mortario diligenter, et adicies gummi, et scribe in atramento, et dente sp(1)endifica.

Aurum liquidum facere. xxxv.

Auripigmenti coloris aurei partem ij. elidrii partem j. spume argenti, cujus color sit aureus, partem j. Hec, cum triveris, diffunde in vase; postea accipies laminas aureas xxiiij. ad quartam; quantum voles ex his, tere in mortario mundo medicinali, adjecto sale modico; et cum tibi apparuerit ut arena trita, adice aquam puram, et teris et abluēs. Sed ita uti, frequenter adicies aquam, donec tibi aurum purum appareat; et tunc adicias ista medicamina: gummi tritum modicum, ita ut non sit glutinosum. Distillas destillatione croci, et omnia simul teris, ut sit atramenti pinguedo: et recipe aut in concam aut in vitreum vas; atque, cum uti voles, ungue prius cannam liquido alumine, deinde intingue in aurum, et scribe; et, cum siccaverit, dente frica diligenter.

Aurum mollire, ut in eo sigillum fingas. xxxvj.

Alumen scissile in aqua decoques, et sumis argentum vivum, et in mortario simul teris, aspergens ochre partem j. et crocum cum glutine puro, et felle vitulino; et conteris, et utere.

Auri solutio. xxxvij.

Sumes stagnum, conflabis cum argento vivo, et dimittis ut refrigeret; teris in mortario diligenter cum alumine scissili, et lotio pueri investis. Sic fiet liquidum, et, cum fuerit atramenti scriptorii pinguedinem, scribe ex eo opus: cum siccaverint littere, separatim teris crocum Licium cum glutine puro; scribe ex eo que jam scripseras, et, cum siccaverit, dente fricas. Si vero infriguerit stagnum, reconfilas, et ipsum argento vivo permisces.

Aurum ut solvi possit sine igne. xxxviii.

Sumis laminas aureas, et argenteas; teris in mortario durissimo cum sale, et nitro Greco, donec non compareant, et visum tibi fuerit diligenter tritum. Deinde adicis aquam aliam similiter, et abluīs; et, ubi purum reliquum fuerit in mortario aurum, eris florem modicum, et fel taurinum conteris, et sic scribis. Recipe in vas vitreum, et, cum siccaverit, teris, ut hilariora fiant. Scribe autem calamo aut pincello pictorio. Si velis ut diffusum sit abundantius quod scribas, conteris cum his, que supra scripta sunt, separatim, auripigmenti scissilis partes iij. elidrii partem j. cribrans et miscens. Conteris cum predictis tantum quantum tibi videatur esse equale ei auro quod in mortario est; et conteris, ut predictum est, et scribe. Cum siccaverit, delinis delitoria lana, vel nitro; pingis autem cum hoc et in vitro, et in marmore, et in imaginibus.

Aureas litteras scribere. xxxviiiij.

Sumis auream laminam productilem, forficabis ad minutum, et mittis in vas vitreum, et adicis argentum vivum, quod sufficiat, et dimittas, donec liquescat aurum, et transferes in mor-

arium. Tere diligenter argentum vivum. Cum autem tibi visum fuerit valde tritum, adice misium, et ciprum, et similiter tere, donec non compareat argentum vivum. Tunc, misium mitte, donec tibi appareat cyprum, et dimitte ut siccet; et, adiciens gluten liquidum sufficienter, tere, et scribe pincello quod vis in coloribus, ut nosti.

Aliter. xl.

Plumbum conflas frequenter, et intinguis in aquam frigidam; et tunc conflabis aurum, et restinguis in predicta aqua de plumbo, et fit fragile. Deinde teris diligenter aurum cum argento vivo. Ipsam autem fecem, cum quo scis, diligenter purgas, et misces gummi liquidum, et scribe; antea in alumine liquido calamum lingue. Sale et aceto purges alumen.

Aliter. xlj.

Sanguine draconis Indici intingue aurum, et pone in vitreo vase, et circumda aforis carbonibus; et statim solvitur, in tantumque erit liquidum, ut ex eo possis scribere.

Aliter. xlij.

Sumis stagnum, et digitis confricas; et, cum tibi nigrescere ceperint, confrica ex eis aurum, donec assumat eandem nigredinem; et tunc confla, postea refrigera, tere, et fac ut nosti.

Auri inscriptio, secundum primam. xliij.

Elidrii partem j. resine frixe partem j. ovorum numero v. humorem, gummi partem j. auripigmenti aurei coloris partem j. fellis testudinis j. limaz carcale partem j. Sit autem sic eorum (*id est*, tunsorum) omnium, pondus, ad ʒ. xx. Deinde adicias croci ʒ. ij. Facit autem hoc, non solum in cartis et in membranis, sed etiam in marmore et in vitro.

Alia auri confectio. xliij.

Sulfur vivum, corium mali Punici, ficorum interiora, aluminis scissilis parum, gummi liquidum misces; et scribe, adjecto croco modico.

Item alia confectio. xlv.

Ovorum trium vitellos, et unius^a alborem, et gummi ʒ. iiij. et croci ʒ. j. et cristalli limature ʒ. j. auripigmenti aurei coloris ʒ. vij. Hec omnia diligenter teris; siccabis biduo subjecto, et tunc remittuntur croco. Sic scribis que velis.

Auri alia scriptio. xlvj.

Elidrii partem j. auripigmenti partem j. fellis testudinis partem j. aluminis scissilis j. et de corio mali Punici, quod intus est aurei coloris i. gummi j. ova v. Sit autem sic eorum omnium pondus ʒ. xx. croci ʒ. ij.

^a The words "et unius" are repeated in MS.

Auri alia scriptio, sine auro. xlvij.

Lac siccamine, vel ficus, et aluminis quartam partem ad lac, decoque in vase; in eo perunge, et sic inaura vas ipsum quod inaurabis; perunge ante mura quarta, aut lacte siccamine, aut ficus, et sic inaura.

Alia. xlvij.

Nitrum rus(s)um et sal uná conflabis, et cum aqua inungues, et quod vis operis facias.

Alia. xlvij.

Accipies glebam auri, mittis vas vitreum, et adice fel taurinum; spissa diligenter, et dimitte triduo. Deinde, cum didiceris quod dissolutum est, defunde fel sensim, et adice auro soluto aquam salsam, et transfers utrumque in ereum vas purum, et tepefac. Depone et dilue; et, cum siccaverit, misce liquidum gluten, et sic pingue. Sane tribus diebus non fuerit solutum, dimitte.

Aurei coloris scriptura in cartis, in marmore, in vitro, ut videantur de auro. l.

Aurum erugine misces, teris, unguis; vel argentum vivum teris cum luteo mulieris, et unguis.

Deauratio vitrorum, in calamo, et in ere. lij.

Jacinthinum colorem (quo pictores utuntur) mitte in sal, et commove, donec solvatur. Deinde unge aurum, et infice, usque quater.

Aureum colorem habere quem voles. lij.

Auripigmenti, cui aureus color sit, ℥. xl. argenti vivi ꝥ. xv. cricolle z. x. vini peregrini z. xx. elquimatis j. molipdini C ij. sulfuris z. ij. eris Gallici limature z. xx. come cucumeris percandidi z. iiij. Omnia contundis, et cribellas spisso cribello, et proicis quod lignosum remanserit; deinde macera albore ovorum l. et permitte siccari. Rursus contunde, et maccera gummini liquido et ovis, donec fiat mellis pinguedo: et tunc dimitte in formam, et patere triduo. Postea tollis, et habebis signum aureum melius veritate; et, ut nichil honerosius sit dictum, absconde confectionem.

Auri solutio ad picturam. liij.

Auripigmentum, et sepie ossa, et eris florem, equis portionibus; et sandaracam et spumam argenti, que aurei coloris est, ovorum vitellos, equis portionibus, dragantum et fel caprinum cum prioribus triveris, et cum miscueris liquore solo fellis, utere in lamina, et signa, percurres species que unguentur. Fac autem tusus ferro limato splendido, non aspero. Inunges thure igni usto: mirabiliter facit.

Aurum viride facere. liv.

Sumes auri partes iiij. argenti partes ij. simul conflu in unum; et, cum conflaveris in alia, et alia, quam vis masculinam imaginem facito, et habebis virilem colorem, et delectationem, et ostentationem non modicam, que prebet viventibus imaginum vivarum colorem. Si vero rubrum velis facere, admiscebis cypri partem j. conflabis autem æs primum frequenter, donec fiet tes-

teum, et conflabis cum predicta ponderatione. Si vero feminæ imaginem formare volueris, sume partem j. et argenti pondera iij. et fit mixtum, demonstrans corpus femineum splendescens, cum fuerit extersum. Posthac inventum est ut fierent et nigre deorum imagines ex auro, et argento, et ere, et aliis permixtionibus. Mixtura autem et confectio in sequentibus demonstrabitur.

Deauratio omnium, si velis deaurare, sive argenteum vas, sive ereum. Iv.

Accipies laminam auream valde tenuem, forficabis minutatim, et mittis in mortarium: adicis argenti vivi modicum, et dimittis modico tempore. Adicis postea nitri aliquid, et aceti; teris pumice diligenter, donec fiat glutinis pinguedo, propter abundantiam argenti vivi. Hec autem mittis in pannum mundum, et exprimis, ex quo plurimum argenti vivi exiet. Tunc sumis vas, extergis pumice tenui, calefacis, et, dum refrigerat, deinde inungis de malagmate, et calefacis iterum vas, et rursus inungis, et igni dabis. Impinguaturque aurum solum. Cum itaque color placuerit, postmodum calefacies vas, et mittis in aqua melanterie, (*id est*, aqua caligaliorum qua denigrantur coria;) et tunc teris. Si vero vas ereum deaures, post quam id exterseris, unguis alumine liquido, nam non recipiat malagma.

In aureo vase nigrum compingere, ut putes inipisatum esse. Ivj.

Argenti, eris rubri, et plumbi, partes equales conflu, et asperges sulfur vivum, et cum fuderis patere ut refrigerent: mittis in mortarium, teris, adicis acetum, et facis atramenti, de quo scribitur, pinguedinem, et scribe in auro et argento quod velis; et, cum refrigerat, calefacito, et erit inipistatum. Conflabis autem ita; carbonem sculpis, ita mitte argentum et es, et conflu, et cum calefacis admisce plumbum, deinde sulphur; et, cum miscueris, defunde, et fac ut predictum est.

(*Opus ornatum.* Ivij.)

Accipias lapidem androdromanta, teris et modicum misce de chrisocolla, et tangis ex ambobus; et mitte in fornacem, et expecta donec coquitur bene, et erit ornatum.

(*Argenti ornamenta.* Ivij.)

Argentum conflu, et cum arserit adice sulfur, et commove; et dimitte ut refrigeret. Tere bene; et ex eo inunge, et adicies nitrum, et oleum. Hec omnia uno veda sunt, priusquam aliquid fiant.

Auri ornamenta, et eris opus ornatum prestabis. Ivij.

Auri optimi partes iij. chrisocolle Macedonice partes iij. eris floris partem j. argenti optimi partes iij. sumis, et mittis medicamentum, et nitro rufo modico aspergis, et conflu levi igne: et, cum commiscueris in chrisocolla trita, auferes et operabis intente; et facies quale vis opus et signum.

Deauratio stagnearum laminarum. Ix.

Accipe laminas stagnneas, contingis aceto et alumine, et conglutinabis glutine cartineo. Deinde sumis crocum et gluten purum, (*id est*, perspicuum et limpidum); infunde in aqua cum aceto et limaturis: igne levi coquis, cum effulserit gluten inunge stagnneas laminas, et apparebunt tibi

auree. Vide autem ne elidrium ammisceas; si autem trita omnia feceris, noli mittere gluten, confirmabitur enim tibi opus; et si cum glutine sit concretum, ad auri scriptionem adicies elenusiam, ut perducas.

* Deauratio facilis. lxj.

Sandaracam aurei coloris, et auripigmentum scissile, et dragantum, tere cum felle caprino et ovi interioribus, et ungue ante oleo novum opus; et, cum siccatum fuerit, habebit colorem primo auri similem.

De conjunctione. lxij.

Gummi comburis, et teris cum aqua inungis species, et ponis super levem lapidem, et in ignem mittis; ungue suprascripto medicamine, et conjungitur.

Item. lxijj.

Cerusa et nitro Greco cum glutine taurino inunge partes abundanter.

Ferrum auro conjungere. lxiiij.

Ferrum calefacies leviter, et resinam similiter vaporans illinito, et inpone; et, cum panno alligaveris, purum circum ferrum adibe delicionem.

lxv. lxvj. lxvij.

Aurum crescere. Cipri z. vij. auripigmenti aurei coloris z. vj. Aurum facere. Cipri z. vj. Auri duplicatio. Argenti limature partem j. chrisographiam Italicam de linitorio de lana, deauratio erit facilis, si hæc eadem feceris. [Inserted at the foot of the page, "Auri solutio—Fel taurinum mitte in vas novum, et dimitte in vase novo diebus vj. et postea liquabis, et cum extraxeris, conjunge et misce."]

(*Quomodo scribitur de auro.* lxviij.)

Sumis aurum, et mittis in vas novum, et adicis fel taurinum; obtera diebus iij. et, si videris dissolutum esse, effunde fel sensim, et adicis aliud fel cum aceto; atque inde rursum transfer in ereum vas purum; et cum tepefeceris vas purum ablue, et sicca. Ydrocollam adjunge, et sic scribe. Quod, si triduo solutum non fuerit, pluribus dimitte, et solvitur.

(*De vitri coctione.* lxviii.)

Sumis vas vitreum, solidum, cavum, quod mortarii formam habeat, caraxas mirio de lapide, omnem ejus curvaturam subradens, in formam x. littere. Pone cinerem, unde vitrum conflari debeat, in conflatorium, et asperges sanguine draconis crudo. Si autem crudum habere non voles, fac ex albumine ovorum, et succo visci medicamen, et in eo sanguine cinerem asperge, et sic excoque. Coctum, autem, cum in vitrum velis producere vas ad ejus debeat formam produci, item eodem sanguine delini, sicque factum, scias vitrum fragile in naturam fortioris metalli formari. Rumpere tamen hoc modo potes. Accipe sanguinem galli, et tere cum eo lapidem celidonium, admixta urina, cum toto lotio singularis non ammixto, addes etiam dragantum, et omnia simul mixta immitte in illud vas vitreum; et videbis artem, et ingenio vinci ingenium. Item, hoc ipsum, si in vas plumbeum vel stagneum miseris, solidatur ut es vel ferrum, tamen sine sanguine galli.

Idem, (*id est, auri scriptio*) quasi decus. lxx.

Facias vas asperum, et quasi limatum; deinde mittis mel Atticum, deline aurum quod produxeris in avene modum, leviter circumfer manum, et, cum confricatur, leve fiat. Deinde postquam omne aurum, vel quanta volueris ejus pars, fuerit attrita, adice aquam melli et collæ subtiliter, et liquato melle, invenies subsidere aurum liquidum, et line. In hoc, igitur, quod residebit, adice sufficienter gluten taurinum, vel icciocollam,^a vel gummi, quod te habere in vase propter usus oportet. Hinc itaque litteras scribe, et signa; oblinis et tecta subungis, et omne, quod volueris, aureum apparebit, vel cum unxeris, vel scripseris; et, cum siccaverit, dente frica, ut delinitum splendidum appareat. Hoc verò consilio, et ferrum, et plumbum, et eramentum solvis, et scribe, et inungis quod vis.

(*Item, auri scriptio.* lxxj.)

Plumbum sepius liquefacis, et in aqua diffundis; et, cum hoc frequenter feceris in eadem aqua ubi plumbum refundis, exempto plumbo, conflu aurum, et ibi dimitte. Frangitur enim in minutissimas partes; has tolle, et teris, et solvitur: huic adicis glutinis superscripti quantum volueris; et utere ad que velis. Quod, verò, in ultimis arboris cavernis gummi invenitur, in his que deaurantur vitreis, si ante eo ungantur, bene retinet aurum.

(*Argenti confectio.* lxxij.)

Misium ciprium, et sandaracam,^b et elidrium, equalibus portionibus accipis: et aqua in qua cocta sint folia sandaracis montani (*id est*, papaveris agrestis, quod et ammonia dicitur) facis glutinis pinguedinem, et conflu argentum, sed optimum; et, cum fuerit calidum, intinguis in predicta aqua.

Argenti confectio. lxxij.

Eris cypri partes ij. argenti partem j. salis ammoniaci ʒ. iiij. aluminis scissi et liquaridie tantundem. Omnia conflu. Si autem volueris ex eo operari, expressionem cirii sumis, et uvam passam tritam, et mittis volaria in vas, et coquis plurimum, et tollis, et operaris ad ignem. Intinguis autem de medicamento, quod de coctione exit.

(*Eramentum candidum facere.*) lxxiiij.

Sumis cuprum productile, quod cardarium (*sic*)^c dicitur, vel es ignitum, productum, facis laminas quibus substernis, et super aspergis cathmiam albam, tritam diligenter. (Nascitur in Dalmatia) qua utuntur erarii, et argilla oblinies fornacem diligenter, ita ne respiret, die una. Postea aperies, et, si bene habuerit, uteris; si non, secundò coquis cum cathmia, ut supra, quod si melius exierit cuprum caldarium permiscetur auro.

Eramentum candidum facere. lxxv.

Cum confluari ceperit, adice auripigmentum, non procuratum, sed viride.

^a Pro "icthyocollam."

^b Sandaraca, i. e. gumma vernicis.

^c This word is written caldarium, but the *l* is underdotted, and an *r* written over.

Ad auri infectionem. lxxvj.

Cum conflari ceperit, mitte auripigmentum quod curatum est.

Album eramentum facere. lxxvij.

Conflato eramine, adice auripigmentum non procuratum, et fit album, et quod teri possit; hoc lavabis aqua sepius, donec fiat purum; atque ex eo tollis, et invenies flavum. Deinde aqua ablues, et invenies eramentum ut sanguinem. Huic adicies argentum in fornace, et fit argentum simile corallio. Hujus partem j. et auri partes ij. commisces, et facis miraculum.

Plumbum similem argento facere. lxxviii.

Plumbi minam j. eris floris aliquid, corii mali Punici triti ʒ. iij. in cacabum mittis; obline cum creta, et sine, donec conflatur.

Chrisocolle confectio. lxxviii.

Plumbi ʒ. j. eris ʒ. iij. unā conflabis, admiscens Samiam terram, et salem, et alumen liquidum, et sine dissolvi; simulque ut ceperit purgato medicamine. Si autem est igni productile (*id est*, caldarium) aceto tingue, et diffunde in quam volueris formam. Fiet enim non minime album.

Eris commutatio. lxxx.

Sumis salis minas sex, limature, vel rasure, minas iij. Misce limaturam cum trito sale in vase, aspergens aceto, et dimitte diebus ij. et invenies viride factum.

Item. lxxxj.

Spuma argenti ʒ. iij. cum stercore columbino, et aceto teris. Scribe grafo calefactum.

Argenteis litteris scribere. lxxxij.

Argentum vivum et tornaturam de stanno tere; diffundes acetum liquidum, et, cum triveris, fac pinguedinem ex qua scribere possis.

Ex ere argentum, vel elidrium, vel aurum facere. lxxxiiij.

Sumis eris partes iij. et argenti partem j., confla, et adice auripigmentum non ustum, (hoc est, curatum,) partes iij. argenti partem j. et, cum valde calefeceris, sinito ut refrigeret, et mitte in patinam, et argilla oblitum. Tunc assa, donec fiat cerussa, et confla, et invenies argentum.

Si autem multum assaveris, fiet electrum. Cui si partem j. auri addideris, fit aurum optimum.

Quo modo oportet argentum nigrum candidum facere. lxxxiiij.

Sumis minii solidos ij. ex quo fit argentum vivum, quod aqua calida lavatur, et siccatur in usus venit. Unā conflabis, admiscens modicum calcidrium, et argentum, et plumbum. Accipiunt autem omnia plumbum conflatur, et sic invenitur splendidius assignatum.

Argenti mixtura. lxxxv.

Fel vituli teris, et mirram muliebrem, et semen rute tertiam partem, et rubee masculinae similiter tertiam partem; deinde infunde tertiam partem, deinde infunde in argentum, et pone in summum fornacis, et diffundis, donec calefiat; et tunc adicies intus in fornacem.

Eris cipri partem j. stagni partem j. unâ conflentur in antabram (Est autem antabra forma pecuniaria).

Argenti partes ij. stanni purgati iij. partes. Purgatur autem stannum sic; pice et bitumine admixto conflatur, eris albi dimidiam partem conflu simul; deinde tolle et tere, et fac quod vis.

Argentea vasa tergere sine abusia. lxxxvj.

Sumis lanam sordidam, infusam aqua salsa viscida, et extergis: abluis aqua frigida, et patieris siccare. Hinc extergis, nullam aposiam facit.

Nitrum russum, alumen non satis purum, germina porrorum, marinos (? marmos) succo teris, cum uve lupine succo, et inunge argentum solida penna: calefac in quo et argentum vivum erat.

Nitrum russum et alumen simul conflu; deinde teris cum aqua, unges argentum et calefacis.

Eris cupri minam dimidiam sune, et stanni minam j. magnesie 3. viij., piritis lapidis triti 3. xx., conflabis, et immitte stannum; deinde parum novissime argentum vivum, et cum ferro commoveris; infunde in columnellas.

Minium cum alumine tere, defunde acetum album, et facies pinguedinem ceroti. Cumque frequenter terseris, patere per totam noctem ita esse.

Argentum aureo colore apparere. lxxxvij.

Minium, alumen liquidum, cimoliam, equalia. Hec fundes in aquam marinam, cumque frequenter calefeceris, argentum in eo tingue.

Candidi confectio. lxxxviii.

Candidi limature 3. iij. recipe, et argentum vivum; et, cum non innovaveris, asperge alumine rotundo, et conflu.

Liquidum argenti confectio, per quod quis aurum de-argentet. lxxxviii.

Argenti limature 3. iij. mellis Attici 3. xv. resine liquide 3. v. eris usti 3. ij. liquefac in sale. Deinde repone in pixide.

Stanni purgati libram j. argenti vivi 3. j. Brundisini speculi tusi et cribellati 3. j.; admisceatur argentum vivum stanno, cetera vero singulatim conflentur, et misceantur; et, cum factum fuerit liquidum, calefacis frequenter eramen, et, cum resederit et unxeris, intinguis in illum liquorem, et sicuti aque stagnantur summi os vasculi calefacies, et non exiet.

Plumbi usti aliquantulum teris in mortario, admiscens sulfuris modicum, et facis glutinis pinguedinem cum aceto: scribe vasa argentea, et, cum siccaverit, calefacis, et nunquam delebitur.

Eris partem j. stagni partes v. plumbi partem j. teris omnia simul. Crisocollam, argentum vivum, Samiam terram rufam, mel, in unum conteris, et inungis vas ereum, et assabis.

Argentum colorem safirinum. lxxxx.

Est autem potio permixtionis hujus; alumen scissile in aqua decoquis, adicies argentum vivum, et lapidem assum Bisaniten partem j. laminæ argenteæ partem j. Hec fiunt ut lotum formare possis quod vis, et patere siccari triduo, neque ante formaveris, ne narres quid est, nam exterminabitur, arenosum enim fiet: calefac, autem, non contingens nisi semel; si verò bis volueris, perdis mixturam: formabis signa non dissona a viriditate saphirain (? saphiram). Si vero volueris eadem deaurare, chrisitem, et crocum gummi liquido permisce.

Ut argentum, et es, auri colorem excipiat. lxxxxj.

Auri partem j. plumbi partem j. hec simul confla, deinde limabis, teris in mortario duro Thebaico, aquam et nitrum adiciens: post infundes in vas plumbeum; deinde intingis vas, et mittis in fornacem, et calefacis donec auri colorem habeat.

Accipies stagni 3. ij. stanni 3. ij. confla, et cum permixta fuerint utraque peribunt, et fit fragilis materia. Hanc teris in mortario duro, adicies gummi et blude siccum omni modo; et, cum siccaverit, deline, ut subjectum est. Si autem aurei coloris velis videre, crocum tritum cum glutine puro permiscees; quod delinias scribere, cum scripseris et siccaverit, delinimento tere.

Argenti inscriptio Italica. lxxxij.

Sumis laminam argenteam; teris, ut infra scriptum est, cum sale, vel nitro. Deinde ablues aqua, adice fel taurinum, et, contereus in vas vitreum, repones. Scribe penna, aut pincello pictorio; cum siccaverit, delinies.

Sumis laminas argenteas, teris cum argento vivo, et stilbada, et alumine, et gummi, et aceto sic scribe. Ut perseveret scriptura, misce omni colori aqua fabrifერიarii (? fabriferrarii), et aluminis tantum, et sic scribe, cum ante diligenter exterseris.

Eris florem, eruginem, sulfur, in aceto dimittis: scribe adjecto gummo.

Fricabis argentum in mortario basanitis lapidis, cum aqua modica, et liquabis aqua, et siccabit argentum tritum, ydrocollam recipiens: scribe hoc ipso, et in auro faciens similiter utere.

Argenti 3. j. confla, et, cum solutum fuerit, adicies stanni puri 3. iij. et defundens, patere ut refrigescat. Deinde lima et tere, et scribe quod volueris.

Stanni partes ij. plumbi partes iij. simul confla; et cum feceris, deline, lima, et tere: deinde adice ydrocollam, et deline.

De argento vivo scribere. lxxxiiij.

Accipe argentum vivum, et mittis in pultarium; adicies calcis vivæ modicum, et aluminis liquidi modicum, et acceti acerrimi aliquantum, quod commoves donec admodum simile fiat; depone de foco, tere, et mitte in pannum; exprime, et descendet argentum vivum; et ammisce vitrocollam, (*sic*) et scribe.

Eris cipri 3. ij. stanni et magnesiae albæ 3. j. spumæ argenti 3. iij.

Sumis stannum candidum et tenue, purgabis quater, et argenti partem j. conflabis; et, cum conflaveris, tere diligenter, et fabrica quæ velis, sive pocula, vel quicquid tibi visum fuerit. Erit enim ut primum argentum, qui etiam artifices fiant.

Sumis stannum purum, ut nosti, stanni 3. j. magnesiae scripula iij. scumatos mollis purgas.

limas ex eo scripulis iij. argenti vivi scripula iij. Postea sumis limaturam ferri, teris in mortario, donec fiat lanugo; deinde mittis corpus magnesiae, et hoc teris cum eo diligenter, donec fiat malagma, et hoc mittis in fornacem, conflabis, deinde mittis, et stannum, in aliam fornacem. Hanc scripturam discito.

Eris usum, argento similem, facere. lxxxxiij.

Chrisocolle, ceruissae terrene, argenti vivi, singulorum ʒ. ij. teris, et infundis mellis boni quod sufficiat, et calefacis; cum, quod vis, inungis, leviter subice ignem de lignis leucinis (*id est*, violaceis), cum ante terseris vas.

Argentum vivum et sulfur inunge, et erit miseos cipri cipri (*sic*) minam j. miseos assi libram j. aluminis sordidi ʒ. xiiij. Accipies in manu salem tenuem, quem in manu feres donec nigeat. Staterem, diligenter tersum, defrica cum sale, et, ubi factus erit argenteus, de eneo statere denarium duci foliis vitteis obvolve, et patere tota nocte ita esse: sequenti die tolle et utere.

(*Litteras virides facere.* lxxxv.)

In ere, vel ligno, vel lapide, aut in quocunque vis, litteras virides facere perpetuas.

Accipias naxias limaturam, de cute tonsuram, et tere similiter limaturam agaciam, et alumen, et de lacu aqua (*id est*, pluvialem) et ordeï seminati herbam: omnia simul terens, scribe, et erunt virides litterae.

Extergis es, et pumicas diligenter, et dimittis in sole; postea, accipies citri partem j. et de malo Punico ligna, concide diligenter, et tolle ex ipsis mensuram convenientem cum nitro et aqua et sale faciens. Mitte es, et dimitte illic diebus v., et, cum intinctum fuerit, inunge cerotum.

Columbaris spinæ suce (*sic*) partem j. cum alumine teris; recipis tusum diligenter, et dimitte biduo; et, cum tuleris, inunge et dimitte die j. et tunc exterge.

Accipies argenti ʒ. j. eris ʒ. j. plumbi dimidiam; confla simul. Cum autem ungere velis, appone gluten eri, et calefactum ferrum adijunge glutini, quod est appositum eri, et sic ornabis. Sin autem laminam laminæ conjungis.

Colorem viridem facere. lxxxvj.

Cuprum, productum in laminas, line cum melle, vel spuma mellis cocti; et suppone spatulas ligneas in vase, quibus suffundas lotium hominis; et stet per dies xiiij. coopertum.

Auricalcum productum line cum melle cocto, et infunde ei urinam, et acetum, pari mensura, et sit opertum dies xiiij. et erit quasi lazur.

Indicum colorem facere. lxxxvij.

Succum de ba(c)cis ebuli collige, et diligenter sicca ad solem; de hoc quod remanserit fac pastillos, cum parvo aceti, et vini, et utere.

Collam Grecam facere. lxxxviii.

De vernice fac farinam tritam in marmore, et cribratam; et mitte in ollam rudem, strictam diligenter operculo clausam, ita ut in medio operculo sit parvum foramen, et in ipso foramine

stilus ferreus; et pone in laminis ferreis super fornacem aurificis, que prius debet incendi. Deinde suppone ligna arida minutissime concisa, et, statim ut incaluerit, liquescit. Extrahe stilum ferreum, et guttulam pone super unguem; et, si liquida apparuerit, subtrahe focum, et infunde olei de semine lini expressi ij. partes, ad j. partem vernicis, et iterum, suppositis lignis, coque ad horam parvulam, et utere. Si verò sit de grano masticæ, liquescit tardius.

Inauratio lapidis, vel ligni, vel vitri. lxxxxviiiij.

Qui autem vitrum inaurat, tollat partem de glutine picis, et partem de gumma amigdalæ; et, miscens, coque, et ungue ipsum vas, et concide subtiliter petalam auri, pone secundum similitudinem quam vis facere. Similiter et lapidem lavans aqua, et lignum; et, dum siccaverit glutinatio, cum emathite lapide, aut cum ferro, defrica.

Ad colorandum aurum. c.

Sume atramentum, et assa, ut scis, et aliud, tantundem salis, et distempera cum vino rubeo, in eneo vase non nimis rarum, et inde line aurum; et pone in fornace, et tamdiu calefac ut nigrum fiat, et extrahe.

De dispositione Fabrice. cij.

Dispositio fabrice de pontibus, vel quibus mensuris oporteat edificia disponere, vel quibus mensuris in altitudinem elevare, secundum modum fabrice.

Si in altitudinem iiij. staturis fuerit, fabricam unius staturæ altitudine oportet esse fundamentum. Si vero tribus staturis altitudo, usque ad bifurcum erit fundamentum. Si autem unius staturæ altitudo, usque ad geniculum fundamentum. Si statura iiij. cubitorum,^a si vero iiij. usque addida, si duorum, usque ad furcam. Si in lignis opertum in altitudine fuerit. Si volatile fuerit, quantum in altitudinem, tantum et in fundamentum debes cavare; ita videlicet altitudinem mensurari oportet, ut tantum parietis absque camera mensuretur. Si autem durus fuerit locus et montuosus, cubito minus per staturam pones fundamentum. Si mollis locus fuerit, sicut supra diximus, edifies. Si vero petrosus fuerit locus, non crede petris, sed cava, sicut oportet, ne pondere nimio deprimatur, et subsidat fabrica.

De Fabrica in aqua. cij.

Si fabricam in aqua necesse fuerit erigere, facis arcam triangulam, et picas eam foris cum sepo et pice, ut non in eam intret aqua, et solvat ipsam calcem, et eos qui laborant intus; et positam arcam inter iiij. naves, constitues in loco ubi necesse fuerit: et oneratas ipsas naves, ut non moveantur in aqua, et tunc impones lapides ad fabricandum. Temperatio autem calcis talis fiat. Mittis arene partem j. et calcis ij. et tunc operaris. Ipsa autem arca habeat j. cubitum super aquam.

De Multa. cij.

Multa quoque debet ita confici. Mittis calcis partem j. arenæ partes iiij. vel iiij. teste tuse tertiam, pulveris palearum sextam partem, aque verò congiū j. olei porcini sextaria ij. et requiescat ebdomada j.; si plus dimiseris, melior fiet. Assidue autem infundatur secundum mensuram quam indiget, et conficiatur, et tunc operare.

^a Something seems to be omitted here.

De licamonia. ciiij.

Licamonia, alumen Egiptiacum, fresa solis iij. nitri z. j.

De compositione cinnabarin. cv.

Tolles ydroargiris mundi partes ij. sulfuris vivi partem j. et mitte in ampullam, sine fumo, et lento igni, decoquens, facies cinnabarin, et lava utiliter.

De compositione iarin. cvj.

Tolles petalam mundissimam de eramine, et suspende super acetum acerrimum : pone ad solem immobiliter per xiiij. dies : aperies, et tolles ipsam petalam, colliges florem ; facies iarin mundissimum.

De compositione psimithi. cvij.

Tolles plumbum, et facies petalam, suspende super acetum ; colliges ipsum florem, et lavas bene, donec mundus fiat, et facies psimithin. Posthac, tolles de cinnabarin partem j. de iarin partem dimidiam, et de psimithin partem dimidiam, et mittis in mortarium marmoreum, et teris bene. Post tritionem autem, mittis ex aqua, ubi coquitur icciocollon, et fiet pigmentum pandium.

Compositio Lazurin. cvij.

Folia floris violæ colliges, et in mortario mundo teres bene, et mitte saponem ex axungia, sine calce : mundum facies, squama cum aqua tepida, et solve saponis in libram aque ÷ j. et fricas subtiliter ipsum saponem cum aqua, et dimittes refrigerari. Et posthac, mittis ipsam commixtionem in tritura florum, et mittis illam in vas vitreum, in quo possis mittere, et repones ibi : et post aliquod tempus commisceas, et permovere illud cotidie in die semel, usque ad imam ebdomadam. Posthac iij. dimittes, et duos permoves, donec decoques. Postea tolles lilium fuscum majus, quod est porfirius, quod habet folia veluti cultellus ; similiter et ipsum defricas in mortario utiliter, et dimittes sine sapone, mittens aquam ; et postea, ex violæ compositione libras ij. de lilio majore fusco libram j. aluminis Egyptii spumati, si forte est inspumat, saponem, aut, si debile est, et crudum, mittes ʒ. ij. urinæ spumatæ, libras ij. et lento igni decoques, per horas vj. et si multum viride est, mittes urinam ; si vero multum venetum, plus alumen mittas.

Si autem lazurin viscidum ex albo lilio domestico mittas quod sufficit, et decoques. Gustum autem coctionis in ligno unde movetur considera. Calidum enim non demonstrat, frigidum vero ostendit colorem. Coctio autem lento igni debet esse. Aqua enim cum coquitur expendet, quare et ipsa commixta debet esse cum sapone, secundum commixtionem quam prediximus, et ita coctioni addi. Quando autem de fornace tollis cacabum testeum bituminatum, aqua vult superare commixtionem.

Alumen verò in forti sapone expumato sit. Mitte alumen in (aqua)^a tepida, dimitte residere alumen visum, et effunde ipsam aquam tepidam, et ita expuma alumen. Ipsam autem commixtionem sic defrica, ut in pulverem redigatur, et non sint species in lazurin. Nam post coctionem ipsam comixtio terenda est, et movenda, et in umbra desiccanda in ipso cacabo ; et postea ad solem eicienda, et torrenda, ut fiat lazurin.

^a Not in MS.

Ut pictura aqua deleri non possit. cviiiij.

Oleo, quod appellatur cicinum, super picturam ad solem perunge, et ita constringitur, ut nunquam deleri possit.

Confectio pandii. cx.

Folia florum papaveris nigri collecta repones in pinnato novo; et operiens pones ad solem j. die: et, dum marcida fuerint, tolles aquam in qua icciocolla decoquitur, et mitte in ipsam folia florum, et teres utiliter, miscens cum modico cinnabarin, ex exiet color pandius.

Confectio ficarin. cxj.

Tolles laccam mundam, et teres munditer, et coques eam in urina spumata, et iottam, que exiet, refundes in vas vitreum. Postea tolles siccum et bene tritum pulverem de lilio albo domestico. Si autem infuscaverit, non mittas, ne fuscum fiat. Istud tritum in libras ij. de irinico flore, et ipsum tritum libras iij. pulveris duarum commixtum unicuique coctioni lacce + j. de alumine Egyptiaco commisce, et teres bene: mittes in vase testeo novo bituminato, et pones ut tepescat modicum, et non comburatur: posthac, commisce coctiones ad laccam, et facies bullire. Tolle de fornace, sicca ad solem.

Deauratio in ligno, vel in panno. cxij.

Si in ligno debet fieri deauratio, gumma amigdalæ infusa die una; postea teres utiliter ipsam gummam cum aqua, et addito croco, quod sufficiat, tingue in ipsam aquam cum gumma et tepefacito omnia lento igni, operare in ligno quando opus est. In pannis vero, vel in parietibus, tolles albuginem ovi subtile, et addito croco, quod sufficiat, tingue, et commixta ac trita repones in vase vitreo.

Item, lineleon. + j. gumme infusæ + j. crocum, quod sufficiat, commisce: cum aqua decoques.

Rubric. Ista tria capitula sequentia ubi necesse fuerit in exauratione petalarum operare.

Compositio lineleon. cxij.

Lineleon libras ij. gumme 3. j. resine pinii + j. Omnia hæc trita decoques in vase testeo. Lineleon libras ij. gumme 3. ij. resine 3. j. croci solidos ij. Ista tria commisce sicut superius.

De lineleon in exauratione. cxiiij.

Operatio sternituræ exaurationis, si super pellem crudam immobile tinctam, aut ex psimithin, aut ex aliquo colore sternitum est, ista a chrisopetalam reponuntur; et, post desiccationem, desuper lineleon perunge, ex commixtione quam supra docuimus, ubi croco componi dicimus.

De inductione exaurationis petalarum. cxv.

Petala fiat de stanno: fiat autem sic. Solves bene ipsum stannum, et fundes paulatim in marmore, et facies petala subtilia, veluti ex auro: et pones sicut chrisopetala, ut supra docuimus, et decoques herbam celidonium, et, ex ipsa coctione colata, mittens + iij. croci solidos iij. auri-pigmenti solidum j.

Tinctio stagnæ petalæ. cxvj.

Tolle croci mundi ʒ j. pigmenti optimi fissi ʒ ij. mitte gummi dimidiam, et lineleon ʒ dimidiam, et aquam pluvialem, aut dulcem, commisce, ut bulliant simul. Commisce confectiones, terens bene, tollesque cum spongia, unge ipsam petalam; et, cum desiccaverit, secundo unge, et desiccata cum onichino defrica, ut splendeat.

Confectio crisocollæ. cxvij.

Caucucecaumenum ʒ j. saponis olei solidos iij. calcitirii (*sic*) solidum j. Ista commisce, primum terens caucucecaumenum utiliter ad pulverem, et calcitarin (*sic*) semotim, et commisce cum sapone et aqua, quantum necesse fuerit, ad ipsum chrisocollon.

Aliud crisocollon. cxviij.

Caucucecaumeni libram j. aluminis, sol. ii.

Item. cxviij.

Aurum commixtum cum argento vivo mittitur in calidum, donec ardeat ipsum argentum vivum. Postea, tolles aurum et teres in mortario, donec fiat pulvis; et commisce illud cum sapone ex oleo, quantum sufficiat ad commixtionem chrisocolli.

Item. cxx.

Argenti partes ij. eraminis partem j.

Item. cxxj.

Argentum mixtum cum argento vivo pones in ignem, donec siccetur ipsum argentum vivum. Deinde tere illud donec fiat pulvis: commisce cum sapone et aqua, quantum satis est.

Eramenti gluten. cxxij.

Eraminis libram j. plumbi libras ij. commiscas, solves primum eramen, deinde mittes plumbum, et commisce in unum.

Gluten de ligno vel osse. cxxiij.

Glutinatio ligni in aqua. Icciocollon ʒ. j. lactis fici ʒ. j. titimali lac ʒ. j. ista comisce in aqua, decoque. Est autem gluten ad sculpta ligna: si lignum in lignum, unum ex supradictis iij. Si autem ossa in lignis, casei gluten ʒ. j. commixtum cum icciocollon ʒ. ij. decoques in unum, et gluten calidum, calefacis modicum ipsa ossa, et sic glutinas.

De metallo auri ad coctionem. cxxiiij.

Indicamus vobis quomodo fieri possit aurum de pinguedine metalli. Dum ipsum metallum inventum fuerit, facito vas quod ipso metallo recipere possit libras xx. et postea mitte cum ipso vase in fornacem, et suffla ignem ab hora prima usque vj. Postea vero in pinguedine metalli mittendum est coralli libræ ij. amoniacum fundatum, calcum, aurum, libræ ij. sal bedica libræ ij. cera

alba quantum opus fuerit; unctum libræ ij. tartarum libra j. coctum de omni pigmento singulos per se intrantes. Que vos legistis omnia probata habemus, quia tria metalla ad aurum coquendum pertinent. Et aliud metallum indicamus vobis coquendum, sed plus disculum erit, quam metallum auri. Qui ipsum coquere voluerit, sicut ros erit odore, et in ipso vase, ubi coctum fuerit, mittito primam cocturam pice ad aste (? arte) medietatem libræ. Alia vero fersurura vitrum mastallo, tertia coctura stanni libras ij. qui ipsum metallum ad opera salva perducatur, et, dum coctum fuerit, istud, quod in ipso metallo mixtum fuerit, ad pulverem vertitur, quia probatum est.

De metallo argenti. cxxv.

Prassinus, terra est viridis, ex quo metallo manat argentum. Nascitur autem et ipsa terra in locis petrosis ubi inveniuntur multa metalla diversis coloribus. Ista petra trita albas habet venas, decoctas exeunt nigra, sic autem probatur. Comminuta post coctionem intus ut argenti colores ostendit: iste lapis est de quo exiet argentum. Tolle ex ipso metallo, fornace enim sicut superius primæ cathmiæ, et mittis ipsum metallum in canciacami, et imple carbonibus; et sic decoques, et fundes die una, et dimittis refrigerare in ipso loco; et posthac tolles ipsam massam, et comminues minutatim, remittes in ipso camino, sicut prius, et cum ipso plumbum femininum. In centum libras massæ plumbi xv. et coque sicut prius per dies iij. Posthac eice ipsam massam, et comminue; mittes in calida vel in tanida, et conflu per ij. horas.

De lapide adamante. cxxvj.

Lapis adamas nascitur ex cathmia, et auri coctione, in prima coctione massæ. Post primam cocturam, dum confringis massam; omnis enim massa confringitur leviter; iis autem remanet, alius parvus, alius magnus, cui ferrum non dominatur, nec aliud quid aliorum lapidum. Ipse autem omnibus prevalet; solo vincitur plumbo, et hec est potentia plumbi.

Tolles plumbum femineum, facile et molle, et solves, et jactes ibi ipsum adamantem, partem quam volueris subtiliare; et lento igni succendes plumbum; et, dum ceperit subtiliari, continuo cum mordace tolle, et in sapone ex oleo operiens, leniter ac mundissime, eo quod sit debilis. Est enim fragilis plus quam vitrum, et mollis plus quam plumbum, eo quod solvatur in plumbo; deinde tolle illum de sapone, et in cote aquaria exacuas cum ipso sapone, quantum volueris subtiliare, et mitte in ignem magnum diligenter, et excandeat per horas ij. aut iij. donec candeat totus sufficienter. Postea tolle et lava, et exiet adamas cui ignis non dominatur, nec feriendus dissipatur, et laborans non curtatur; per quem omnia que volueris operari potes.

De conchilio tinctio porfirii. cxxvij.

Conchilium nascitur in omni mari, plus quam in insularum locum. Conchula est, et habet in se locum sanguinis, et sanguis rubens porfirizans, ex quo porfira tingitur. Colligitur autem sic. Tolle conchilium, et collige ipsum sanguinem cum carnibus, et tolle muriam de mari, et compones in vas, et dimittes.

De porfirio citrino. cxxviii.

Tolles alumen Alexandrinum; tere utiliter, et pone in gabadam, et mitte super caldam

bullientem; permovere diutius, et dimitte residere. Posthac cola ipsam caldam, et exagita; et mittere aliam caldam, et agita; et impone ibi quod habes tinguere, et cooperi, et dimitte ij. dies. Post hoc commove, et fac quod visum est sursum, et dimitte alios iij. dies, et post hoc exagita similiter et dimitte alios viij. dies, et exagita die infra duabus vicibus. Deinde tolle, et mitte aliud alumen, et facies exinde aliam tinctionem, et in eam mitte, et post tolle urinam mundam ex vino bono, et viris sanis, tollesque ipsam urinam, et spuma semel, et post hoc mitte in cacabum ereum; et tolle ipsum conchilium, et lava leviter semel in aqua. Post hoc teres, pone in pannos raros, delava in ipsa urina cacabi. Post hoc tolles de sanguine porcino, et de farna (?farina), et ipsum bene similiter lavans, sanguinem autem porcinum garidum libra conchilii 3 iij. de sanguine porci. Post hoc lavas semel modicum, et defrica; mitte in cacabum, et fac bullire secundo, et tertio, sub eodem modo libram enim tinctionis, libram conchilii cum sanguine; id est, viij. uncia conchilii, et iij. sanguinis porcini.

De oxiporfronta aporodinis. cxxviiiij.

Oxiporfronto aporodinis tolles trium cacaborum coctiones; et mitte in unum in eadem coctione quicquid volueris, tantum ex alumine. Si autem volueris plus munditer tinguere, mitte in unum cacabum sicut primum. Fiet enim et tertia tinctio eodem modo.

De porfiro citrino. cxxx.

Prius enim tinguatur citrinum, et posthac intrat in tinctione, ubi tinguatur porfirus.

De Crisorantida, de auri sparsione. cxxxj.

Chrisopandium pulverem auri triti, sicut superius diximus, cum desiccatione argenti vivi, *id est*, pulveris auri ij. et iarin partem j. commisce cum compositione daufiras, et dispone inde quod volueris.

De argirosantista, de argenti sparsione. cxxxij.

Argentum mundum commisce cum argento vivo. Post hoc ponis in ignem, et desiccas cum ipso argento vivo: deinde tolle ipsum argentum, et tere, donec fiat pulvis: commisce cum impositione daufira, et dispone ubi volueris. Tolle argentum mundum, et commisce cum argento vivo, sicut supra diximus; deinde mitte in caliculo, et depone in ignem donec eiciat argentum vivum. Post hoc tolle argenti partes ij. et iarin partem j. et commisce ex compositione daufira, et dispone.

De Smiria petra. cxxxiiij.

Petra, quæ dicitur Smirias, asper et indomitus est, omnia terens; cum quo lapides, gemmæque limantur.

De terra limia. cxxxiiij.

Terra que vocatur limia, que est alba sub porfira, nascitur in petrosis locis; et his signis cognosces eam. Cum infusa fuerit, bulliet, et sonum dat stridoris: alumen vero viride, et porphirium, omnia tinget, extra berillum et onichinum. Terra nigra vocatur, eo quod est fusca. Nascitur enim in Egypto, et Africa, et in Evilath, et in Italia. Nascitur enim in humidis locis, et in vallibus. Ex ea tinguatur roseum, commixta cum aceto, et cocta, reddet colorem; et post hoc revertitur in coccum.

De lapide focario. cxxxv.

Lapis, qui dicitur focarius, ex quo eramen tingitur, nascitur in omnibus locis. Est et alius similis dum percutitur emittit scintillas raras et magnas; et est rubeus et igneus, colorem habens eramenti; et dum in ignem missus fuerit, ut probetur, incenditur, et colorem non mutat. Collectum autem et contritum minutatim, collecta massa modica, et cum letamine bovino, aut caprino, et palea cooperto, incendes per dies et noctes, donec consumetur ipsum letamen in fornace. Ipsum autem potes coquere, et eramen, et plumbum; et, postquam refrigescet, colligitur ipse lapis, qui jam coctus est, et in prima pensione, pensas libras ccc. in prima coctura. In quam mittis carbonum cofinos xvij. fascies de teda; et dum ingressi fuerint magistri ad opera, et incensa omnia dimittes stare ea, et refrigerare, ut non currat, si est plumbum, aut ferrum, aut cetera metalla, eo quod piger fiat. Et, dum refrigescit, comminue minutatim, et in fornace conflatur, et operaris ex eo.

De lapide fisso. cxxxvj.

Lapis fissus nascitur in Capadocia, Asia, Hiberia, et in Italia. Est enim fuscus et fortis. Dum comminutus fuerit, invenies in eo venas albas; et, cum incensus fuerit, fiet rubeus; quem Alexandrini vocant "cathmiam," eo quod conflet vitrum. Nascitur autem in altis locis, et ventosis. Est enim lapis crepidinosus.

Quomodo fiat cera-marmor ex gagate, et de lapide tracho. cxxxvij.

Lapis gagatis similis coloris auripigmenti, non enim sic multum viridis; qui, dum rumpitur, ignem emittit, et finditur in laminas; propter quod Alexandrini vocant eam "petram planam," ex qua fit cera-marmor. Quem, si pisas subtiliter, et mittis libram de ipso lapide, et ij. de auro-collon, et aquæ libras v. et bis et tercio facis bullire, assidue commovens, et commiscens, fiet cera-marmor.

De lapide tracho. cxxxviii.

Lapis trachias nascitur in universis locis; est enim viridis, fissus, fuscus; combustus, fiet albus; mittitur in cathmia in mundatione argenti.

(De Caucecaumenon. cxxxviii.)

Caucecaumenon fit hoc modo. Ex eramento mundissimo facies petalas, mittasque in usitatum ipsas petalas, et sulphur vivum tritum; et iterum sterne petalas in cacabo: deinde super sparge sulfur, et ita facias donec impleas ipsum cacabum. Deinde, in fornace vitrarii posito cacabo, coque diebus iij. et, dum refrigescit, confringes eum minute. Adde alumen Asianum, secundum compositionem sulfuris; similiter cooperiatur ipse cacabus, et liniatur cum argilla, et ponatur secundum dispositionem prioris, et coquatur per dies vj. Ipse autem, dum confringitur, solvat caucecaumenon ad gluten aureum.

Compositio electri. cxl.

Electrum fiet hoc modo. Pone ij. partes argenti, et eramenti tertiam, et auri tertiam (*sic*); ita ut aurum et eramentum equis ponderibus fiant.

Gluten auri ad fistulas. cxlj.

De chrisoclabo astici ʒ. j. caucucecaumenon ʒ. j. affronitri ʒ. j. saponem ex oleo sine calce ʒ. j. vitrioli solidi ij. aceti dimidiam ʒ. aque ʒ. j. comminue, et commisce semotim eramen ; cetera in unum commisce, et compone modicum, ut tepescat gluten de canilis chrisoclabi.

Compositio litargiri ex plumbo. cxlij.

Litargirum, aliud ex plumbo, aliud autem ex argento, fit. Compositionem, quæ ex plumbo fit, sic compones. Plumbum impone in cacabo potius femineum et molle, et solves illud bene ; deinde, cum solutum fuerit, pistillo ligneo frica plumbum incessanter : mitte cinerem similiter, et non desinas terendo quoad usque facias eum ut pulverem ; et post laves eum aqua. Si autem stringi volueris eum, et fieri spissum, mitte in cacabo, vel in cabilo, vel in camiolo (? canolos) cum oleo ; et calefactum adimatur, et, dum refrigescit, franges caniculos.

Alia compositio litargiri ex argento. cxliij.

Compositionem litargiri ex argento sic facies. Confla argentum, et illa sordidatio, que ex eo exit, trita cum oleo intrat, secundum priorem compositionem : plus autem incenditur propter fortitudinem argenti. Plumbi autem litargirum, ante quam solidetur, intrat cum aqua in bituminatione testea. Dum autem extrinxerit, ubi volueris, necessarium erit.

Inauratio musii operis. cxliij.

Facies petalum vitreum spissum supra petalum eramentinum, ita ut incensum non cohereat. Posthac tolle petalum aureum super petalum vitri, et super petalum auri aliud pone ex vitro multum subtile ; et mitte utrumque in fornacem, donec inchoet solvi petalum vitri ; et sic eice ut refrigescat. Posthac frica faciem ejus in tabula plumbea smirutata, donec attenuet faciem ejus, et coloras illud.

De tabulis smirutatis. cxlv.

Facies tabulam de plumbo, et tolles smirram vivam ; tere bene, et asperge tabulam totam, defricans semel vitrum, donec confringatur pulvis smirre ad tabulam, et posthac operaris quod necesse est cum aqua.

De coloratione musii. cxlvj.

Ad colorationem autem tolle tabulam, et caraxa illam curtatim, et terens cretam argenti subtiliter, asperge tabulam, et defrica bene ipsum vitrum, donec coloretur.

Eraminis mundi limati partes ij. et aluminis Asiani, in mortario diligenter pisati et cribrati, partem j. commisce in caliculo, et pone ad prunas, donec conflatur, et commisceatur alumen cum eramine. Ipsam vero formam vasorum quam facere volueris prius munda urina, et sic funde eramen, quod in prima quidem, ac secunda inflatura, retinet colorem, in tertia perdet, cum limaveris, et batis illud continet colorem : si frangatur inutile erit.

Omnis gemma durioris naturæ, sicut jacinthus, et smaragdus, alemandina, carbunculus, fricantur ismiri lapide in plumbea tabula, usque dum formam accipiat, qualem illi cavator dare voluerit. Deinde fricatur in lotura ejusdem pulveris, in quo prius fricabatur, usque ad leni-

tatem. Splendificatur verò uno modo, sed jacinthus in pulvere lapidis igniarii combusti in lamina cyprea. Ceteræ vero splendificantur aut pulvere, facto de cimolia, aut ex fragmento testeo, quod fit ex vasis antiquis, in astula lignea tremuli, aut alni. At gemmæ mollioris naturæ fricantur, usque ad formam, in pulvere lapidis arenatii super plumbum, sicut sunt amethystus, cristallus, onichinus, jaspis, berillus; deinde fricantur usque ad lenitatem in lotura ejusdem pulveris. Splendificantur in pulvere lapidis igniarii combusti super laminam cypream. Vitrum verò fricandum est in lapide arenatio usque ad formam; deinde super plumbum, in pulvere minuto lapidis arenatii, usque ad lenitatem: deinde super hastulam ligneam, in confricatura testæ antiquæ fit, in cote cum aqua; novissime in cimolia splendorem accipit, et hoc in hastula lignea.

Frangitur ismiris lapis malleo super incudem durum in pulverem minutum; et fiat tabula de plumbo, quæ conficitur super scamnum ligneum; et pulvis illius lapidis super illam aspergitur, et in eo qualiscunque gemma formanda est; fricatur cum aqua, usque dum formam accipiat, quam ei cavator dare voluerit: deinde sumitur idem pulvis et lavatur: ex eo, quod minutissimum fuerit, super aliam laminam plumbeam ponitur, et in eo quælibet gemma fricatur usque ad lenitatem.

Sumitur lignum grossitudine minimi digiti, longitudine palmæ unius, et in ejus summitate pix calida, mixta cum tegula trita, ponitur; quæ mixtura duas partes pulveris de tegula, et tertiam picis, habere debet: in qua postea calefacta gemma, quæ fricanda est, sic ponenda est ut adhereat.

Eris pulvis, vel limatura, teritur cum aceto in eneo mortario, cum sale et alumine, usque ad mellis spissitudinem. Aliqui pro aceto aqua utuntur. Denique bene purgatum ferrum, et leviter calefactum, hac mixtura inungitur, et fricatur, donec colorem eris accipiat: tunc aqua abluitur, et teritur; et, sicut es, vel argentum, deauratur, et calefactum, recedente vivo argento, sicut mos est, ut splendorem accipiat ferro defricatur.

Alumen rotundum, et sal, quod gemma vocatur, et calcantum, ex aceto acerrimo, teruntur in ereo mortario; his ferrum purgatum cum ferula, vel alia quælibet molli hastula defricatur; et, cum eraminis colorem habuerit, extergitur, et deauratur, ac deinde, exfumigato argento vivo, aqua refrigeratum, usque ad splendorem ferro, valde plano et limido, defricatur.

Cathmie compositio. cxlvij.

Eris mundi libra j. calcitarin z. ij. affronitri z. j. sulfuris z. j. Hæc omnia mittes in calido, et solvantur in unum, et coquantur, donec comburatur eramen, et calcitarin, et levatur ea quæ remanet cathmia.

Quianus ita fiet. cxlvij.

Eris partem j. plumbi partem j. triti nitri z. j. calcitarin z. j. affronitri z. j. commixta et combusta, commisceas cum aceto, et repones ad solem; sicca et tere.

Anfinus sic fit. cxlvij.

Tolles plumbum molle, et solves in vase testeo forti, ut sufferat trituram: tolles pistillum, et mittes carbonem cum cinere super plumbum, priusquam refrigescat; permoves illud cum pistello

leniter et bene, donec attenuet et subtilies ipsum plumbum : post hoc mittes in gabata lignea, et delavas. Deinde componas in cacabo novo cum sulfure, et decoques per dies iij.

Pandii compositio. cl.

Psimithin partem j. cinnabarin partem dimidiam, tere in mortario marmoreo bene : post contritionem autem, mitte ex aqua in qua coquitur icciocollon, et fiet pigmentum pandium.

Alia. clij.

Iarin partes ij. cinnabarin partem j. spimithin (*sic*) partem j. quiani partem j. lulacin partem j.

Alia. clij.

Quianon solidos iij. spimithin (*sic*) z. j. nitri partem j. calcitarin partem j.

Alia. cliij.

Aluminis partem j. sulfuris vivi partem j. nitri partem j.

Tinctio vitri prassina. cliij.

Tere vitrum bene, et de limaturis eris mundi z. iij. mitte in libram vitri, et decoques per dies iij.

Alia. clv.

Vitro bene trito ad libram ejus adiciantur eris limature z. ij. aluminis Egyptii z. j. et decoques per dies iij.

Tinctio lactei coloris. clvj.

In libram vitri mittas stanni z. iij. et decoques per dies ij.

Tinctio sanguinea. clvij.

In libram vitri mittas cinnabarin z. iij. et decoques per ij. dies.

Tinctio rubea. clviij.

In libram vitri mittas psimithin z. ij. et decoques per dies vj.

Tinctio alithina absque igne. clviij.

Tingues subtiles vitreas et ungues dracontea anamemigmemis, et fiet sic rubea.

Minus tincta melini coloris. clx.

In libram vitri theaspis terra z. ij. et decoques dies iij.

Rubeum. clxj.

In libram vitri caucececaumenon z. ij.

Anthimis de damia (? danria). clxij.

Amor aquæ libra j. naptæ libra j. sulfuris vivi libra iij. picis aridæ $\frac{1}{2}$ iij. lac ferri libra j. semis.

Ista omnia arida tere bene, et cum liquidis, pulvere subtilissimo facto, commisce: et una hora coque, et fiet ignis; sed non secundum priorem virtutem, sed modice minus.

De lapide olimpio. clxij.

Lapis olimpius nascitur in petrosis locis, et est duorum colorum, niger habens guttas albas: percussus sole, sicut sulfur, ignem emittit.

De lapide flavite. clxiiij.

Lapis flavites nascitur in terra nigra: dum autem a sole percussus fuerit, infusus fiet prassinus, ex quo nascitur prassinus color.

De lapide rubeo. clxv.

Lapis rubeus nascitur in diversis locis; de quo et mortarium, quo aurum teritur, fiet.

Compositio lulacis. clxvj.

Flores^a caucallide, et flores elinii mundi, magma violæ duarum supra dictarum, i. e. de viola majore partem j. de minore partem j. Magma autem tale, non secundum compositionem lazurin, nisi tantum cum aqua; de lilio autem veneto majore partem j. ista magmata fiant, ambo in unum detrita utiliter, et reponantur in vase vitreo uno, magmata duo. De viola enim minore, facias semotim magma; et de lilio veneto majore, semotim facias magma. Deinde caucallide et elinii, singulorum partes ij. et de viola minore partem j. et de majore partem j. aluminis Egyptii spumati in libram de magma iiij. specierum solidos ij. saponis ex axungia sine calce z. j. Ista decoques modicum, et tere guati exnerviati libram j. et commisce guatum cum coctione magmatis; et tere diligenter donec pulvis fiat, et repones ad solem, ut siccetur. Istud est lulacin leve, et lazuricunta, et boni coloris, non habens pessum, quia ex floribus est compositum.

Compositio lazurin. clxvij.

Flores neulacis (quod Grecè "tapsia" dicitur, alii "cameleonta" vocant) colliges, et repones: deinde ungue manus tuas sapone cocto sine calce, et defrica inter manus tuas ipsos flores, et pones in vas. Post hoc, iterum unctis manibus ex ipso sapone, eosdem flores defricas diutius, et iterum repones; et hoc facies donec ipsi flores consumentur. Post consummationem autem florum collectam confectionem cooperi diligenter in vase, in loco calido, donec eam veneti coloris esse noscas. Cum autem veneti fuerit, non operies illud nisi tantum panno. Deinde sume folia viridia de uvato (sic) exnerviato, et decoque cum urina expumata, donec solvantur predicta folia, et tandiu coque, quoadusque consumetur urina, et pinguescat ipsa coctio; et mitte refrigerare. Deinde sume de floribus neulacis libras iiij. de cocto autem guatto libras ij. de cinnabarin dimidiam z. et commiscens tere munditer, et trita cooperta in mortario stare permitte. Deinde ostreas diligenter mundatas intus et foris, et lotas a sordibus et limo, ponas in cacabo novo, et decoque usque ad pulverem; et refrigeratas tere

^a Clores in MS.

diligenter, semotim: tollis ex ipso pulvere libram j. et iarin mundum: mitte in aliam urinam dispumatam, terens diutius, donec turbetur, et viridescat urina, et ex eo commisce in priori mortario cum supradictis speciebus, et bene defricans reponere in vase novo ad solem, una die. Postea coopertum vas oblinies diligenter, et pones in fornacem vitrarii superiorem, die j. et exiet lazurin.

Flores neulacis, cum sapone fricatos, ut supra diximus, infunde in urina spumata, et vase cooperto pone in letamen, ut fragidet. Similiter folia guatti infunde in urina spumata; et reposita in letamen cum fragidaverit, eice de ipsis in mortario, auferens ex ipsis omnia nervia, et tolles ex ipso guatto libram j. et de flore neulacis libras ij. et papaveris z. ij. et commixta tere, addens cinnabarin et dimidiam, et iarin et dimidiam, urinæ expumatæ et dimidiam, tere diligenter, et mittes in cacabum novum; lento igni decoque, donec consumetur et pinguescat, et fiet lazurin modicum porfirizonta.

Flores neulacis infunde aceto, et compositos in vase cooperto, ut predictum est, pone in letamen, ut fragident. Similiter guattum exnerviatum tere diligenter, et in vase novo aceto infusum operies in letamine, donec fragident ipsa folia. Postea sume de guatto libram j. de lacca decocta in urina spumata et j. et ex flore neulacis libram j. de pulvere ostreae mundæ, et lotæ, sicut supradictum est, z. iiij. His omnibus, in mortario tritis, decoctione herbæ celandinæ, quam in urinam coxeris, libram dimidiam adde, et croci et j. Omnia trita, et in uno vase cooperta, et in letamine die j. posita, tolles, et ad solem siccabis, et uteris.

Lazurin aerium. clxviij.

Tolle florem de neulace, et defrica cum sapone, sicut supra docuimus, coopertum in vase, reponere in letamine. Similiter facies de guatto enervato; et post dies, cum putruerint, tolle de neulace et guatto z. j. et terens subtiliter in mortario, addens spimithin mundi et j. et lulacin confecti et mundi et semis, cinnabarin et semis, et urinæ expumatæ cum vitriolo trito et iiij. urinæ autem libras x. et postquam residererit (*sic*) vitriolum, tere ipsam urinam in mortario, quantum sufficit, et commixturam dimitte residere ij. dies. Post hoc tolles urinæ expumatæ mundæ libras iiij. gallæ tritæ z. j. commiscens dimitte infundere die j. deinde mitte ex ipsa iotta libram j. et, trita bene, dimitte residere ad solem, et fiet lazurin aerium.

Item, aliud. clxviij.

Tolle Lazurin primum et j. cinnabarin et j. compone ut supra.

Lazurin carnei coloris. clxx.

Psimithin mundi triti libram j. Lazurin z. j. cinnabarin et j., compone ut supra.

Lazurin melinizonta. clxxj.

Sume neulacis flores unctos ex sapone, ut supra monstratum est, libram j. et pone in letamen, et guatti exnervati, cum sapone, ut supra composuisti, atque in letamine macerata libram j. Postea tritis in mortario adde cinnabarin z. j. herbæ licia excoctæ, quæ coquenda est cum urina expumata, donec veniat ad iiij. partem, et donec pinguescat; ex ipsa pinguedine trita libram j. Hec omnia commixta pone ad solem, et fiet lazurin melinizonta.

Alia lazurin. clxxij.

Cinnabarin $\frac{1}{2}$ j. siricum $\frac{1}{2}$ j. lacce coctionis $\frac{1}{2}$ j. lacca autem coquitur sic; Laccam subtiliter tritam coque in urina expumata bene lento igne, et ex ipsa coctione sume libram j. lulacin solidum j. et trita similiter, dimitte residere, et siccari ad solem.

Item. clxxij.

Cinnabarin $\frac{1}{2}$ j. lulacin solidos ij. psimithin solidum j. trita bene, sicca ad solem.

Compositi(o) (*sic in MS.*) vermiculi. clxxiiij.

Ex succo florum papaveris expressi $\frac{1}{2}$ j. cinnabarin $\frac{1}{2}$ semis, lulacin solidum j. hec omnia, commixta et trita, sicca ad solem.

Cinnabarin vermiculum libras iiij. vermiculi terreni, qui in foliis ceri nascitur, libram j. de coctione laccae supradictae libram j. urinae expumatae l(ibras) x. et sumptum utrumque vermiculum subtiliter tritum, mitte in cacabum in ipsa urina in lintheolo raro; delava vermiculum in cacabum, in quo urina decocta est, et iterum tere coctum, et delava in urina cacabi; et sic facies donec consumetur coccus totus. Deinde coques diligenter commixtionem illam, et exagitas: tunc sume ostream mundam, et bene lotam, et mittes eam in pinnatam bene coopertam, ponasque in furnum, donec refricetur, et postea tere subtiliter: atque ex ipso pulvere libras iiij. mittas in coctionem predictam: bulliat bene usque in tertio. Deinde repone ad solem, ut pinguescat.

Pandius. clxxv.

Mitte vermiculum libram j. coccarin libram j. (Coccarin nascitur, sicut supra dictum est, in foliis ceri) cinnabarin $\frac{1}{2}$ j. lazurin primi $\frac{1}{2}$ j. commiscet; tere diligenter in mortario, et mitte de urina expumata libras xv. coques in cacabo novo, donec ad dimidiam partem veniat ipsa urina. Postea pisa grana, cum cinnabarin trita, in lintheolo delava, sicut supra continentur, donec consumetur.

Item, pandius. clxxvj.

Vermiculi libr. semis, de alio vermiculo $\frac{1}{2}$ vj. psimithin $\frac{1}{2}$ vj. lazurin $\frac{1}{2}$ vj. hæc, diligenter trita, mitte in cacabum cum urina dispumata libr. x. et mittens in lintheolo raro coccum delava in urina, et iterum delava donec expendatur coccus; et decoques donec veniat urina ad dimidiam partem, et repones ad solem.

Lulacin libra j. cinnabarin libra j. psimithin libra j. ficarin $\frac{1}{2}$ ij. hec omnia trita, et cum aqua tepida mixta, pones ad solem, donec siccentur.

Lulacin libra j. cinnabarin principalis libra j. lazurin libra j. ocrea mundissima libra . . quianus libra j. hec omnia, bene trita, et cum aqua tepida mixta defricans, pones ad solem donec siccentur.

Lulacin $\frac{1}{2}$ iiij. psimithin $\frac{1}{2}$ ix.

Lulacin $\frac{1}{2}$ j. ficarin $\frac{1}{2}$ j. quiani $\frac{1}{2}$ j.

Lulacin libra j. quiani libra j. psimithin libra j.

Quiani libræ ij. psimithin libra dimidia; **commixta** tere cum urina despumata, quod sufficit; pone ad solem.

Quiani libra j. ficarin libra j. ocreæ libræ ij. omnia trita commisce cum urina dispumata et repones ad solem.

Quiani libra j. de pulvere caucececaumeni triti 4 j. ficarin 4 j. ocreæ 4 j. omnia trita et commixta cum urina dispumata pones ad solem.

Cinnaberin libra j. herbæ lucie coctionis libra j. croci clari mili libra j. ficarin libræ ij. quiani libra j. omnia trita commisce urinæ expumatæ, (*sic MS.*) et sicca ad solem.

Item. clxxvij.

Cinnaberin 4 vj. et iotta coctionis lacce 4 vj. croci 4 vj. omnia trita et commixta repones in vase vitreo ad solem per diem, donec siccetur, et per noctem collige aput (*sic*) te.

Item. clxxviii.

Cinnaberin 4 j. incausti speriij. 4 j.^a teres, et commisce; repones in vase vitreo, pones ad solem, et de nocte colliges; et ita facies, donec siccetur.

Item. clxxviii.

Cinnaberin 4 ij. psimithin 4 j. ista teres bene in mortario, et commisce cum urina expumata, et teres utiliter, vitreoque in vase repones, et cooperies in letamine per dies multos.

Item. clxxx.

Terræ viridis 4 ij. cinnaberin 4 j. trita commisce, ac repones quemadmodum et primum commixta cum urina expumata.

Item. clxxxj.

Terræ viridis libra j. cinnaberin 4 j. psimithin solidos ij. Ista teres in mortario cum urina expumata, et repones in vase vitreo, et pones ad solem, ut prius.

Item. clxxxij.

Terræ viridis libra j. ocreæ 4 j. cinnaberin 4 j. trita, et commixta omnia cum urina expumata, mittes in vase testeo, et operies in letamine per dies xx.

Pandius ocrei coloris. clxxxiiij.

Ocreæ mundæ libra j. cinnaberin 4 j. ficarin solidos ij. omnia trita in mortario commisce cum urina expumata, et repones in vase vitreo, et repones ad solem, donec siccetur.

Item. clxxxiiij.

Lulacin, quianus, cinnaberin, lacca, equis ponderibus, trita et commixta pones in vase vitreo, et repones ad solem, donec siccetur.

Item. clxxxv.

Iotta, de coctione conchilii, libra j. Sirici mundi 4 j. omnia trita, et cum modica urina commixta, mitte in vas vitreum, et sicca ad solem.

^a ? If this should not be, incausti 4 ij. speriij 4 j.

Item. clxxxvj.

Iotta conchilii, iotta de lacca, ana + j.—Teres primum + j. cinnaberin, et post hoc commisceas iottam conchilii, et iottam laccae, et repones in vase vitreo ad solem, donec siccetur.

Item. clxxxvij.

Iottam conchilii + j. cinnaberin + j. croci + j. iottam herbæ luciae + iiij. omnia decocta in urina commixta praso sextarii.

Item. clxxxviii.

Cinnaberin + j. iotta conchilii + j. coctio rubiae + j. coctio finisci simul; teres primum cinnaberin semotim; post hoc commisceas omnia, et repones in vase vitreo, sicut et cetera.

Item. clxxxviij.

Tolles iottam rubiae, et addis gallæ + iij. teresque utiliter; tolles ex iotta rubiae libram ij. et mittes in vase vitreo cum ipsa galla trita, et dimittes per ij. dies infundi: post hæc colas, et addas calcitarin z. j. cinnabarin solidos ij. utrumque teres, et mittes ea cum supradictis rebus, et decoques donec veniat ad tertiam partem.

Compositio viridi incausti. exc.

Accipe grana matura arboris caprifolii (hic est, Anglicè, "gatetriu,") et in mortario bene contere; post in vino diligenter fac ebulliri, ferrum eruginatum decoctioni simul adiciens. Hoc est viride et fulgens incaustum. Quod si vis pannum, vel corium viridem habere, pincello hinc desuper illine. Si vero vis ut nigrum sit, adde huic compositioni solito atramentum. Quod si vis istud, vel aliud aliquid, incaustum facere, ne decurrat, gummam cini vel prini in decoctionem pone, et simul coque.

Ad temperandum de ivired (*sic in MS. pro "viride."*) excj.

Accipe herbam, que dicitur "greningpert," et ebulli bene cum cervisia aut vino, adeo ut cervis(i)a crocea sit de herba; et postea cola; deinde pulverem de viridi Greco mole cum ipsa cervis(i)a, et tantum pone de cervis(i)a, ut satis sit. Postea stet in baccili, vel cupero vase, contra solem ad maturandum.

Laminam cupri habeto, et subtilem pulverem de smeril, et, cum aliquem lapidem secare volueris, serram tuam parum humectabis saliva tua in medio, et pulverem supponas, tenendo fortiter, vel juxta, et serram adhibebis serrando lapidem.

Hoc modo polies. Pone pulverem de smeril super tabulam plumbeam, et parum de saliva humecta, et paulatim tritando, sepe respice vel ne consumatur. Secatum, hoc modo colorabis. Bisum cauculum tamdiu crema, donec in pulverem redigatur; sicca ad diem, inde fac pulverem subtilissimum, vel de levi pumice, vel de cristallo cremato fac subtilem pulverem; et extende corduan super tabulam, et cum pulvere et sputo tuo super corduan fricando lapidem colorabis. Si pumicem non habes, de antiquis lateribus, unde scutellæ fiebant, fac pulverem, qui tantundem valet; vel cum cupero filo, sine detrimento, colorabis.

Quianus autem nascitur sic. excij.

Quianon uualtalasion nascitur enim in locis humidis. Nascitur enim ex rore, estivo tempore; colligitur autem sic. Tollens colliges eam, et repones ad solem, donec siccetur: postquam

desiccabitur, teres bene; deinde tolles cocleam marinam majorem, et lavas bene, et terens mittes ex ipsa coclea libras xxx. de uualtalasion libras ij. sapone libras x. lazurin 3. iij. de sapone autem ex oleo leviter cocto partem. Omnia commixta et trita repone in vase novo testeo, et operi de letamine, et dimitte diebus lx.

Perpensum ante commixtionem specierum marinarum tritum bene commiscet, secundum mensuram coctionis. Quiani libra j. psimithin 1 j. ista trita et commixta cum urina expumata. Quiani libra j. cinnabarin 1 j. Hæc trita misce cum urina expumata. Hæc omnia exposuimus ex terrenis maritimis floribus, vel etiam herbis; ita exposuimus virtutes vel operationes earum in parietibus, lignis, lintheolis, vel etiam pellibus, et omnibus pictorum instrumentis, ista memoramus omnium operationes, qui in parietibus simplicem, in ligno cere commixtum suscepit lignum simplicem cum unctione collon commixtum. In pannum vero cere commixtis coloribus; in pellibus unctio collon commixtum.

Primum metallum, ex quo fit aurum, terra rufa est, amoydis subrubicunda prope ad juxta stantem illi terram est hæc, et alia similis, et dum incenditur perdit colorem, et non est arenosa, sicut illa prior. Nascitur in solanis lucis ea terra, et tale est metallum auri.

Metallum vero argenti viride est.

Metallum autem eramenti petra est viridis, quæ, dum percutis cum pirepolo, ignem emittit.

Auricalei autem petra est melina, et eodem modo ignem emittit. Metallum lapis est colore ipso gatizon.

Plumbum autem est terra fusca; lapis autem qui in ea invenitur viridis est.

Harena est, unde vitrum metallizantur; est enim lapis vitrei coloris.

Vitriolum, unde fiet terre ogrizos sunt cum cretæ, ubi verno tempore guttam colligunt ipsam, et decoquetur, ex ipsa terra fiet calcitarin; quæ autem arida, vitriolum.

Aluminis autem metallum est terra florens.

Eitarin terra est alba, facilis ad pisandum.

Sulfur ex terra nascitur, et ipse incenditur locus: coctum autem ex terra sulpherea oleo mixta coquitur.

Nitrum est sal, qui nascitur in terra, fiet in laminas in tempore cavatur.

Sal scistis nascitur similiter.

Affronitrum, verò, nascitur in loco nitri, priusquam gelet: componitur autem et aliud ex nitro; principale autem spuma, alba, ut nix. Compositum vero prius fuscum est, habet tamen eandem virtutem.

Terra sulphuritana in eodem loco, ubi sulphur, nascitur.

Argentum vivum nascitur ex terra. Nascitur et aliud ex metallo argenti in conflatione.

Auripigmentum metallum est terre; gleba est naturalis quæ in Cipro insula invenitur in metallicis, colore sub auroso, intus habet venas descissas, ut alumen scissum, et in modum stellarum fulgentes.

Prassinus terra est metallizans.

Lulax componitur ex terra et herbis.

Lazurin compositum est.

Quianus compositus est.

Ficarin compositum est.

Iarin eraminis est flos.

Psimithin plumbi est flos.

Ocrea terra est pandia, omnia colores, omnia compones.

Caucecucaumenum ex eramine fit.

Cinnabarin ex argento vivo fit.

Siricum fit ex psimithu; fit et ex plumbo.

Composita herbarum, terræ, et lignorum. cxciij.

Chriscollon arbor est, non alta, melinum habens interiorem lignum. Nucis cortices et frutices; Cilicinae cortices; Meliæ cortices; Ulmi cortices; Celsæ cortices.

Hec omnia tin(c)tiones sunt. Rubina silvatica, luza est. Monoclosus, galla glandis est. Drantalasis, dissobo gauzo arena est.

Resinæ omnis species ex pino et sapino coquitur. Pice recocta pecola semel: Cedria ex ligno coquitur cedrino: Mastice ex lentisco nascitur. Zigea ex zigeo. Gumma ex atrinia. Secunda gumma, ex amigdala. Lineleon ex semine lini, sicut oleum ex oliva, fit. Oleum lenticinum ex lentisco. Collium ex mari. Conchilium ex mari. Sal ex mari fit.

(*De auri pondere.*) cxciij.

Omne aurum purum cujuslibet ponderis omni argento similiter puro ejusdem tamen ponderis densius est parte sui xxiiij. et insuper cexl. quod ita probari potest. Si purissimi auri libra cum eque puri argenti simili pondere sub aqua conferatur xj. denariis, id est xxiiij. et cexl. sui parte, aurum gravius argento, vel argentum levius auro, invenietur. Quapropter, si opus aliquod inveneris formatum, cui argentum per commixtionem inesse videatur, scireque volueris quantum auri, quantumve in eo argenti, contineatur, sume argentum sive aurum, et examinato inspectione pondere non minus pensantem massam de utrovis metallo fabricato, atque utrumque opus, scilicet, et massam stantem lancibus imponito, aquisque inmergito. Si argentea fuerit, allevato opere, aurum inclinabitur: hoc tamen ita fiet, ut quot partibus inclinatur aurum, totidem partibus sullevetur argentum; quia, quicquid in ipso opere fuerit, sub aqua preter solitum ponderis ad aurum, propter densitatem, pertinet; quicquid autem levitatis ad argentum, propter raritatem, conferendum est. Et ut hoc facilius possit adverti, considerare debes tam in gravitate auri, quam in levitate argenti, denarios xj. signi(fi)care libram, sicut prima lectionis hujus fronte prefixum est.

Compositio nigelli ad aurum. cxcv.

Sume duas partes almenbuz, *i. e.* argenti, et terciam eris, et aliud tantum alquibriz, *i. e.* sulfur, et aliquid majus, et mitte in fornace in caniculum, ut assetur, et tunc paulatim misce supradicto alquibriz: cum fuerit bene assatum, et miscalatum, extrahe foras, et mitte in rigellum, aut in quovis loco, et stari calidum percute ut extenuetur, et dimitte frigesci. Postea super incudem cum tudone (*id est*, martello) diligenter frange minutissime, ut pulvis fiat; et mitte in coculam: postea detempera atinciar, *i. e.* burrago, cum aqua; et cum hoc distempera nigellum, et mitte ubi vis; et desuper natroni pulverem asperge, et mitte super carbones usque quo bene currat; et ubi non vis ut currat, mitte cretam distemperatam valde subtilem. Ita factum, extrahe de fornace ut frigescat, et cum lipsatorio acerino lipsa, sed sepe aliquantulum super carbones calefac, et ita usque quo bene se habeat. Postea rade nigellum usque ad almenbuz, et iterum lipsa, ita ut melius scis, et dimitte.

Item, nigellum ad almenbuz. cxcvj.

Sume almenbuz, et aliud tantundem eris, et tantum alquibriz, quantum pensant inter almenbuz et es; et fac, ut superius dictum est de auro.

Item, ut superius, ut colorem habeat deauratura. cxcvij.

Sume urinam, et aceti modicum, et allium bene tritum, et alquibriz, ut estimas, et similiter misce in concham eream; et ibi mitte ij. laminulas, unam de cupro, et aliam de arrazgaz (*id est*, plumbo) et, cum bene ferbuerit, extrahe, et intingue in aquam frigidam, ita ut fundum non tangat; sed sepe mitte, et trahe, usque quo bene coloret.

Ut dulce fiat aurum, ita fac. cxcvij.

Mitte aurum in caniculo in fornace, et misce cum eo alquibriz, et tincar, et simul conflu; et fac rigellum, et mitte in salem, postea in aquam, et opera.

Item, si vis aurum ponere in pellem. cxviiiij.

Si vis aurum ponere in pellem, mitte antea claram de ovo ij. aut iij. vices, in almenbuz iij. in alcazir (*id est*, stannum) viij.

Si vis colorare almenbuz. cc.

Si vis colorare almenbuz, sume acetum, et salem, et simul misce, et ibi infunde almenbuz calidum; postea accipe carbones tritos, et lipsa cum panno, aut cum setis.

Si vis nectere eramen, aut auricalcum. ccj.

Sume duas partes eris, et tertiam stagni: conflu simul in fornace, et bene misce; extrahe inde ut frigescat, et inde fac pulverem subtilissimum super ferrum, aut super petram duram, ipsum pulverem misce cum oleo, non nimis rarum nec spissum. Ex hoc unge juncturam eris, aut auricalci, et super asperge pulverem natroni (*id est*, alatroni), et mitte in ignem, ut calescat, et cum fuscello frica, ut bene conectet.

Conexio auricalci. ccij.

Natroni denarium j. penso, Cream vini assam quantum estimas, boras denarium j. penso, cum aqua confice, et inde line auricalcum: postea supersperge pulverem stanni assi: postea subtus carbones in fornace calefac sicut aurum, usque quo bene conectet.

De stagno conjunctionem. (*sic*) ccij.

Sapone partem j. resinæ pini partem j. natroni partem j. borax aliquid. Ex his unge stannum, et leviter calefac, sicut scis, usque quo conectet, et calidum in aqua merge.

Deauratio facilis. cciiij.

Accipies laminas stagneas, contingis aceto et alumine, et conglutinabis glutine cartineo; deinde sumis crocum et gluten purum (*id est*, perspicuum et limpidum) infundis aquam cum aceto, et

limaturis igne levi coque: cum effluxerit gluten, inunge stagneas laminas, et apparebunt tibi aureæ.

Ad gluten stanni. ccv.

Duas partes axungiae, et terciam resinæ, et limaturam stanni pariter mixta, si leviter calefeceris ad ignem solidare poteris.

Inauratio^a vase nigrum impingere, ut putes inpisatum esse. ccvj.

Eris rubri et plumbi partes equales confla, et asperge sulfur vivum, et cum fuderis, patere ut refrigeret; mittis in mortarium, teris, adicis acetum, et facis atramentum de quo scribitur, pinguedine,^b et scribe in auro et argento, quod velis, et cum refrigeraverit, calefacito, et erit inpisatum. Conflabitur autem ita. Carbonem sculpis, ita mitte argentum et es; confla, et cum liquescit admisce plumbum, deinde sulfur; et, cum miscueris, diffunde, et fac ut predictum est.

Inductio exaurationis petalarum. ccvij.

Petala fiant de stanno; fiant autem sic. Solves bene ipsum stannum, et fundes paulatim in marmore, et facies petala subtilia, vel cum malleo, et pones sicut crisopetala; et decoques herbam celidonium, ex ipsa coctione mitte uncias iij. croci libras iij. auripigmenti libram j.

Tinctio stagnee petale. ccvij.

Tolle croci mundi unciam j. pigmenti optimi fissi uncias ij. mitte gummi dimidiam, et lineleon unciam dimidiam, et aquam pluvialem aut dulcem; commisce, ut bulliant simul. Commisce confectiones bene terens, tollensque cum spongia unguis ipsam petalam, et cum desiccaverit, secundo unge, et desiccatam cum onichino defrica, ut splendeat.

Aurum probatum facere. ccviii.

Eris partes iij. argenti j. simul confla, et adice auripigmentum non ustum, sed crudum, eurem partes iij. et, cum calefeceris, sinito ut refrigeret, et mitte in patinam. Obline argilla, et assa, donec fiat cerosa; tolle, et confla, et invenies argentum. Si autem multum assaveris, fit elidrium; si partem j. auri adjeceris, fit aurum optimum.

(Ad solidaturam argenti.) ccx.

Ad solidaturam de argento ij. denarios pensante de argento, et ij. de eramine, et una medalla de stanno.

Ad solidaturam argenti non boni. ccxj.

Accipe de bono argento iij. denarios ponderantes, et j. obolum de stanno.

Ad bonum argentum solidandum medium oboli. ccxij.

De commixtione puri et fortissimi xknk cum iij. qbsuf tbmkt, cocta in ejus negotii vasis, fit aqua, quæ accensa flammans incombustam servat materiam.

^a Inaurato, MS. Compare the title given in the List of Chapters.

^b Some words appear to have been omitted here.

De planitie, seu altitudine mensurandi. cexiij.

In primis, orthogonium hoc modo compones. Tres virgulas planas et rectas facies, primam iij. unciarum, vel pedum, seu ulnarum; secundam iij. terciam v. Illam, quæ trium mensurarum est in altum dirigas; illam, quæ iij. in planum colloques; illam, quæ v. a summitate illius, quæ in altum dirigitur, usque in summitatem illius, quæ in planum collocatur, deducas. Sic angulatim illæ tres virgulæ conjunctæ orthogonium faciunt. Virgula autem directa vocatur cathetus: collocata, basis, deducta, ypotemusa. Deinde baculum accipias, cujus altitudo usque ad oculum tuum perveniat: huic orthogonium in medio basis effigias; postmodum oculum angulo opponas in quo junguntur basis et ypotemusa. Intuitumque ad illum angulum dirigas quo jungunt ypotemusa, et cathetus; et progrediendo ac regrediendo tamdiu perambules, quousque intuitus, secundum estimationem, angulum ypotemusæ et catheta jungat summitati illius rei, cujus altitudinem queris. Hoc expleto, ab eo loco in quo tunc stas, usque ad pedem rei illius, metire spatium areæ. Ex hoc spatio quartam partem subtrahe. Reliquas tres partes, superaddita baculi mensura, quem in manu tenebas, pro altitudine teneto. Hoc autem est caute videndum, ne in aliquam partem declinet orthogonium baculo superposito; et, ut declinatio deprehendi possit, a medio ypotemusæ pendiculum demittito. Hoc, si medium basis tetigerit, nullam declinationem orthogonii esse scito.

De lapide orcho, vel orebo. cexiiij.

Lapis orchus, quem vocant Alexandrini cathmia, nascitur in humidis locis; est autem facilis ad pisandum. Est (? enim) niger, ingreditur in solidatura argenti. (*sic*.)

De lapide Atriathe. ccxv.

Lapis atriathe, quem vocant leocopandium, est enim terra prassinus (*sic*) in qua nascitur. Crescente autem terra, et reflorente, florem album rotundum, quadrum, acutum, ginnit. Post hoc stringit eum, et fiet lapis; florem constringit terra ipsa prassina, et fiet petræ. Aliæ aurei coloris, melini, aliæ pandii, aliæ candidi. Quæ, dum percussæ fuerint, emittunt ignem, et ex ipsis egreditur argentum vivum. Aprili mense, et Maio, excalescente terra, abundantes flores cavas humidum locum usque ad geniculum, et discooperies terram, et invenies flores veteres duratos, et adherentes terræ, factos lapides. Alii enim floruerant et induraverant, et terræ non adhererunt, sed remanserunt ut margaritæ, eo quod non conjunxerunt tempus. Alii floruerunt competenti tempore, sicut nix alba, quas (*sic*), cum inveneris, ita leva cum vana terra et floribus, et mittis in pila marmorea, et cum impleveris, mittis aquam, et misce bene, et terram, quæ in ea est, jacta foras, et remanet argentum vivum. Exiet et de metallo argenti, quando inchoat accendi, percurrit, et colligunt illud artifices.

De lapide fumice. ccxvj.

Lapis fumice nascitur in universis locis: tritus ingreditur in caccabum novum, et in fornacem figuli mittitur, et coquitur bene, et cooperitur diligenter, ut non ingrediatur aliqua immundicia. Post hoc eicitur, et teritur, et in compositione auri pro gemma ingreditur, in temperatione de calaina.

Compositio auripigmenti. cexvij.

Auripigmenti triti mundi partem j. argenti vivi z. j. auri tremissem j. Aurum battis, et facies petalam, et mittis ipsam petalam et argentum vivum in trullam ferream, et incendes, donec solvatur aurum, et misceatur cum argento vivo: et postea mittes auripigmentum in ipsam trullam modicum, et commixtionem argenti vivi, et coques bene, et exagita, donec fiat pandius.

Gluten auri ad fistulas. cexviij.

De crisoclabo astici z. j. caucececaumenum z. j. affronitri ʒ. saponem ex oleo sine calce z. j. vitriolum solidos ij. aceti dimidiam ʒ. aquæ z. j. comminue, et commisce semotim eramen; cetera in unum commisce, et pone modicum, ut tepescat gluten de canilis crisoclabi.

Inauratio eraminis, argenti, et auricalci, crisophargia de petalis. cexviij.

Eneneaus, sive encause, prima argenti et eramenti et auricalci. Battis aurum, et faciles (? facies) petalas subtiles ac tenues, et post mittes argentum vivum, et ipsam petalam solves, donec solvatur aurum ipsum. Si autem minuatur ipsum argentum vivum, adde plus, donec coquatur ipsum aurum. Deinde mittes in testam, et cum alia testa teres usque quo attenuetur et commisceatur aurum cum argento vivo; et rade vas, quod habes inaurare, et perunges modicum, et calefacies, et exprimis cum lintheolo mundo, ac totum exterges. Quod autem remanet mittes in ignem, et propria similiter, et unam et duas inaurationes in vas novum mittas. Si autem leviter semel unctum fiet, postea defrica illud ferro candente, et coloratur. Deinde cum micis panis defrica, donec elimpidet colorem.

Similiter fit et inauratio ferri, sed primo aluminatur. Tolles partem vitrioli, et modicum salis, et aceti acerrimi, in caliculo; et exinde ferrum linies, quod habes inaurare, et hic est prima inauratio.

Crocum verissimum tolles, et radices de ipso flore diutius tolles ovum, et aperiens primum proice quod exiet; sequens albumen suscipe in ipsum crocum, et terens leviter unge quod vis, et superpone petalam.

Tolles argentum vivum, commisce cum auro, sit inter rationem, et terens bene mitte in caliculum; et pone in prunas, donec siccetur vivum argentum, et remaneat aurum, quod mittis in mortario; cum pistillo ferreo teres bene, donec pulvis fiat. Tollas crocum, teras in unum; si uncia erit auri croci solidi sint ij. mittes in aquam, donec coquantur. Similiter mittes in compositione ipsam aquam de gummi; teres utiliter, et pones in ampullam, et suspende ad solem; et tolle de sole ubi volueris. Cum ipso calamo, cum quo scribis, scribe quod vis. Similiter argentum et eramen compones.

Quo modo fiat sulfur coctum. cexx.

Coques lardum oleo, et ex ipso tolle libras ij. et sulfuris tere libras iij. mittes in cacabo ipsam terram tritam, et bullies secundo, vel tertio, et fundes super laterem.

Compositio affronitri secunda, quæ queritur ad gluten argenti vel eramenti. cexxj.

Nitrum Egiptium libram, i. saponis de axungia, sine calce, libram j. teres utiliter, et com-

miscet. Deinde pones ad solem, vel in calido loco ; utile est ad gluten auri : ad argentum autem propter mollitionem argenti componitur mollior, id est, duas partes de sapone, et unam de nitro.

Eraminis partes ij. plumbi partem j. Tolles laminas eramenti, et derade bene, et suspende super acetum, et collectionem quam facit rades, et colliges.

Iarin partes ij. vitrioli mundi z. iiij. aluminis Egiptii z. ij. Ipsum autem guattum semotim pisa munditer, Iarin vero, et vitriolum, et alumen in unum, et tolle saponem ex oleo, sine sale, dimidiam unciam, et commisce in ipsa tres species. Postea pisas commiscens diligenter cum sapone. Deinde tolle guattum ipsum pisatum, ut oportet. Commisce ipsum cum supradictis speciebus, et defricans diligenter, et dimittes diem unam requiescere.

Confectio ejus hec est. cccxij.

Urinam mundam, et ipsam dispumatam, libram j. commisce cum ipsis speciebus, et tere diutius. Si est cacabus ferreus, mitte in eum ; sin autem, mittes in testeum, et decoques, donec veniat ad tertiam partem : postea tolles gipsum coctum, bene pisatum ; mitte dimidiam unciam, et tolle coctionem : commisce cum ipso gipso, et defrica diutius, et mitte in vas. Pone ad solem, et, dum extinxerit, frange speciem, et pone illam siccare.

Confectio ficarin. cccxiiij.

Tolle laccæ mundissimæ libram j. et decoque cum urinæ dispumatæ libris v. et decoque munditer nec dimitte supra modum dispumare, et tolle ossa cancri munda, et incende munditer, et teres quod sufficit. Commisce in lacca, tolle similam infusam in aqua ; deliqua bene, z. j. pinguis autem sit illa deliquatio, et pisa in unum bene (*id est*, ossa cancri laccam), et cum ipsa deliquatione simile commiscens mitte in vas, et desicca ad solem, unde facias ficarin.

De metallo vitri, et coctione. cccxiiij.

Vitri mundi de massa sume libras v. limaturæ eramenti absque plumbo z. ij. et mitte in vas novum testeum sufferens ignem, et decoque in inferiore fornace vitrarii diebus vij. et post hoc eiciens confringe minutatim, et interim conflas prassinum tinguens.

De metallo plumbi. cccxv.

Plumbi metallum terra fusca est, nascitur in omnibus locis, plus autem in calidis ; et lapis qui in ea nascitur viridis est, sed non subalbidus, metallum autem grave. Probatio autem metalli hec est. Tolle illud, et mitte in ignem ; quod, cum bullierit, et solutum fuerit, scintillas emittit. Herba, que in ipsa terra nascitur, semper marcescit, pre calitudine metalli. Colligitur autem sic propter estuationem solis, cavas terram usque ad cubitos iiij. altitudine, debilis est ipsa terra ; et dum cavatur desiccat, coquitur autem in fornace, quemadmodum et ferrum. Plus autem incenditur plumbum.

Alia coctio plumbi, ex ipso metallo. cccxvj.

Ipsum metallum non siccatur, sed continuo ut levatum fuerit, mittitur in fornacem ferri cum carbonibus et lento igni. Non succenditur ante noctem. In nocte autem succenditur usque ad diei quartam horam. Recoquitur autem, ut mundum fiat : missum in fornacem iterum, et ex carbonibus pini, aut abietis, coquitur per horas iiij. et operabitur de eo quod oportet.

Alia compositio vitri. ccxxvij.

Tolle ex eadem arena, et delava propter pulverem, et mitte decolorare, faciesque fornacem vitrarii, et facies ij. folles, et primam operationem vitri decoque, velut picis coctionem: postea tolles illud, prius recoque in fornace, sicut pix recoqui solet.

Qualiter pelles tingantur. ccxxviii.

Tolle pellem depilatam et lotam utiliter, et ex galla mitte per unamquamque pellem libras v. aquæ vero libras xxj. et inmitte pellem, et exagita die j. Post hoc lava bene, et sicea. Deinde tolle alumen Asianum, et mitte in calidam aquam; et, cum resederit, funde ex illo aquam; et mitte iterum tepentem aquam, et exagita, et mitte in ipsam confectionem unam, aut duas, pellium, et tolles et lavas illas semel. De vermiculo autem habeat unaquæque pellis dimidiam libram; quarum prima unctio hec est.

Tinctio alithina. ccxxviii.

Mitte urinam expumatam in cacabum, et pone ad ignem; et vermiculum in mortario tritum ligans in lintheolo raro, mitte in cacabum calentem, et exagita quousque exeat quod exierit de lintheolo; et reliquum quod remanet mitte iterum in mortarium et tere; ligatumque in lintheolo, et in cacabum calentem positum, exagita, donec de vermiculo nichil remaneat in lintheolo.

Postea consue pelles in utris modum, et mitte ex ipsa iotta j. confectione supradicta per unam quamque pellem libram j. et dimidiam. Defrica bene, et dimitte totam noctem manere in ipsa confectione. Mane autem iterum confice quantum sufficiat, et, effusa iotta, lava pelles, et defrica. In eadem iotta de priore pelle tingitur pellis pecorina, *id est*, in ipsa medicatione, in qua pelles caprinæ tinctæ sunt.

Pellis rubea tinctio. ccxxx.

In calce jaceat pellis diebus vj. et mitte in sal diebus vij. et in ordeum. Deinde dimitte siccare, et tunc macera; post coque in vino vermiculum, et mitte iottam in folles una hora, et permitte siccari. Pende pellem in cantirio, et rade eam novacula, ex utraque parte; accipe sal cum farina, et melle; de fermento misce simul, ut jaceat ibi una nocte, aut duabus. Suspende ad solem, et macera; tingue eam cum eramine, et macera.

Prassinæ pellis tinctio. ccxxxj.

Sume stercus caninum, et columbinum, et gallinatum: solve illud in iottam, et mitte in illam pelles depilatas, et conficies eas ibi per duos dies. Post hoc eice eas inde, et lotas dimitte siccari. Deinde sumes alumen Asianum, et, secundum quod supra docuimus de alithina faciendum, de istis facere memento. Deinde sume luzam bene pisatam, coque cum urina, coctam mitte refrigidare. Consue pelles in modum utrium, sicut diximus de alithina, et mitte coctionem in ipsos utres, et confrica bene, insufflans modicum, ut habeat ventum; et confice bene, donec combibatur medicamen. Post hoc refusa confectione, et lotis semel pellibus, iterum sume lulacin iiij. + per singulas pelles, et urinam despumatam libras vj. et commixtum lulacin cum urina, mitte in ipsos utres, sicut prius iottam luzæ misisti; commisce bene, donec combibatur, et consumatur, ipse

humor confectionis : et refundens, dimitte siccare quod superfuerit de iotta luzæ, et lulacin, in eo lingue pellem pecorinam, sicut prediximus de alithina ; et erit prassina.

Item, prassinæ pellis tinctio. ccxxxij.

Tolles pelles depilatas, sicut prediximus, et primum in stercore, deinde in alumine, conficies ; et ejectas de stipterea consue in folles. Deinde tolle luzacin dimidiam libram, et urinæ dispumatæ libras x. commisce, et mitte in folles, et confice bene, immisso modico vento, sicut predictum est. Hoc autem per dies iiij. facies assidue ; post iiij. autem dies refunde ipsam coctionem in pelles pecorinas, confice eas per dies v. et lotas siccari permitte.

Melina pellium tinctio. ccxxxij.

In tinctione mellina confice pelles, et alumina, sicut prediximus, et lotas post alumen consue in folles ; postea sume luzac in bene pisatam, coque cum urina bene despumata, et cum refrigeraverit, mitte ipsam iottam in folles ; et confice, sicut prediximus, per dies v. vel vj. et post hoc refundens lingue pecorinas pelles sicut supra docuimus ; et post tinctionem lava et sicca.

De porfirio melino. ccxxxiiij.

In porfirio confice pelles sicut supra, et mitte in alumen : deinde ablutas lingue melino, postea tempera coctum, et ipsam temperationem in ipsas pelles, quas tinxeras, mitte ; et confice sicut supra docuimus.

De prima tinctione pandii. ccxxxv.

In prima tinctione pandii, confice, eodem modo quo predictum est, pelles, et alumina : post aluminationem, abluta stipterea, lingue eas in vitriolo : post tinctionem, lava illas bene. Deinde compone vermiculum, sicut supra docuimus ; ex ipsius coctionis iotta mitte in folles, et confice more solito ; et refusa confectione, lingue pecorinas pelles, et lotas desicca.

De secunda tinctione. ccxxxvj.

In secunda vero pandii tinctione, confectis pellibus, sicut supra, et tinctis cum vitriolo, atque lotis, mitte ex iotta luzæ in folles ; et confice per iiij. dies.

De tertia. ccxxxvij.

In tertia tinctione pandii, confectis pellibus, ut prediximus, tolle iottam coccineam, et mites in folles : exagita, et confice, sicut supra.

(Item, de pandio.) ccxxxviiij.

Sume corallum tenue, boni coloris, rubeum, marinum, tritum, libras ij. lacca coquinum libras j. et calcitarin ʒ. ij. trita omnia commisce, et coque cum urina ; et, quando volueris tinguere, mitte ex ipsa iotta, que est confecta in urina dispumata, in folles ; et confice per ij. dies. Post hoc lava bene, et desicca.

Item. ccxxxviiiij.

Tolle lubiam, et bene pisatam coque in cacabo cum urina, et addito modico alumine commisce, et dimitte refrigidare. Deinde colatam ipsam iottam mitte in folles confectarum pellium, et exagita bene, et confice die una, et lotas desicca. Post hoc sume ex iotta luzæ 3. j. et luzacin 3. j. et commisce, et unge faciem pellium.

Tinctio prassina ossuum, cornuum, et lignorum. cexl.

Rade primum quodlibet ex omnibus his, et mitte in alumen Asianum, et ossa diebus xij. cornu autem alumina diebus viiiij. lignum vero diebus iiij. Deinde coque luzam bene, et, dum fervet, depone in illam quodlibet horum; et, dum refrigidaverit, tempera lulacerin, et depone in illud, et dimitte diebus v. Postea eice, et lava.

De veneti tinctione eorundem. cexlj.

In veneti autem tinctione alumina quodvis horum, sicut prediximus; et, facto lulacerin, mitte in illo, si os fuerit, x. diebus, si vero cornu, diebus viiiij. si autem lignum fuerit, diebus quatuor.

De melina tinctione eorundem. cexlij.

In tinctione vero melina, que tinguenda sint, sicut supra, alumina; et coque luzam cum urina dispumata; et, cum bullierit, depone in illam.

De colore cinnabarin. cexliij.

Si autem colorem cinnabærin similem vis facere, sume sinopidem coctam partes ij. siricum partem j. commisce, et tempera cum aqua.

De cebellino, quomodo fiat. cexliiij.

Cebellinum ita fiet. Tolle lignum cerrinum aut deirinum, et munda ramos ejus ex cortice; et faciem ejus leviter dola, et cooperi illud in loco cenoso annis xx. Postea ejectum de ceno dimitte in umbram siccare anno j. et labora ex eo quod vis.

De inauratione ferri. cexlv.

Si ferrum deaurare volueris, sume calcitarin, et alumen Asianum, equis ponderibus; salis autem et draganti tantam quantitatem, que compenset, tota trita, et commisce hec omnia cum aqua, vel aceto acerrimo; mittens in cacabum eneum; et bulliat una hora diei. Post extersum et pumicatum diligenter ferrum, cum hac confectione perunge, in eo loco ubi volueris deaurare; et, cum modicum in hac confectione patieris, terge ferrum, et habebit colorem eneum. Deinde lima cum lapide onichino ferrum; et, si limando perdit colorem, tunc iterum tingue; si vero inauraturam comprehendere voluerit, commisce cum medicamine equaliter, et unge sicut prius.

De abluta tauratica in qualem vis pannum facere, et sic lixandum est cum onichino lixa.

De petalo aureo. cexlvj.

Lineleon 3. v. galbani 3. ij. terebentinæ 3. j. picis Spanæ 3. j. Istas iiij. species, (*id est*, galba-

num, terebentinam, picem Spanam) solve in unum cum modico lineleon. Postea vero cum orientali croco 3. ij. libani 3. iij. floris populi primotici 3. ij. vernicis 3. ij. lineleon et uricella commisce, et ad mosana colas. Postquam tota simul fervent misce ibi de gumma cerasii 3. j. Hec omnia simul commixta bullire facias in lineleon mensura iij. unciarum: post coctionem autem cola per lintheum, et misce species supradictas (*id est*, galbanum, terebentinum, et picem Spanam) et, si quid vitium postea habuerit, quo siccare non possit, addito masticæ quantum volueris, aut 3. scilicet, aut dimidiam, emendabitur.

Lucida quomodo fiant super colores. cexlvij.

Lineleon 3. iij. terebentinæ 3. iij. galbani 3. ij. licicæ 3. ij. libani 3. iij. mirræ 3. iij. masticæ 3. iij. vernicis 3. j. gummæ cerasii 3. ij. flores populi 3. ij. gummæ amigdalæ 3. iij. resina sapini 3. ij. Hec omnia pisanda sunt, et crib(r)anda; et cum supradicto lineleon in gabbata auricalci, mittenda-que in furnum calidum, ubi sine flamma coquantur, eo modo ut foras non exeant. Cocta autem colanda sunt cum lintheo mundo; et, si rara venerint, decoque ea usque dum spissa fiant. Postea vero quolibet opera, vel picta, vel sculpta, volueris, illucidare poteris, lucidata autem siccare.

De crisografia. cexlvij.

Aurum obrizum lima tenui limâ, et in mortarium porfireticum mitte acetum acerrimum, et teres pariter, et lavas; quamdiu nigrum fuerit, effundes, tunc demum mittes aut salis granum, aut nitrum, et sic solvitur. Postea scribe, et litteras polies. Sic omnia metalla solvuntur.

Aureis litteris scribere. cexlviii.

Sume laminas aureas, et argenteas, et solve in mortario, terendo cum sale Greco vel nitro, donec non compareat. Deinde mittes aquam, et infundes, et iterum mittes sal, et ablues: et, ubi purum aurum remanet, adicies eris floris modicum, et fel taurinum, et tere simul, et scribe: litteras poli. Si vero vis ut diffusum sit, et abundantius scribere volueris, tere separatim auripigmenti scissilis iij. partes, elidrii partem j. et, cum cribraveris illud, ex eo tantum quantum equale sit auro contere pariter; et scribe, et, cum siccaverit, litteras poli. Ex hoc autem et in vitro, et in marmore pingere poteris, eodem modo quo scribis cum auro.

De inauratione pellis. ecl.

Tolle pellem rubram, et pumica eam diligenter; deinde lava eam aqua tepida, quoadusque limpida aqua egrediatur: postea tensam in cantario limniza usque iij. vices: deinde tende eam in axem que habeat superficiem mundam, et cum ligno mundo co-equa eam diligenter: postquam autem desiccata fuerit, tolle albuginem ovi, et spongiam mundam tingue in ipsam lacrimam, et induc semel per ordinem. Si autem non sufficit, iterum unguet; et, cum siccata fuerit, pone petalum, deinde tingue spongiam in aqua, et preme petalum ad pellem; et, cum siccata fuerit, poli. Deinde cum pelle munda desuper frica, et iterum poli, et similiter dragantum inauratur, ita tamen ut mittas in aquam in noctem, quoadusque solvatur.

Confectio maltæ. celj.

Olei libras viij. casei libras viij. interiora ovorum xxx. albuminum z. calcis mundæ modium dimidium, lini mundi minutatim incisi libram.

De ere albo. cclij.

Mitte es album in fundum caluculi, et in summo vitrum pone, et sic conflat illud. Conflatum autem cum fundere volueris, fuscello remove vitrum, et non perdet colorem.

De lacca, quomodo laboratur ad pingendum ligna, seu parietem. cclij.

Primitus tere laccam, et inde elige fustes et spurcedinem; deinde mittas in molam, et mole subtiliter: deinde accipies urinam humanam utriusque sexus, et mitte primitus in caldariam, et dimittas bullire, donec totum consumetur, usque in terciam partem; et semper spumam frequenter tolles. Posthæc mittes laccam, et bullire facies; deinde accipies alumen mundissimum, et terens misce in supradicta lacca. Tunc accipies modicum pannum, et tingue frequenter, donec color bonus appareat. Deinde aquam mittas in vascula, et labora: lapidem qui fit in aqua, proice eum, quia nichil est. In libras v. de lacca mittes aluminis 3. v. urine sextaria decem.

De calce et arena. ccliiij.

Preterea scire est necessarium construendi quæ calcis et arene natura sit utilis. Arenæ ergo fossicæ sunt tria grana,^a nigra, rufa, cana. Omnium precipua rufa, et melioris meriti. Sequentis est cana; tertium locum nigra possidet. Ex his ergo que compressa manu edit stridorem, erit utilis fabricanti. Item, si panno vel lintheo candidæ vestis impressa et excussa nichil maculæ relinquet, aut sordis, egregia est. Sed, si facilis (*sic*) arena non fuerit, de fluminibus, aut galera, aut littore, colligetur. Marina arena tardius siccatur, et ideo non continue, sed intermissis temporibus, construenda est, ne opus onerans corrumpat. Camerarum quoque tectoria falso humore dissolvit. Nam fossiles tectoriis, et cameris, et celeri siccitate utiles sunt; melioresque si statim cum effossæ sunt misceantur. Nam diutino sole, aut bruma, aut imbre, vanescunt: fluviales tectoriis magis poterunt convenire. Sed, si necesse est ut maris arena, erit commodum prius lacuna^b dulcis humoris immergi, ut vitium salis, aquis eluta suavibus, deponat. Calcem quoque albo saxo duro, vel Tiburtino, aut columbino, fluviali quoque remus aut rubro, aut frongia, aut postremo marmore. Quod erit ex spisso, et duro saxo, structuris convenit. Ex fistuloso vero, aut molliori lapide tectoriis adhibetur utilius. In duabus enim arenæ partibus calcis una miscenda est. In fluviali vero arena, si tertiam partem testæ contusæ cretæ addideris, operum soliditas mira prestabitur.

De latericiis parietibus. cclv.

Quod si latericios parietes in pretorio facere volueris, illud servare debet, ut, perfectis parietibus in summitatibus, que trabibus subiacebit structura testea cum coronis prominentibus fiat, sesquipedali altitudine, ut, si corruptæ tegulæ aut imbrices fuerint, parietem non penetret pluvia. Deinde providendum est, ut siccis et asperatis parietibus latericiis inducatur tectorium, quod humidis ac levibus adherere non poterit; et ideo tertio debebis eos prius obducere, ut tectorium sine corruptione recipiant.

Confectio Saphiri. cclvj.

Argentum et sulfur incendatur simul; postea claro vitro museo libris ij. et de supradicto safiro 3. iij. simul coctum iacintinos facies lapides.

^a Sic, sed ? pro "genera."

^b ? lacivia.

Confectio vitri rubei. cclvij.

Sumes argillam ferri, et coques igne, et postea infundes vinum ; et, venam rubeam inveniundo, contunde eam pistillo, mixto cupro ; et sic infunde vitrum in fornace.

Aliter. cclviij.

Viridi vitro, cupro mixto, superfundas contusam petram ardennanam.

Gluten argenti et auri. cclviiiij.

Tolle ij. partes argenti, et tertiam cupri, ac purum staminis adiciens, argentum vel cuprum bene potes conectere.

Aliud. cclx.

Tolle etiam iij. partes auri, quartam cupri, fundesque illud simul.

Aliud gluten stanni. cclxj.

Duas partes axungiae, et tertiam resinae, et limaturam stanni pariter mixta solidare poteris, si leviter calefacis ad ignem.

(De) Denario auri. cclxij.

Tabula cupri, quæ x. pollices habeat in latitudine, et totidem in longitudine, denario auri deaurari potest.

De vivo argento. cclxiiij.

Si vivum argentum adheserit operi aureo, quod non potest in ignem mittere, accipe urinam hominis, et misce simul atramentum et salem, et fac spissam pinguedinem, et inde mitte super vivum argentum, quod adheserit (*vel* adhesit) aureo operi, et dimitte aliquandiu desuper ; tuncque exterge, et non apparebit. Deinde ferro defrica, ut scis.

Accipe duorum denariorum et oboli pensum de purissimo cupro, et j. de argento, simulque funde ; et post, tunde tenuissimum quantum potes, et post arde petram vini diligenter ; et, cum volueris solidare, accipe inde, et distempera cum aqua, tamen spissum ; tunc incide minutissime cuprum illum tenuissimum, et mitte inter juncturam, et super eam quam vis solidare ; et tunc superadde illam spissam pinguedinem, quam fecisti de aqua et petra vini ; et tunc in ignem pone, et suffla.

Accipe plurimum atramenti, et valde arde ; et de sale bono, ita ut duæ partes sint salis, et tertia atramenti ; et post, misce simul, et distempera cum optimo aceto, et tunc lava bene deauratum opus, et lini ex omni parte de supradicta pulve ; et post, mitte in ignem, et calefac usque quo rubeum fiat, et post, extingue in eneo vase, et tunc de seta exterge. Si autem prima vice non defecerit, adhibe sal, et reitera.

De sagitta plumbea, ad incendendum. cclxiiiij.

Semel, vel secundo, vel tertio, solves plumbum, et mundas ex omni sorditie, et dimittas illud quoadusque colligat v. n. n. Post hæc adducis lenticulam, et pisas utiliter, et infunde aceto, et

spumam quam emittit tolles, et intingue sagittam; et ex ipsa spuma acue sagittam in plumbo, veluti in cote, donec elimpidetur; et ex eo plumbo ipsa sagitta perungatur.

Aliud toxicum unde sagitta in pugna toxicatur. cclxv.

Sudorem equi, quem in dextera parte inter coxas habuerit, sume, et intingue sagittam. Hoc expertum est utiliter.

De sagitta, quæ ignem emittit. cclxvj.

Sagitta ad emittendum ignem, tribulus es pertusus. Confectio autem ignis talis est. Naptæ 5. j. stupi solidi ij. picis conditæ solidi iiij. sulfuris vivi mundæ guttæ solidus j.^a semis, salis marini solidus j. olei ex olivis solidus j. visci asperi solidus j. lapidis gagatis solidus j. saponis ex oleo solidus j. Ista tollens, et mittens in mortario marmoreo, cum tritorio ferreo teres utiliter. Primum quam mittas naptam, stupium, et picem, et climatidam, et sulfur vivum, et gagatem, et sal marinum tere subtiliter. Post hoc mittes oleum ex olivis, et saponem, et lac mulieris, solidum j. et teres subtiliter omnia in unum, nucis interiora iiij. tere diligenter, et compones. Lac autem pingue sit.

Hec est autem tinctio sagitte: stupam lini mollem intingue, et tolle funiculum subtilem, qualem possit capere ipsa pertusa: de reliquo perunge sagittam, sicut provideris; et, cum tetenderis arcum, incendes igni, et continuo dimittes sagittam ubi volueris incendium sagittandum.

Alia brevis. cclxvij.

Alia sagitta, que ex modica compositione ignem emittit, sulfur vivum, colofonia, equis ponderibus, oleum ex nuce; conficies et disponas, sicut prediximus.

Alia. cclxviij.

Sagitta in toxo palestra venenata, ut non incendat canale. Vesti ipsum canale ex ere. In sagitta vero tribulo utere secundum priorem compositionem, et petra focaria, que ignem emittit, pertusa, non equata, sed aspera, quo possit inherere ipsa compositio.

De rapidissimo compositione. cclxviij.

Ex sulfure libram j. naptæ libram j. stupii libram j. climatida libram j. pice condita libram j. lactis mulieris 5. j. olei porcini 5. j. lapidis gagatis 5. j. resinæ conditæ libram j. sulfuris vivi libram j. picis liquidæ 5. j. semis, cedera 5. j. olei ex olivis 5. j. sulfuris cocti 5. j. auripigmenti 5. iiij. nitri 5. semis: omnia collecta arida diutius tere, et post hæc tollens omnia humida commisceas: tere diligenter, et compositis utere, perungens petram, et omnes pertusas ejus replens; et, imponens in petrariam, immittas ignem, et dimittes celeriter.

Compositio arietis ad muros. cclxx.

Anteriores pedes iiij. facias cubitorum v. medios cubitorum iiij. posteriores cubitorum iiij. Rotæ autem altæ unius semis palmæ; gressæ iiij. z. circinas, et in medio pertundis, secas columnas, et in minutis rotis, usque ad iiij. unciarum co-operiens, et super connexionem facies, et configes

^a ? if "climatidos" is not omitted here.

cum meura astringens arietes, et contexes funibus, proteges eum corio, et super filtris co-operies, et super filtra, coria; et super coria, arenam ʒ. iiij. et super arenam, lanam; ut non moveatur ipsa arena, et desuper coria. Tales autem habeant ipsæ columnæ cardines ut non moveantur, quia configuntur intus; et rotis suppositoria suppones; et ipso ingenio conjungas muro, et labores indubitantur.

Quomodo debeat zelum arietis incendere. cclxxj.

Compones cacabum non coctum compositione de damie, ignem apponens, et in ipso zelo mittas, et incendas ipsa coria, et lanam. Post hoc remanet arena, et ipsa confixa, eo quod non ardeat: deinde lapidas per moles ipsam arenam; compones iterum similem cacabum ex ipsa compositione jactas ipsum zelum; et, si propter multitudinem arenæ non ardet, jacta alios lapides, et compone alium cacabum, et jacta.

De iiij. formis specierum. cclxxij.

Composito iiij. formis specierum plus utilis ad incendendum, naptæ, picis, stupii, climatidos.

Compositio naptæ hæc est. cclxxiij.

Naptæ sel. purgamenta lini, sive amurca olivæ, naptæ mundissimæ libram j. sulfuris vivi libras ij. milino ʒ. iiij. salis marini penso, solidos iiij. colophonæ mundæ liquatæ ʒ. ij. solidum j. peculæ solidos iiij. aureis vj. picis duræ ʒ. j. olei terebintini dracontoides ʒ. j.

Compositio olei terebintini hæc est. cclxxiiij.

Olei communis partem j. olei laurini partem j. solidos ij. cedercæ cedrinæ solidos ij. picis cipressinæ solidos ij. masticæ solidum j. lapidis gagatis solidum j.

Hæc est compositio naptæ xij. specierum. Confectio autem (ta)lis est. cclxxv.

Teres omnia arida, humida commiscens postea diligenter cum pulvere aridorum, et defricas omnia bene: post hoc repones in vase testeo bituminato, et sic dimitte ij. dies, aut iiij. et post hoc, tollens, calefacies modicum, ut bulliat, et dimitte residere.

Confectio picis hæc est. cclxxvj.

Picis aridæ ʒ. j. denar. j. sulfuris vivi denar. j. resinæ denar. j. iscira (alii dicunt florem aquæ, alii oleum aquæ, alii celidonia, Alexandri autem, amorem aquæ. Nascitur autem in aqua ubi alba terra est, terra rusea, terra nigra, exeunte autem de aqua fiet milinii super aquam in circuitu exitus aquarum). Est autem aqua gravis, et egrota pro terra quæ florem generat. Sic autem colligetur. A Martio vel Aprili mense, si est calidus locus, usque ad Octobrem, colligitur. Tolles autem mollissimam lanam lotam, et inpones super aquam, et exprimes in vase vitreo, habente pertusum modicissimum, veluti acu factum; quem, cera clausum, pones ad solem diebus x. ac noctibus, immobilem; et post hoc, ablata cera, aperies ipsum pertusum, supposita lana munda deliquatur aqua, et remanet amor aquæ. Tunc de amore aquæ mittes ʒ. j. balsami mundi

3. j. aurei vj. oleum silicem (alii oleum ricinum dicunt, alii lancidis, alii vero viscum) solidum j. picis cipressinæ solidum j. aureas xij. picis pineæ solidum j. semis, saponis ex oleo solidos ij. nitri solidum j. selinistreo (alii rodica, alii pancii, alii rusticum, alii gumma, alii matican, alii thimon, alii tricas, alii tricoselinon; nascitur autem in aqua velut apium, et in parietibus, ubi calx est, et dicitur herba capillaria) arida trita 3. j. alochias (alii sticis, alii calmidam, alii cathan, alii ageropa, alii marcianin, Alexandrini autem Scaramandia, isauri papati herba est subtilis, ramosa, spina involuta, albidante; multi exinde accendunt candelas: nascitur autem in locis petrosis et asperis; folia ejus, sicut mirtæ, spissa) aridæ tritæ solidos iiij. denar. j. Robaticis (alii exmilax, alii telacion, alii quisnashatu, alii cucudera: nascitur sicut rubus, fortiores habens ramos, et spissus est; fructus vero ejus est similis zizifæ, plus rotundus, pro quo vocaverunt grates, (?) zizifa agrestis; habet intus grana triangula pilosa:) ipsa grana siccata et trita solidos (blank in MS.): omnia arida, trita semotim; deinde commixtis cum reliquis, adde zizea solidos ij. et, terens omnia in unum, commisce, et repone in vase testeo bituminato; et, cum bullierit, lento igni semel, fiet compositio sicut pix.

Compositio stupii hæc est. cclxxvij.

Lac ferri 4. denar. iiij. sulfuris vivi 4. j. aureos xij. aluminis Persiatici denar. iiij. gumma de atrinia solidum j. amoris aquæ libram j. balsami 4. iiij. oleo ex olivis denar. j. lapidis gagatis, aureas iiij. semis tigea aureas ij. grana iiij. cedrea de cedro pingue solidos vij. aureas ij. sulfuris melini 3. iiij. olei laurini aureas xij. resinæ mundæ terebintinæ melinæ aureas iiij. picis de pino frigidæ 3. j. apallis, (alii ramitan, alii cordenan, alii daucallida, alii maragnin, Egiptii fondella, pagani tinctio, alii polligalla; herba est alta, si multum usque ad geniculum, folia simil(i)a mirti, plus majora; alia est major ticior, alia autem subtilior, ticior minor herba est, unius palmi altitudinis; majorem autem, ubicunque rumperis, lac exiet, rami ejus rotundi, folia spissa,) lactis ejus collecti et sicci aureas iiij. semisses, brachia, (alii tutumallum, alii da . . . ^a alii leptugalia, alii polligala, alii leptotui; similis est enim prioris, et non sic alta, prior enim in principio ramos eicit, ista vero sursum ramos habet rotundos, folia subtilia, et plus rotunda quam prior, propter quod vocaverunt eam Ethiopes surganam;) ex ipsa collecta, et desiccata, et trita, 3. j. aurea j. semis; oia (alii laucia, alii sehum marinum, alii briania, alii spumam marinam, alii eleoboron, alii mag(un)tiani, Egiptii drautia; nascitur in omnibus locis, plus autem in durissimis, fungus est rotundus, pagani vocant amanita, desiccatum ubicunque percusseris pulverem levat mulmum, ideo vocaverunt eam girovagam, rotundus nascitur totus in terra; qui ut siccus conculcatur, aut percutitur, exiet pulvis, et reliquum durum corium remanet, quasi ovum decoctum. Ex ipsis fungis, cum corio et pulvere, vij. elleborum nigrum siccatum, et tritum, solidum j. gumma de arbore elanton (quod sic est abies) 4. j. Omnia ista trita, arida, et in pulverem redacta commisce diligenter cum humidis, et repone in vase fictili bituminato, et bulliat lento igni.

Compositio climatidos hæc est. cclxxviij.

Sarmenti vitis agrestis florem desiccatum et tritum solidos iiij. aureas iiij. lac ferri 3. j. naptæ

^a Cut off by the binder.

3. j. sulfuris vivi 3. j. semis, resinæ solidos ij. pisas olimpias solidos ij. omnia simul commiscens repones in vase testeo bituminato, et semel bulliat lento igni, sopitum est.

Commixtio iiij. specierum supradictarum (*id est*, naptæ, stupii, picis, climatidos) plus utilis ad in(cen)dendum.

Naptæ bonæ et humidæ libras ij. climatidos libr. ij. Commixta omnia in cacabo eneo, et decocta lento igni, inples pinnatam crudam de catia erea; hoc argentum plus est utile ad incendendum.

Remedium ad extinguendum. cclxxviiiij.

Si arserit ignis, necesse est ex arena et sulfure extinguatur; si plus arserit, arenam, urina infusam, immittes.

Quomodo fiat sapo ex oleo, vel sepo. cclxxx.

Crati baticie de minutulis virgulis, sive spisso et forti colatorio, supersterne bene arsum cinerem de bonis lignis; et superfunde leviter aquam calefactam, ut guttatim transeat; et lexivam subtus mundo in vase recipe, et secundo vel tertio per eundem cinerem cola, ut fortis lexiva fiat, et colorata; et hæc est prima lexiva saponarii, quam, cum bene depuraverit, mitte coquere; et, cum diu bullierit et spissari ceperit, addito oleo sufficienti, move optime. Quod si cum calce facere volueris, mitte ibi modicum calcis bonæ; et si sine calce esse volueris, sola predicta bullire permittes, donec excocta sit lexiva, et in spissitudine redacta, et post in loco apto refrigerare permittes quicquid ibi lexivæ, vel aquosum, remansit: que depuratio secunda lexiva saponarii dicitur. Postea, per ij. vel iiij. vel iiiij. dies, spatula exagita, ut bene cohereat et exaquetur, repone usui. Si vero de sepo facere volueris, eadem erit actio, sed, loco olei, mittes sepum pecorinum bene contusum; et adicies de simila, ad estimationem, et coquantur ad spissitudinem, ut predictum est. In secunda vero lexiva, quam dixi, mittes sal, et coques donec exsicceatur, et hoc erit affronitrum ad solidaturam.

Color albus. cclxxxj.

Stannum libras x. plumbum libram j. in pulverem redactam, alumen Asianum libras x. arena citrina libras viij. et semis; et fac fornacem, et da ei ignem; et post coctionem frange, et cribella istam cocturam; et postea adjunge arenam similiter cribellatam libras viiiij. et semis, et postea plumbum libras vj. et semis, et v. libras de stanno similiter, sicut scripsimus.

De amido. cclxxxij.

Amidum medulla est de frumento media libræ mixta in aqua calida v. uncias, et mediam de vitreo safiro, et aquam quantum sufficit.

De colore veneti. cclxxxiiij.

Color venetus. Alumen scissum 4. x. et arene 4. v. et lapides albos et rotundos iiij. uncias, arsa et cribellata, et iiij. uncias de plumbo, et unam 4. et mediam, et argenteos xv.

De lapide Egrippo. cclxxxiiiij.

Si inveneris lapidem de terra de Egrippo, inmitte iiij. libras de plumbo, arsum et cribellatum;

et de terra purpurea libram j. mixtam in ipsa confectione, et de petra de Corinthe mitte libras ij. et de plumbo j. et de terra purpurea libram j.

Compositio sisami. cclxxxv.

Sisami compositio. Mel album et purum, in stannato ad modicum ignem appositum, incessanter spatula exagita, intercis vicibus ad ignem, et ab igne, depositum; et spatiosius exagitatum, iterum atque iterum igni appone et depone, sine intermissione exagitans, quoad spissum fiat, et conglutinosum. Cumque satis spissatum fuerit, super marmor effusum paulisper refrigerare permittit; post, ad clavum ferreum suspensum, et crebro et minutule extensum, et replicatum, donec albescat, ut oportet. Tunc retortum et formatum super marmor colloca, et usui ministra.

De zuchara. cclxxxvj.

Simili autem actione, et coctione, de zuchara in stannato, pauca aqua infusa, et, cum bullierit, dispumata, et bene colata colatorio; et sic, adhibitis quibus scis speciebus, incessanti agitatione ad spissitudinem ducta, in subuncto modico oleo marmore expansa diffundes, et refrigeratis marmoricis caute, ad manus sejungens a marmore, usui reservabis.

De penidiade. cclxxxvij.

Penidias vero modo sisami post dispumationem et colaturam zucharæ, sed sine exagitatione, percocatas ad clavum, ut dictum est, malaxando, conformabis, concidendo forficibus.

Azur quomodo molatur. cclxxxviii.

Azur mole cum sapone; post lava bene aqua.

Hinc sextam placuit fingi, siliquamque vocari;
Ultimus est calculus, ciceris duo granula pensans.

ag.	berch.	cen.	derhu.	eg.	feu.	genue.	he.	cer.	la ... ^a	
ſ	B	h	N	M	þ	✱	u	l	ʃ	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	
man.	net.	os.	perd.	cui.	rat.	sigil.	tir.	ur.	xen.	uir.
Δ	+	N	h	⋈	R	ʏ	↑	ll	h	ʃ
m	n	o	p	q	r	ſ	t	u	x	ʃ

super su(nt)

^a The margin of the M. is cut.

℥	Assis xij.	℥	Uncia.
℥℥	Deunx xj.	℥.	Dimidius obolus.
℥℥℥	Decunx x.	℥.	Plenus obolus.
℥℥℥	Dodrans ix.	℥.	Duo oboli.
℥℥	Bisse viij.	℥.	Tres oboli.
℥	Septunx.	℥.	Quatuor oboli.
℥	Semis.	℥.	Quinque oboli.
℥℥	Quincunx.		Oboli vj. significant denarium.
℥℥	Triens.	℥.	Siliquæ viij. H.
℥	Quadrans.		Solidum unum. H.
℥	Sextans.		Dragma i. uncia.
			Medius solidus. B.

Duæ partes cineris quereini, cum tertia calcis querci, cum glutinentur bene, agitate cum aqua frigida: post, totum pones in cophino fortiter impressum, faciens desuper aquam locum ne discurrat, quo pones aquam frigidam, bis et ter, secundum consumptionem suppositi cineris, et calcis. Que non cito, sed sequenti die manabit, cui suppones folia lauri, vel alia congrua, ut postea fluant in aliud vas, et hoc est capitellum. Si vero saponem perficere volueris de priori aqua secundam pones; qua decursa, pones et tertiam, que bona erit quousque alba fiat; post, liquefacies sebum, colabis, et colatum, et superius si opus est, purgatum, cum ultima bullies; quo spissante secundum pones, et eodem modo de prima, aut si per unum diem oculos populi tritos infuderis, et post, expressos ejiceris, sapo rubeus et melior erit; et hic est Gallicus sapo, et spaterenta, *id est*, acutus.

I	II	III	IIII	V
II	IIII	VI	VIII	X
III	VI	IX	XII	XV
IIII	VIII	XII	XVI	XX
V	X	XV	XX	XXV
VI	XII	XVIII	XXIIII	XXX
VII	XIIII	XXI	XXVIII	XXXV
VIII	XVI	XXIIII	XXXII	XL
IX	XVIII	XXVII	XXXVI	XLV
X	XX	XXX	XL	L

(A written leaf has been torn out here.)

Stagni ꝥ. ix. c(u)pri ꝥ. ar(genti) vj. ꝥ. simul funde, per figuram arragab. ad libitum tuum manabit, et stabit fons. Per eandem, ciphus potum aut reddet aut retinet.

Ex figura .a. si prius potaverint boves, sufficiet et bobus et equis. Si prius equi, deficiet et bobus et equis.

Ex eadem a dolio in alveum exhibit vinum, donec impleat alveum: impleto alveo, nil exhibit a dolio.

Idem in lucerna et oleo per arenam et clavum et aquam a domuncula exhibit fantasma et redibit. Per ignem et aquam subclusis ventilabit coridon.

Per figuram .a. ablata lancea, exhibunt milites a castro, et intrabunt stridente lancea.

Ovum in calce, calcem in puteo. Quatuor circulis imis inter alios, exposita diametrorum formatione, volventibus, vaseque interiore suspenso, quocunque modo volvantur, nil effundetur.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y z
N B h b M P t ꝥ i X r M t X B d R y t A X P y

alpha beta *vel* uita gamma delta ebrachi zita ita

α α λ. Β υ. Γ Γ. Δ Δ. Ε Ε. Ζ. Η λυ.

(t)hita.^a iota. a b g d e z i longum

..Θ.Ω. ι.

th i

cappa lappa mi ni xi brachi pi ro

(sig)ma^a tau

κ λ α ρ μ ω. η ρ. ζ ζ ζ. ο. ϖ ϖ ϖ ϖ ϖ.

...Τ.Τ.Τ.

uui phi chi psi oto maga

vy. φ δ. χ. τ ψ ψ ω ϖ.

f ch ps o magnum

Ad vitrum incidendum. cclxxxviiiij.

Cum acri urtica ubera caprae Saraceni acriter urticant, et palmis tundunt, ut in ea lac descendat. Postea lac in vas emulgitur, et in eo, per unam noctem, vitrum cum ferro ponitur, cum quo debet incidi; temperabitur in ipso lacte ferrum, aut in lotio parvae puellae rufae, quod excipitur ante ortum solis. At vero lac, cum necesse fuerit, recalefiat eadem calitudine, qua

^a Margin of the MS. cut.

fuit primitus mulsum, et in eo semper vitrum calefiat, donec molle fiat, et sic incidatur. Sic et aliæ petræ. Capra vero hedera pascatur.

Ad cristallum comprimendum in figuram. cxc.

Sume hircum qui nunquam coierit, et pone in cuppa per tres dies, quousque totum digerat quod in ventre habet. Postea hederam da ei edere per iiij. dies; post hæc purgabis dolium, ut urinam ejus accipias. Post hæc occides hircum, et sanguinem ejus urinæ commiscebis; et sic lapidem impone per unam noctem, et post hæc, vel comprimes in figuram, vel sculpes si vis. Ut pulchrum facias, fac tibi tabulam plumbeam, et super hanc asperges album silicem contritum, ut piper, et lapidem desuper fricabis, quoadusque asperitatem lenies. Postea, liga de eodem silice contrito in laneo panno, et inde fricabis angulos quos prius aptare nequivisti in lamina. Deinde, ut pristinam lucem recipiat, fac tibi oleum de nucibus, et inde fricabis. Adhuc debes eum linire panno cerato, ut splendeat, et sudare desinat.

Inauratio ferri. ccxcj.

Eris limatura teritur cum aceto, in hereo mortario, cum sale et alumine, usque ad mellis spissitudinem. Aliqui pro aceto, aqua utuntur. Deinde ferrum bene purgatum, et leviter calefactum, hac mixtura inungitur, et fricatur, donec colorem heris accipiat. Post hæc aqua abluitur, et tergitur, et sicut hes, vel argentum, deauratur; et calefactum, recedente vivo argento: sicut mos est, ut splendorem accipiat, ferro defricatur.

Aliter. ccxcij.

Alumen rotundum et salvandum, quod salis gemma vocatur, et calcantum, ex aceto acerrimo teruntur in hereo mortario. Ex his ferrum purgatum, cum ferura, vel alia qualibet levi hastula, defricatur; et, cum heris colorem habuerit, retergitur et deauratur, ac deinde, exfumigato vivo argento, aqua refrigeratur. Usque ad splendorem, ferro valde plano, et limbo, defricatur.

De ebore. ccxcij.

Quod si volueris ebur dirigere, vel carvare, in hac supradicta confectione mittatur tribus diebus et noctibus. Hoc facto, cavabis lignum quali modo volueris; deinde, posito ebore in cavatura, diriges illud, et plicabis ad placitum.

Accipe calcis vivæ duas partes, tegulæ tritæ unam partem, olei unam partem, stuppæ sissæ partem unam: distempera hæc omnia lexivâ factâ de cortice hulmi.

FINIS.

(On the back of this last leaf is written in nearly a cotemporary hand the following.)

Cinnabarin	i.	(i. e.) Vermilio.
Jarin	i.	Flos eris.
Psimithii	i.	Flos plumbi.
Magra	i.	Sinopidum, vel Bolus Armeniacus.

XIX.—*On the Anglo-Saxon Kings denominated Bretwaldas.* By HENRY HALLAM,
Esq. V. P. in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Secretary.

Read, June 3rd & 10th, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Wilton Crescent, May 8, 1847.

IN turning my attention lately to some parts of our Anglo-Saxon history, I was struck by the obscurity attending the nature and extent of the authority pertaining to those shadowy sovereigns, called by the Saxon chronicler Bretwaldas; a name which writers of the 19th century have usually adopted to distinguish them. "Whether," says Turner, "this was a mere title assumed by Hengist, and afterwards by Ella, and continued by the most successful Anglo-Saxon prince of his day, or conceded in any national council of all the Anglo-Saxons, or ambitiously assumed by the Saxon King that most felt and pressed his temporary power; whether it was in imitation of the British unbenneath, or a continuation of the Saxon custom of electing a war cyning, cannot now be ascertained."—Vol. i. p. 331 (1828.)

He afterwards inclines to the last hypothesis. "Perhaps the conjecture on this dignity which would come nearest the truth would be, that it was the walda or ruler of the Saxon kingdoms against the Britons while the latter maintained the struggle for the possession of the country; a species of Agamemnon against the common enemy, not a title of dignity or power amongst each other. If so, it would be but the war-king of the Saxons in Britain against its native chiefs."—P. 381. This supposition, though Lappenberg adopts it, vol. i. p. 115, is neither a natural interpretation of the word—for we want an Agamemnon on the British side for a Bretwalda,—nor is compatible with the language of Bede.

This venerable father of our history is the only original witness for the seven monarchs who enjoyed a preponderance over the Anglo-Saxons south of the Humber: "Qui cunctis Australibus gentis Anglorum provinciis, quæ Humbræ fluvio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur a Borealibus, imperârunt."—L. 2, c. 5. The text of the Saxon Chronicle is copied from Bede, with a little abridgment, and with the addition

of this remarkable appellation Bretwalda, which occurs no where else. Bretwalda, from the Saxon verb waldan, to rule, can only mean the king or ruler of the Britons, or perhaps of Britain. Yet Bede limits their dominion, or that, to state it more accurately, of the first four, to the Anglo-Saxon states on the right bank of the Humber.

An Anglo-Saxon scholar of the first eminence, who has favoured me with some remarks on this subject, observes, that the title Bretwalda seems insufficient to express prerogative or precedence over other Anglo-Saxon kings, unless it could be shewn that the Germanic population ever assumed the title of British, which was certainly not the case. This difficulty has led him to a new conjecture as to the proper meaning of the word. It is written as we find it printed, Bretwalda, in only one MS. of the Saxon Chronicle, which Mr. Petrie as well as Bishop Gibson have followed; but in other MSS. according to the various readings of both editions, we do not find the first part of the compound *bret*, but *bryten*. And the word *bryten*, in composition, occurs several times, as my correspondent informs me, in the Codex Exoniensis, and in Beowulf, in the sense of wide-spread, extensive, spacious, as *bryten cyninges beorn*, or *bearn*, the noble or son of a powerful king.—Codex Exon. p. 331. *Brytenrices weard*, ruler of the spacious realm.—Ib. p. 192. But *Bryten-cyning* is exactly synonymous with *Brytenwealda*; so that if we adopt the latter reading in the Saxon Chronicle with the majority of MSS. we shall give a reasonable interpretation of the word without any reference to either the Saxons or Welch, under the denomination of Britons; the former having never borne it, and the latter not being here to the purpose.

I shall presently show some reason to believe that, notwithstanding this ingenious hypothesis, we are not without grounds for keeping the old reading in the Chronicle, and giving the natural sense to the word Bretwalda, though with more limitation as to persons than the compiler of that history has done. And indeed if we were to adopt the suggestion of my correspondent, though we might get rid of some grammatical difficulties, we should still labour with others of an historical nature. For we have in Bede a plain assertion, that seven Anglo-Saxon kings enjoyed a dominion over all their countrymen south of the Humber. He then proceeds to enumerate them. *Primus imperium ejusmodi Ælli rex Australium Saxonum obtinuit*. Here we are struck back at the first sentence. For when Ælli or Ella reigned in Sussex, from 477 to 514, the Saxons had only possession of some maritime counties; and when he is said to have ruled the English up to the Humber, we must remember that the great kingdom of Mercia was not formed, nor have we more than a slight evidence for any German settlement in what became afterwards East-Anglia. The

appellation, Ruler of Great Britain, relatively to such a prince, would have been extravagant. Struck by this difficulty, Sir Francis Palgrave attempts to solve it by the suggestion that the Britons themselves may have conferred the name of Bretwalda on Ella.—*Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth*, i. 398, ii. 274. But can it be credited that a bold and unconquered people would have submitted in this manner to a fierce invader, known by his extermination of their countrymen in the flourishing city of Anderida, and possessed only of one remote corner of the island? Is it not much better to say that the national sovereignty of Ella must be understood relatively to the neighbouring kingdom of Kent, or to the incipient states of Wessex and East Anglia? This indeed is confirmed, at least as to the former of the two, by Henry of Huntingdon, who, whatever his vouchers may have been, goes much more into detail than the Saxon Chronicler. Cerdic, he tells us, before the battle of Cerdicsford against the British King Nazaleod in 508, had sought aid from Esc, king of the Kentishmen, and from Ella, the great king of the South Saxons. The price of his assistance may have been an acknowledgment by Cerdic of the supremacy of the latter. Thus Ella would have been, as Bede designed to call him, the chief of the Saxons, as far as they were already established; though it would be so strange to call him king of Britain, that we cannot believe him to have borne that appellation.

And here it may be observed by the way, that, though Henry of Huntingdon is not an historian of the greatest value, we must believe that he derived his knowledge from some testimony now perished. His immediate authority was no doubt some written Chronicle; but it is a curious question, by what means events antecedent by full a century to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, have been recorded. A few occur in the Saxon Chronicle, and in this place Henry of Huntingdon has added a few more. There seem to be three methods by which the heathen Anglo-Saxons could have preserved any portion of their history; by tradition, by popular poetry, or by the use of their own peculiar alphabet in their Runes, a subject so well treated by Mr. Kemble in our 28th volume. In this case of Ella's victories and reign, as well as in the very early part of the Saxon Chronicle, the circumstance that dates have been preserved, and the absence of all tone of legendary poetry, point to the last and most authentic source. This particular passage, however, in Henry of Huntingdon bears some marks of having been derived from British annals. But there is another testimony in this historian to the power of Ella, as strongly expressed, to say the least, as that in Bede. "*Circa hoc tempus, (A.D. 814,) obiit Ælla rex Australium Saxonum, qui omnia jura regni Anglorum, reges scilicet et procures et tribunos, in ditione sua tenebat. Regnavitque post eum Cissi filius*

ejus, progeniesque eorum post eos ; et in processu temporum valde minorati sunt donec in aliorum jura regum transierunt." Though I cannot think that the language of a writer after the Conquest, plainly ambitious of Latin phrases, as we see by "proceres et tribunos," to decorate the simplicity of the old Runic records, ought to be construed very literally, yet we have enough to make us believe that Ella was not only the most potent of the small Anglo-Saxon chieftains at the beginning of the sixth century, but was looked up to by the rest.

Ceaulin of Wessex is the second of Bede's chiefs over the Saxon race, after the interval of almost a century ; and he appears by the Chronicle to have been a successful prince both against the Britons and his countrymen. The third name is that of Ethelbert of Kent, the first Christian King. His reign was long and prosperous ; but of the two charters wherein he denominates himself *Rex Anglorum*, one is considered by Mr. Kemble an unquestionable forgery, and the other is marked as doubtful.—*Codex Diplom.* vol. i. p. 2, 3 ; and Introduction, p. xevi. It is nevertheless highly probable that he was recognised as in some measure superior by the kingdoms of the south. We have a remarkable presumption of his influence in a part of England rather distant from Kent. Augustine is said by Bede to have had a conference with the British Bishops at a place called Augustine's Oak, which Carte with probability conjectures to be near the Aust passage over the Severn at the boundary of the small kingdom of the Huiccii and that of Wessex (See Stevenson's Bede, l. 2, c. 2), and to have used the assistance of Ethelbert to invite these prelates: *Adjutorio usus Ethelberti regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos proximæ Britonum provinciæ.* I do not indeed think that this obliges us to believe that the British prelates were under Ethelbert's command, nor does their subsequent behaviour denote much submissiveness ; but, combined with the authority of Bede's list, it warrants us in attributing to him an ascendant over the kingdom of Wessex, which enabled Augustine to pass through that part of England in safety.

The fourth enumerated by Bede is Redwald, King of East-Anglia. Bede says of him : "*Qui etiam vivente Ædilberto, eidem suæ genti ducatum præbebat.*" These words, it appears by Mr. Stevenson's note, are omitted in the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede, and I must own my incapacity to assign them any sense. Bede may have meant, though he does not say, that Redwald was independent chief of his own kingdom during the life of Ædilbert ; but, as he generally writes intelligible Latin, the probability is that the text is corrupt. We might conjecture, perhaps, with the mere transposition of a word, that the passage should be read thus : "*Redwald, rex orientalium Anglorum, etiam vivente Adilberto, qui eidem suæ genti ducatum præbebat ;*" that is, Ethelbert bestowed on Redwald the power of duke or king (which

ever we understand by *ducatus*) over his own nation. But this is not quite satisfactory; for, though the emendation is easy enough, it does not render the Latin very clear. It would indeed, if admissible, strongly confirm the superiority of Ethelbert, since it represents him as conferring on another a subordinate dominion over the East-Anglian nation.

Thus far we have found sufficient reason to believe that, before the middle of the seventh century, four kings from four Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had at intervals of time become superior to the rest, excepting, however, the Northumbrians, whom Bede distinguishes, and whose subjection to a southern prince is not by any means probable. None, therefore, of these four could properly have been called *Bretwalda*, or ruler of the Britons; since not even his own countrymen were wholly under his sway. The supremacy indeed of Redwald the East-Anglian over Kent and Wessex, more considerable states than his own, appears somewhat precarious; and we may perhaps suspect that his great victory over Edelfrid the Northumbrian, which placed Edwin on that throne, gave him more claim to figure in Bede's list than any substantial dominion over the south.

We now come to three Northumbrian kings, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswin, who ruled, according to Bede, with greater power than the preceding, over all the inhabitants of Britain, both English and British, with the sole exception of the men of Kent. This he repeats in another place with respect to Edwin, the first Northumbrian convert to Christianity, whose worldly power, he says, increased so much, that, what no English sovereign had done before, he extended his dominion to the furthest bounds of Britain, whether inhabited by English or by Britons. (c. 9.)

There is a very remarkable confirmation of their superiority, and the only passage which gives a contemporary sanction to the title of *Bretwalda* at all, in the life of Columba, by Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona, and nearly of the age of Bede. To this I was led by Dr. Lingard (I am not aware whether any earlier historian has quoted it), who observes, that Oswald King of Northumbria is called by Cuminus, a contemporary writer, in his life of St. Columba, *totius Britanniae imperator*. This anonymous life indeed, as I find on reference, is not attributed to Cuminus by the Bollandists, who give several reasons for doubting it to be his. The words of the writer are as follows: "*Oswaldum regem, in procinctu belli castra metatum, et in papilione supra pulvillum dormientem allocutus est, et ad bellum procedere jussit. Processit et secuta est victoria; reversusque postea totius Britanniae imperator ordinatus a Deo, et tota incredula gens baptizata est.*"—*Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 23. This passage, on account of the uncertainty of the author's age, might not appear sufficient. But this anonymous life of Columba is chiefly taken from that by

Adamnan, about 700; and in that life we find the important expression about Oswald: "*Totius Britanniae imperator ordinatus a Deo.*" We have therefore here probably a distinct recognition of the Saxon word *Bretwalda*,—for what else could answer to emperor of Britain? And, as far as I know, it is the only one that exists. It seems more likely that Adamnan refers to a distinct title bestowed on Oswald by his subjects, than that he means to assert as a fact that he truly ruled over all Britain. This is not very credible, notwithstanding the language of Bede, who loves to amplify the power of favourite monarchs; for, though it may be admitted that these Northumbrian kings enjoyed at times a preponderance over the other Anglo-Saxon principalities, we know that both Edwin and Oswald lost their lives in great defeats by Penda of Mercia. Nor were the Strath-clwyd Britons in any permanent subjection. The name of *Bretwalda*, as applied to these three kings, though not so absurd as to make it incredible that they assumed it, asserts an untruth.

It is, however, at all events plain from history that they obtained their superiority by force; and we may reasonably believe the same of the four earlier kings enumerated by Bede. An elective dignity, such as is now sometimes supposed, cannot be presumed in the absence of every semblance of evidence, and against manifest probability. What appearance do we find of a federal union among the kites and crows, as Milton calls them, of the Heptarchy? What but the law of the strongest could have kept these rapacious and restless warriors from tearing the vitals of their common country? The influence of Christianity in effecting a comparative civilization, and producing a sense of political as well as religious unity, had not yet been felt.

The kingdom of Northumbria rapidly declined after the death of Oswy. In its place rose that of Mercia. Even before Bede finished his History, in 731, Ethelbald King of Mercia had become paramount over the states south of the Humber, certainly more so than any of the first four whom we dignify with the pompous fiction of *Bretwalda*. "*Et hæc omnes provinciæ ceteræque australes ad confinium usque Hymbræ fluminis cum suis quæque regibus Merciorum regi Ethelbaldo subjectæ sunt.*"—*Bed. l. v. c. 23.* In some charters of Ethelbald he styles himself "*Non solum Mercensium sed et universarum provinciarum quæ communi vocabulo dicuntur Suthangli divina largiente gratia rex.*"—*Codex Diplom. i. 96, 100, 101.* In the synod of Clovesho, 742, presided over by this king, we find the Archbishop of Canterbury and other English bishops. What could be more like dominion than this?

Ethelbald lost this ascendancy before his death; but Offa recovered it, at least in great part, and in his charters calls himself sometimes *Rex Anglorum*, sometimes

Rex Merciorum simulque aliarum circumquaque nationum.—Codex Diplom. 162, 166, 167, et alibi. It is impossible to define the subordination of the southern kingdoms to that of Mercia, but we can hardly imagine it to have been less than they paid in the sixth century to Ceaulin and Ethelbert.

We may therefore be surprised to find that the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 827, after mentioning that Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians and all on the south of the Humber, goes on to add: "And he was the eighth king that was Bretwalda. Ælla king of the South Saxons was the first that had so much dominion; the second was Ceawlin king of the West Saxons; the third was Ethelbryht king of the Kentishmen; the fourth was Rædwald king of the East-Anglians; the fifth was Edwin king of the Northumbrians; the sixth was Oswald, who reigned after him; the seventh was Oswin, Oswald's brother; the eighth was Ecbryht king of the West Saxons." This is evidently copied from Bede, and in so servile a manner that no later prince is mentioned.

The word *Bretwalda* never occurs, as I have observed, except in this passage. It has been assumed that the chronicler meant to point out a peculiar title or dignity; and our contemporaries speak of a *Bretwalda* as familiarly as of an archbishop. This, however, is not explicitly affirmed by the text; and it is observable that Æthelwerd, himself writing before the Conquest, translates the Saxon Chronicle thus: "Ipse et octavus rex qui in Britannia fuerat pollens potestate;" plainly understanding the word as expressive of a fact, not a title.

I am however inclined to believe, combining the passage in Adamnan with this, less explicitly worded, of the Saxon Chronicle, that the three Northumbrian kings, having been victorious in war, and paramount over the minor kingdoms, were really designated, at least among their own subjects, by the name *Bretwalda*, or ruler of Britain. The assumption of so pompous a title is characteristic of the vaunting tone which continued to increase down to the Conquest; and I must confess that, till I met with the life of Saint Columba, I entertained a suspicion that the word *Bretwalda* was a mere translation of *Britanniæ Imperator* or *Basileus*, affected by Athelstan and his successors in the tenth century. The Saxon Chronicle, as we read it, is referred by no one, I believe, to an earlier date. It is strange that the word only once occurs, if it denoted a positive constitutional sovereignty. It is strange that neither in Saxon nor in a Latin equivalent we trace it in any royal charter. It is strange that these seven early kings, several of whom could not without absurdity be called rulers of Britain, and whom Bede never so styles, should be more conspicuous by bearing this haughty title than their successors Ethelbald and Offa. This led me to conjecture that the chronicler, in an age when the vain

pretence of swaying all Britain was common at the court of Winchester, gave this rank retrospectively to Egbert, and then copied the passage in Bede, for he has done no more, with the view of carrying farther back the national sovereignty of a single monarch. But I must yield this suspicion, at least partially, on the authority of Adamnan, and admit that Oswald of Northumbria, in the seventh century, probably also his father Edwin and his son Oswy, took the appellation of Bretwalda, to indicate the supremacy they had obtained, not only over Mercia and the other kingdoms of their countrymen, but, by dint of successful invasions, over the Strath-clwyd Britons and the Scots beyond the Forth. That they did what Rome could not effect, actually subjugate Caledonia, we must greatly hesitate to believe. I still entertain considerable doubts whether this title was ever applied to any but these Northumbrian kings. It would have been manifestly ridiculous, too ridiculous, one would think, even for Anglo-Saxon grandiloquence, to confer it on the first four in Bede's list; and, if it expressed an acknowledged supremacy over the whole nation, why was it never assumed in the eighth century?

The later historians of this period do not add anything to our knowledge. Florence of Worcester almost always copies the Saxon Chronicle, but in this passage so far only differs as to transcribe the text of Bede more accurately. He neither repeats nor translates the word Bretwalda, which, though so great a favourite of late years, seems to have been treated with much less respect in earlier times.

The passage in Bede, giving it a reasonable construction, may well stand as containing an historical truth. It may be admitted that certain kings during the period called that of the Heptarchy, predominated in a greater or less degree over others who still retained the royal title. To those enumerated by Bede, we may add the names of Ethelbald and Offa. Egbert himself might have been classed with them had he not secured for the kingdom of Wessex a permanent supremacy, which shortly changed the many-headed domination of the Anglo-Saxon kings into a regular monarchy. We have hardly any genuine charters of Bede's seven kings, but several of Egbert, the eighth Bretwalda, as the Chronicle calls him, are extant; in most of these he designates himself *Rex occidentaliū Saxonū*; but in one we certainly find *Rex Anglorū*.—*Codex Diplom. i. 287*. I cannot, however, consider this equivalent to monarch of Britain.

Henry of Huntingdon in one place (sub A. D. 560,) copies the words of Bede as to the seven kings, and adds Egbert, whom he calls *Rex et Monarcha Britanniae*, doubtless as a translation of Bretwalda, from the Saxon Chronicle, subjoining Alfred and Edgar as ninth and tenth, from his own notions of history. Egbert, he says, was eighth in number of ten kings remarkable for their bravery and power

(*fortissimorum*) who reigned in England. Strange that Edward the Elder, Athelstan, or Edred, should find no place in such a list. Who would take any fact as a clear truth on the credit of so loose a writer?

Rapin, as far as I know, is the first historian who broached the notion of a federal union among the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. "The three nations who conquered the greater part of Britain, viz. Saxons, Jutts, and Angles, looking upon themselves, as they did in Germany, to be one and the same people, settled a form of government in this island resembling as near as possible that under which they lived in their own country. They instituted an assembly for regulating the common affairs of the seven kingdoms, and entrusted the command of the armies to a general in chief, to whom, doubtless for this reason, some have given the title of monarch, under pretence of his having precedency of, and some superiority over, the other kings; but it seems to me this dignity had a nearer relation to that of Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands: there was however some difference between the government of the Saxons in Germany, and that of the Anglo-Saxons settled in Britain; for example, in Germany each governor of a province absolutely depended on the general assembly of the Saxons, in which resided the sovereign power; but in Britain each king was sovereign in his own kingdom; this was however no obstacle, in some respects, to all the kingdoms being considered as one state; or to each prince submitting to the resolutions taken in the general assembly of the seven kingdoms, to which he gave his consent, either in person or by proxy. This government may well be compared to the seven United Provinces in the Low Countries, each of which has sovereign authority, though submitting to the decrees of the States-General. Sometimes a free election, and sometimes force, named the chief of the Heptarchy, who had more or less authority in proportion to his own particular strength; for though this dignity did not give an unlimited power to the General, yet hardly was there any of these monarchs, as we shall find in the sequel, but aimed at being absolute."—Rapin, vol. i. sub an. 587.

This theory seems very little founded on any thing we have learned, either as to the state of Germany before the Saxon invasion, or that of England afterwards. No authority is quoted by Rapin, but he must have had before him the primary text of Bede, and the echoes of it in the Latin historians after the Conquest. It has been seen how little they bear out his scheme of government.

Hume slightly alludes to the supremacy of some kings during the Heptarchy, and Henry is silent about it. The word *Bretwalda* was first perhaps dragged to light by Mr. Sharon Turner, from whom an extract has been given. It has been seen that this diligent writer, whom no one will charge with a tendency to demand too much

historical evidence, passes rather slightly over the title, and plainly acknowledges his ignorance of its proper meaning. Dr. Lingard, however, gives it a greater prominence, and announces the seven kings of Bede in capital letters as Bretwalda the First, Bretwalda the Second, Bretwalda the Third; as if this ἀπαξ λεγόμενον had all possible testimony of coins and charters. My most ingenious and learned friend Sir Francis Palgrave has gone still farther; and inferring, on what seems to me very slight and ambiguous evidence, that the Britons as well as English were subject, or frequently subject, to a common sovereign, has built a fair and spacious structure, pleasing to the eye, but defective, I fear, in the solidity of its foundation. Lastly, Dr. Lappenberg, though not concurring in all Sir Francis Palgrave's speculations, is equally convinced that England had its seven or eight Bretwaldas, ruling, by the consent and choice of their fellow countrymen, the various inhabitants of our large island.

I do not think myself liable to the imputation of scepticism, if I am content with what we find in Bede, confirmed in one instance by the *Life of Columba*; considering always that the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, and the Latin historians, even supposing that they had added more than they do to his testimony, had very little knowledge of the seventh century, except what they got from him. Bede I do not reject, because substantially he must be right; though I may believe some of his phrases, as to the first four called Bretwaldas, to be more loose than an historian careful of precision would have employed. What I do reject, as unwarranted by any evidence, and improbable in itself, is the hypothesis of a voluntary subjection of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to a chosen head, like that of German electors to an emperor. Intestine war and perpetual aggression mark the annals of this barbarous period; and, even if the Anglo-Saxons had been more strictly of one race than they were, it is to be remembered that the resistance of the Mercians to the introduction of Christianity, and the fierce Pagan spirit of such kings as Penda, drew for a time a broad line of demarcation between them and the newly converted principalities of Kent and Northumbria. A voluntary submission to Edwin or Oswald, still more an union in a common confederacy, could not have existed, so long as they did not worship at the same altar.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

HENRY HALLAM.

XX.—*Observations by the Marquess of NORTHAMPTON, Pres. R.S., F.S.A., upon a Greek Vase discovered in Etruria, now in his Lordship's possession: bearing the name of the fabricator Nicosthenes.*

Read 25th March, 1847.

AMONG the various subjects of inquiry suggested by the numerous Greek Vases recently discovered in Etruria, there is one that has been little pursued, although it appears to me to be replete with interest. It is true that the duc de Luynes, in the able description of one vase belonging to himself, has set the example, but it has been but little followed. The inquiry to which I allude is the significance of the various objects depicted on the shields of divinities and heroes, and the degree in which they may serve to identify the personages that bear them.

This question in my opinion may well be considered in connection with the vase, curious itself in many respects, to which I wish to draw the attention of the Society. I must confess that it is chiefly for the more general subject that I have been tempted to bring it forward, though I am aware that the observations that I shall have to make are more calculated to excite than to satisfy inquiry.

The vase of which I am about to treat (Pl. XV. XVI.) belongs to myself, a circumstance that has perhaps mainly contributed to draw my attention to its details.

It is of a peculiar form, with a rather long and narrow neck, and two broad, flat, and very thin handles. Of the same form I possess another vase, of no particular interest in any other respect. In the British Museum there is a third, with a representation of satyrs and nymphs. There are two more in the Vatican;^a and these are all the coloured vases of this shape that I remember to have seen in the many public and private collections that I have visited. All these vases bear the name of the maker Nicosthenes. I therefore draw the conclusion that he was either the inventor of the shape, or its borrower for painted vases, and that he abandoned it, from its not finding favour in the eyes of the vase-buying public. No later Wedgewood of antiquity seems to have thought it worth his while to revive its use.

As in all these instances, and also on his vases of other and commoner forms, the paintings are black and white on a red ground, we may infer that Nicosthenes was an early manufacturer, and probably with Tleson and Hermogenes among the first who corrected the archaic rudeness of still earlier times.

^a Mus. Etr. Vat. P. ii. tav. xxvij.

In the three vases in England the handles are adorned with painting, and this was probably the motive for their flatness, but the advantage must have been more than counterbalanced by their increased fragility.

In all of them quivers, or perhaps a conventional sort of flowers, are depicted on their necks. On both of those belonging to me fish are drawn on their lips, while on the lip of the one in the British Museum there are leaves producing nearly the same effect. Having remarked these resemblances, I will now give a more detailed description of the particular subject of this paper.

I have already observed that it is inscribed with the name of its fabricator Nicosthenes, ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΣΕΝ: that on its neck are quivers, fish on its lip, and that its two handles are flat, thin, and broad. On each handle is a man with a spear. It has two historical or heroical subjects. One of these presents to the spectator a duel between two warriors; as does the other also, but with this difference, that in the latter case a dead body lies between them.

In one of these encounters a serpent is seen on the shield of one of the combatants, the inside only of the other shield being visible. In the other duel, one only of the warriors has a cognizance on his shield, and it is a tripod.

Below is a row of animals, two of them being cocks, and they also are fighting. Over these two belligerent birds are inscriptions, one of them a restoration, and the other original.

Now it appears to me that there is very little doubt as to the principal pictures. The great preponderance of subjects from the Trojan war, induces us naturally to turn our first thoughts to the Iliad and Odyssey, and there we find two subjects for each of those represented on the vase. For the three figures we have on other vases the combat between Ajax and Æneas over the slain Patroclus, and that of Achilles and Memnon over Antilochus. For the simple duel we have the death of Hector, and that of Memnon, for the corpse of Antilochus is not always introduced.^a I do not hesitate to select in the present instance the combat over the body of Antilochus and the death of Hector. My reasons for this preference are, first, that it gives more unity to the vase, by introducing Achilles as a party in each conflict. Secondly, that on the very fine vase of signor Alibrandi at Rome, these two subjects are also to be seen united, with names over the combatants, so that we cannot be mistaken. Lastly, that the existing original inscription over one of the game-cocks is ΑΙΑΚΙΔ,^b Æacides, the patronymic of Achilles. This I believe to be unique on

^a As for example in the vase of Alibrandi at Rome.

^b Written from right to left, thus: ΔΙΚΑΙΑ, or ΑΙΑΚΙΔ, with the kappa turned in the usual manner. The similar irregularity of one letter is seen on an inscription on Mr. Stoddart's beautiful vase of the combat of Theseus and the Amazon. It would be absurd to read the inscription *Dikaia*.

any existing vase. It may be worth while to mention, that on a vase in the Royal Collection at Munich, a cock is the emblem on the shield of Hector. On the shield of one of the combatants on my vase is a serpent, and this warrior I believe to be Achilles. The other, whose emblem is a tripod, I conclude to be Memnon.

This leads me to the question of the *Episema*, or emblems on shields. I have remarked already, that little attention has been paid to it by archæologists; owing partly perhaps to its complication and difficulty, and partly to an opinion expressed by Millingen, and probably shared by others, that these signs are frequently entirely arbitrary. That they are so sometimes I myself believe. Probably they may sometimes, like the continual representation of rings and balls, be placed on the shields of warriors from the ease with which they can be drawn. Sometimes possibly the artist was fond of drawing particular animals, or believed that they were especially calculated to exhibit his skill, or to add grace and beauty to his design. Certainly, I do not at all entertain or advocate the idea that any particular emblems were exclusively attached to any particular heroes or families; at the same time I am convinced that they are very often selected as being in some way either appropriate to the personage portrayed, or indicative of the particular divinity under whose protection circumstances had placed him. Sometimes also, as has been shewn by the due de Luynes, they are chosen as pointing out the territory belonging to a chieftain; and for a similar identification, ancient coins may be extremely useful.

The serpent, for instance, I find continually on the bucklers of giants, on the oft-recurring subject of the *Gigantomachia*.

I find it not uncommon among the many *episema* of Minerva; and I find it also very often on shields of Achilles, and perhaps of other Grecian heroes.

I believe it to belong to the giants, on account of their being earth-sprung; but why should it be given to Minerva? M. Panofka attributes this to the fable of *Erichthonius*. I think it not impossible that its object may be to make the whole armour of the goddess more connected and consistent, and that the artist conceived that, as she bears a serpent-fringed garment, and a serpent-tressed head of Medusa on her breast, she should also bear a serpent on her shield. It is, I apprehend, but an accidental coincidence that the wisdom of the serpent should be an Oriental metaphor, but it is not absolutely impossible that it might be known to Western civilization, and, if so, it would be an additional reason why the serpent should typify the goddess of wisdom.

Be this, however, as it may, she frequently does bear this emblem; and, as she is represented by Homer as a favourer of the Greek cause, and both by him and by vase-artists as the especial protector of Achilles, I conclude that it is in reference to

her that he very often has the serpent on his shield. For instance, in Mr. Rogers's remarkable vase, on which the son of Thetis, with his name inscribed, is seen in his tent immersed in grief, his shield is suspended with a serpent for its bearing.

In the case of another equally remarkable monument of Grecian art, also the property of Mr. Rogers, where Achilles is seen in the act of putting Troilus to death, his attendant carries his shield, on which is a serpent.

On a vase in the British Museum a winged female, no doubt Iris, brings his arms to Achilles, and here again appears a serpent emblem; as is the case also on another vase in our national collection, where Thetis on a sea-horse carries his arms to her son.

On an amphora, one of the finest in the same Museum, is depicted a warrior arming for battle, with a female figure, either of Thetis or Iris, holding a buckler, on which is a head of a lion or tiger between two serpents.

Mr. Millingen, in his "*Peintures antiques et inédites des Vases Grecs*," gives a plate of a vase of which the main subject is the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. One of the minor designs exhibits a combat. Mr. Millingen doubts whether this be a real battle, a fight of gladiators, or a theatrical representation.

For myself I can see no reason for these doubts. The principal subject would naturally lead us to expect that Achilles, the fruit of the union of Peleus and Thetis, should be the protagonist of the fight, and the details seem to corroborate this opinion. They are very singular. Five warriors are present, two of them with Phrygian caps, and therefore probably Trojans. Two more are bare-headed, while only one has a Grecian helmet. From this distinction, I conclude that Achilles, the son of Peleus, and most renowned of the Grecian heroes, stands before us. The two unhelmeted men are intended, as I presume, for his followers. One of them bears a star, one of the commonest of emblems, on his shield, while his leader has the cognizance of a serpent.

In the fine private collection of Mr. Hope are two vases that appear to have been intended for a pair, and are, I think, peculiarly interesting with reference to the subject of the present paper.

On one of them is depicted a warrior going to the fight, and bearing on his shield a tripod. On the other side of the vase we see the same warrior, bearing also the tripod on his buckler, killing an enemy, who is probably Patroclus.

On one side of the companion vase is also a single hero, while on the reverse is a warrior, probably the same individual, arming himself, while on his shield is a serpent. These two vases seem to give us the latter half of the *Iliad*: the first representing Hector going forth, and killing Patroclus; and the second Achilles, roused again to don his armour, and actually on his way to wreak his vengeance

on the Trojan hero. I ought to state that a winged female, probably Iris, brings his arms to Achilles, as in the case that I have mentioned from the British Museum.

In the Catalogue of M. Durand^c is described a vase, on which is the combat of Achilles and Memnon over the body of Antilochus. The buckler of Achilles has a serpent, while the son of Nestor has two on his shield; shewing apparently that serpents were for some reason the especial emblem of the Grecian cause.

M. Raoul de Rochette, in his "*Monumenti inediti*," gives an engraving from a vase of two serpents on the shield of Ajax, who is carrying the body of Achilles. This may possibly be intended for the shield of Achilles himself.

On the very remarkable vase of Echsechias, in the collection of the Vatican, engraved in the "*Monumenti inediti*," where Achilles and Ajax are throwing dice, the shield of the former has upon it a serpent, a satyr's head, and a tiger, while the buckler of Ajax displays two serpents and a Gorgonium. It is to be observed here, also, that both warriors belong to the party favoured by Minerva.

A vase, published by the duc de Luynes, exhibits four warriors with a female, believed by its learned illustrator to be intended for Chryseis. A shield bears the emblem of a serpent. May not the subject be supposed to be the capture of Briseis by Achilles? One of the other warriors has an eagle for his cognizance, and may perhaps be Idomeneus, who has the cognate emblem of the thunderbolt on the vase of Cynus, so well explained by the duke.

A vase published by M. Raoul Rochette,^d exhibits to us Cassandra seized by Ajax Oileus, who has a serpent on his shield; shewing another instance where it is the episemon of a Grecian hero.

I have probably said enough on the serpent as appropriate to Achilles, and I may now be asked why the tripod should be borne by Hector and Memnon. I believe the reason to be that the tripod is the natural emblem of Apollo, one of the divine protectors of the Trojans, as Pallas was of the Greeks. M. Gerhard, in his description^e of a vase at Berlin, suggests this very explanation. That this was a real motive for a device on a shield we learn from a passage quoted by the scholiast of Pindar from Bacchylides. I am indebted for this corroboration of my opinion to Mr. Birch, who has given me other important assistance in drawing up this paper.

I have already pointed out some cases in which the tripod appears as a Trojan badge, but I think it expedient to adduce some further instances.

A cylix, or tazza, belonging to myself, has two warriors fighting over a third. I believe either the usual combat of Achilles and Memnon over Antilochus, or Ajax rushing to the rescue of Patroclus from Hector. In this case Memnon or Hector

^c Page 112, No. 321.

^d Page 60.

^e Berlins Antike Bildwerke, S. 290. No. 1004.

has a tripod, and Achilles or Ajax a bull's head; an episemon borne by them elsewhere.^f

On an amphora^g engraved by Gerhard are two combats, apparently of Greeks and Trojans. In *each* case there is one shield with a tripod and one with a bull's-head, as if they were the recognised symbols of the two parties.

On a vase figured by the duc de Luynes, the same subject occurs, and Memnon has again a tripod.

On a large vase belonging to Mr. Blayds is the same subject, and in this case also a tripod is seen on the shield of Memnon. On the reverse, is a hero in his chariot, probably the triumphant Achilles, with two fish on his shield.

One of Mr. Hertz's vases gives us a similar example of the tripod on the shield of Memnon, who is fighting with Achilles over the body of Antilochus, with Thetis and Aurora standing near to see the conflict between their sons, as in the Alibrandi vase already mentioned.

In the British Museum is a vase^h with a bull's head on one hero's shield, and a tripod on that of the other, who is wounded. This probably portrays the duel between Achilles and Hector, the former bearing the same emblem of strength and courage as in my cylix already described.

Our national collection possesses another vase, where we see on one side Hector, Andromache, Astyanax, and Priam, or, as it is interpreted in the Durand Catalogue, Paris, Helen, Troilus, and Priam. The shield of the Trojan hero, be he Hector or Paris, does not indeed bear a tripod, but instead of it a white globe, which may typify the sun, and equally indicate the favour of Apollo, though Homer does not appear to consider the two as the same.

Millin, in his "*Peintures des Vases antiques*," gives an engraving of a very interesting picture of the combat of Achilles and Memnon. The shield of Achilles bears a head of Medusa, doubtless allusive to the breast-plate of Minerva. On the buckler of Memnon is a star, which Millin refers to the sun, of which Aurora, the mother of Memnon, is the herald. Is it not more likely that it is the morning star, "day's harbinger?" Millin quotes Homer to prove that Agamemnon bore the gorgonium on his shield; and says that other authors shew that it was not con-

^f See Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, No. 201. See also a vase in the British Museum, No. 440, described in the Durand Catalogue No. 814, on which on one side is a warrior arming, with a bull's head on his shield, and an old man, while on the opposite side two warriors facing and conversing, one with a tripod, and one again with a bull's head,—probably Hector and Ajax. See *Iliad*, book vii. On the reverse of the vase, 201 of Gerhard, is a hero with a cock on his shield, which we are informed by Pausanias was borne by Idomeneus as descended from the sun. In the same manner the scholiast on the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides states, that heroes bore emblems allusive to their families. ^g *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, No. 213. ^h No. 651.

fined to that of Minerva. Was not the circumstance that it was one of the cognizances of Pallas Athene the very reason why it was borne by Agamemnon, Achilles, and other Grecian chieftains?

Millingen, in his account of the Coghill vases, has published an engraving of a vase on which is a youthful hero, apparently proceeding on a military expedition. There are besides two other men, not in armour, and a female. On the shield of the warrior is an emblem, which is described as a star, but, as its rays are wavy, I apprehend that it rather represents a cuttle-fish, which on another vase appears as the badge of Pelides. This probably alludes to Thetis, as a sea-nymph. The interpretation that I should put on this design is, that it portrays Achilles leaving the court of Lycomedes to go to Troy. A bearded figure with a staff is probably Ulysses, and the female Deidamia.

In the Durand Catalogue is a vaseⁱ on which the same subject is apparently represented, and here also on the buckler of Achilles is a cuttle-fish. This is one of the vases on which Minerva has a shield with a tripod in the presence of Hercules.

On a cylix published by the Prince of Canino, inscribed with the names of the heroes, Achilles bears the emblem of a cuttle-fish, Æneas of a lion, and Antilochus of a boar.

It would be unfair to my subject, were I to deny that it is attended with some difficulties and anomalies. I will mention some, and see how far we can reasonably account for them.

In two vases^k described in the Catalogue de Durand, Minerva bears on her shield a tripod. The same circumstance occurs also on one in the Gregorian Museum, on two in the possession of Mr. Hertz, and on an amphora^l in the Pizzati Collection, published by M. Gerhard. In all these six cases, however, Hercules is present, and the emblem on the shield of his celestial protector may allude to his contest with Apollo for the tripod, a frequent subject on Grecian pottery. In the same catalogue an amphora is described,^m in which the tripod occurs on the shield of Hercules himself.

On an amphora in the British Museumⁿ is a beautiful representation of the parting of Hector and Andromache, and on Hector's shield we find the serpent, the emblem of his great rival. Is it possible that the artist has had an inaccurate recollection of the order of events, and has forgotten that the final separation of Hector from Andromache preceded his victory over Patroclus? Were this the case, he might have intended to have represented the Trojan to have gone forth in the armour he had taken from his victim.

ⁱ Page 91, No. 276.

^k Page 92, No. 277; page 95, No. 290.

^l Auserlesene Vasenbilder, No. 135.

^m Page 111, No. 319.

ⁿ No. 810.

On another vase in the same museum,^o Achilles drags the body of Hector, and the shield in his chariot has a tripod upon it. Here also the artist, from the desire to be very correct, seems to have fallen into a similar error. He has probably intended to represent the son of Thetis as carrying in his chariot the buckler of his heroic victim; forgetting all the while that he had in fact recovered from the son of Priam the shield that had before been his own, and which had been taken from Patroclus.

I might mention also a serpent on the shields of Memnon and Æneas, a bull's head on that of Memnon, and a tripod on that of Achilles; for which I cannot account, except by supposing them to have been owing to the caprice or convenience of the artists, and that they were adopted as being easy or picturesque.

I think that I have succeeded in shewing that the especial emblems of the son of Peleus are the serpent, gorgonium, bull's head, and marine animals, alluding to Minerva, to his own personal qualities, and to his mother Thetis: that the emblems of Memnon and Hector were the tripod of Apollo, and, in one instance, that the globe of the sun was used by the son of Aurora. To these I might add, that the dove of his mother Venus appears on the shield of Æneas; the cock, as a combative animal, on that of Hector; the lion on that of Menelaus; and on one vase a crescent and a globe on the shields of two Amazons, alluding probably to Diana and her brother Apollo. These emblems seem to be partly suggested by the heroic and personal qualities of the respective warriors; but more often to be indicative of the particular divinities under whose especial protection they placed themselves, or were placed by circumstances. If then this be the case, if appropriateness was often studied, then by a converse method of reasoning we may hope to assist in decyphering subjects that are not sufficiently distinguished by other details.

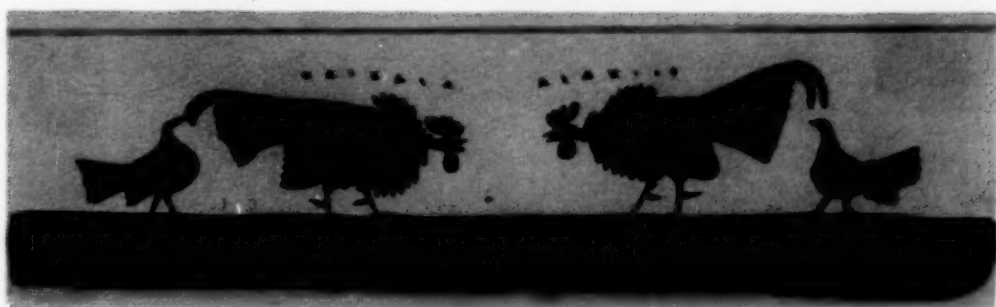
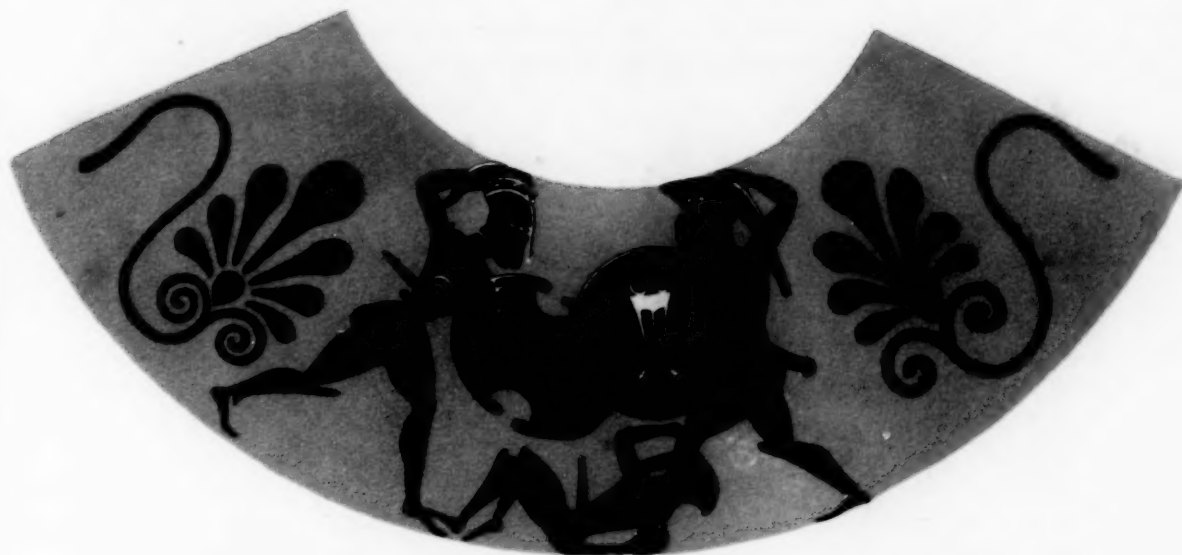
If I have succeeded in shewing this in some instances, and if I shall induce others more able than myself to follow up the inquiry, I shall not think my own labour in drawing up this paper, nor the patience of my readers, entirely thrown away.^p

^o No. 533.

^p Since the passage in p. 259 was read before the Society of Antiquaries, I have had the opportunity, by the kindness of Mr. Hope, of seeing again the two vases, and I am sorry to find that there is an error in the description of one of them, which I had described from an inaccurate note. On the reverse of the arming of Achilles is not a warrior in armour, but a young man with a staff; and I conclude therefore that this either represents Achilles walking before his tent, and *unarmed* in consequence of the stripping of Patroclus, or more probably a messenger with the news of his friend's death. Either of these explanations would accord with the Iliac connexion of the two vases.



Greek Vase discovered in Etruria, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton.



Subjects represented on the Marquess of Northampton's Vase.

XXI.—*On some Ancient Modes of Trial, especially those in which Appeal was made to the Divine Judgment through the Ordeals of Water, Fire, and other Judicia Dei.* By WILLIAM SIDNEY GIBSON, Esq. F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Read June 17th, 1847.

It will be readily admitted that few objects of archæological research are better deserving of our attention than those which illustrate the jurisprudential system of our ancestors, and the history of our venerable laws.

A most extraordinary feature of the judicial code of ancient times was the practice of the Ordeal Trials, in which the solemnities of religion were united with the administration of secular justice, and a mode of divination resorted to for the discovery of hidden truth; and since those modes of trial were for many ages a part of English law and usage in the trial of criminal causes, though now (perhaps happily) they are matter of history alone, the author proposes in the present discourse to put together as concisely as he can the information and examples he has collected in elucidation of the origin and practice of the Ordeal Trials, and to invite references to any judicial records which may further illustrate the subject.^a

^a The late Mr. Studley Vidal communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, more than forty years ago, some Remarks on the different kinds of Trial by Ordeal, which formerly prevailed in England. Those remarks were published in volume XV. of the *Archæologia*, pp. 192—197. In them Mr. Vidal intimated that the Notes he had collected on this subject would be laid before the public under the title of “An Inquiry concerning the Forms and Ceremonies used in some of the more Ancient Modes of Trial in England, particularly in the Fire and Water Ordeals, the Corsned, the Judicial Combat, and other *Judicia Dei*.” He remarks that this subject had not been treated of by any writer in a work devoted to its consideration, although it is apparent from the writings of Parker, Spelman, Selden, Du Fresne, Montesquieu, Mabillon, Muratori, Dugdale, Lambard, Nicolson, Hickes, Brady, Tyrrell, and of many other eminent antiquaries, that the subject was thought by them not undeserving of a particular investigation.

The author of the following discourse has not been enabled to find that Mr. Vidal's intended work was ever published, nor to trace that gentleman's collections for the undertaking, if they should yet exist in MS.

The only separate works upon this subject known to the author are:—

1. A Brief Display of the Origin and History of Ordeals, &c. By James P. Gilchrist. London, 8vo. 1821.
2. An Argument for construing largely the Right of an Appellee of Murder to insist on Trial by Battle, and also for abolishing Appeals, by E. A. Kendall, Esq. F.A.S. London, 8vo. 1818.

The former of these works gives only a popular sketch of the subject, and is deficient in references to historical authorities.

In these days, when the redress of public and private wrongs, the discovery of truth, and the earthly punishment of wickedness are exclusively sought from those eminent and time-honoured tribunals of reason and justice of which Englishmen can boast, it is difficult to conceive that, after the diffusion of Christianity, there were ages in which appeal was authoritatively made to tests that appear to have had their origin in heathen superstitions and in the practice of a barbarous people. It is in this age startling to be told that there was a time in Christian England when civil controversies were frequently referred to decision by the sword in personal combat, wherein he who prevailed over his adversary was afterwards adjudged by the law to have the better right; and when criminal accusations were in many cases tried by the same method, or more frequently by a sort of divination through the medium of water or of fire, in which trials the accused person was adjudged guilty in whose favour the Judge of all men did not miraculously interpose. And yet such customs prevailed in this country during some centuries, for the trials by ordeal were long recognized by the laws under the Anglo-Saxon princes, and were not abolished until the reign of King Henry III.; while the trial by combat, first ordained in England by the Normans, having been long resorted to by nations of Scandinavian origin, continued to be known to the law even down to a late period in the reign of King George the Third, though it had then nearly fallen into desuetude. It was one of the many legal cobwebs which retained a place in judicial archives while religion, laws, and dynasties were undergoing change or removal around them, and which survived in antiquated rigidity a mere dead letter, utterly repugnant to modern ideas of jurisprudence. And so the trial by combat came to be swept away, in recent times, from our courts of justice.

Few subjects connected with legal antiquities afford, however, more striking features with which to contrast the habits and opinions of our own day than these ancient customs of our unlettered ancestors. But they are not to be rashly condemned merely because they differ from modern notions, and are not recognised by our elaborate and artificial system of jurisprudence; many as are the remains of expired and forgotten laws that have fallen before the vigour of modern legislation, more numerous still, and perhaps less innocent in many particulars, are the tangled meshes which, in these prolific days of statute-making, the legislative spiders have produced, and the parliaments have thrown around the venerable tree of legal knowledge. Many are the branches that have been engrafted on it in substitution for those which have been lopped away; for while modern wisdom in its self-sufficiency has been unsparing, and even ruthless, in altering the ancient laws of England, legislative zeal has been indefatigable in making others to supply their

place; but, whatever may be thought of some other changes, it can never be said that the abolition of the trial by ordeal and by combat is a matter for regret.

The ancient Germans and other northern nations were accustomed to resort to divination, and their superstitious notions led them to invent many methods of purgation or trial now unknown to the law. The object of all those inventions was to preserve innocence from the danger of false witnesses, for they believed that God would always interpose miraculously to vindicate the guiltless from an accusation; and the interference of Heaven was confidently expected to aid the arm of the man, who, with the advantage of right in his quarrel, appealed to the decision of his sword. The devout credence which was given in the middle ages to the miracles of saints, probably fostered the belief that the all-powerful Judge whose intervention in the affairs of men had been thus miraculously exemplified, would interpose in behalf of right and justice, on the solemn appeals which were made in the ordeal trials. While the Anglo-Saxons worshipped the gods of their fathers, the decision of criminal prosecutions was frequently (says Dr. Lingard) intrusted to the wisdom of Woden; when they became Christians they confidently expected from the true God that miraculous interposition which they had before sought from an imaginary deity. He was a Being of infinite knowledge and infinite power, the patron of virtue and the avenger of crimes; could He then remain indifferent when He was solemnly invoked? Could He permit falsehood to triumph over truth, innocence to be confounded with guilt?^a It has been remarked, that among an illiterate people, an appeal in doubtful cases to the equity of the Creator would at once exonerate the conscience of the judge, and establish the guilt or innocence of the accused. The feudal chieftain, neither qualified nor inclined to decide intricate questions, rejected the balance but retained the sword; and he sent the parties litigant to the combat, believing that Heaven would benignly interpose in favour of the right, and give to innocence, or to the rightful claimant, the efficacy of strength. These customs, therefore, long supplied the place of written law and judicial sagacity, among a barbarous people incapable of the refined inquiries, the subtle distinctions, and the elaborate investigations which are demanded by the procedure of courts of law amongst a civilised nation; for, as an acute writer has remarked, "to elicit the truth from conflicting evidence, demands a faculty which it were in vain to expect from the magistrates of a nation just emerging from ignorance and barbarity." But the fear of an award of the judicial combat must have deterred many a person from becoming appellant or prosecutor, and, in most cases, this mode of trial appears in the light of a sanguinary and oppressive custom. Yet,

^a *Missa Judicii. Spelm. Gloss. voce Ordalium.*

Montesquieu concludes, that there was such a coincidence between the laws which admitted of these trials and the manners of the people, that the laws were not so productive of injustice as they were themselves unjust, and were more unreasonable than tyrannical. In England, however, the evils of the judicial combat were softened by the concurrent efficacy of the trial by jury. And motives of convenience only could hardly have maintained these customs in force for so long a period; they were believed to accomplish the ends of justice, and at all events they terminated controversies in a speedy and summary way; for, before quarrels came to be conducted as they now are on skins of parchment, instead of on those of the parties litigant, the dispute was by the ordeal or the combat terminated for ever, there being, by the very nature of the trial, no appeal to a superior court.

But, before we consider that species of appeal to Divine Providence which was made in the trial by Combat, notice is especially due to the more ancient kind of trial, viz. that by Ordeal, which, in its various shapes, was peculiarly distinguished by the appellation of "*Judicium Dei*." In England, the trials by ordeal generally adopted, were through the medium of fire in the case of persons of rank, and of water in the case of accusations against the common people. And, as Blackstone remarks, this purgation by ordeal seems to have been very ancient and very universal. In the Book of Numbers^a we find the ordinance applicable to the water of malediction, which discovered the innocence or guilt of women suspected of adultery. In the Antigone of Sophocles,^b a person whom Creon suspects of a misdemeanour declares himself ready to handle hot iron and to walk over fire, in order to manifest his innocence; and this mode of purgation, the scholiast tells us, was usual among the ancient Greeks. The ordeal trial prevailed among the Hindoos, perhaps to a greater extent than in any other nation. It prevailed in France from before the time of Charlemagne (who approved this mode of investigation) down to the eleventh century. Grotius communicates many instances of water ordeal in Bithynia, Sardinia, and other countries; and it was practised for centuries by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in common with other nations of Teutonic origin.

We find the practice of the ordeal prevail among all the northern nations that embraced Christianity after the fifth century; a peculiarity, says Dr. Lingard, which must be ascribed to some general custom previously established amongst those nations.^c The practice of the trial by ordeal is in the laws of the Anglo-Saxon princes repeatedly established; and under the Danish kings it was substituted for the trial by combat—the touchstone which, until towards the close of the ninth century,

^a Numb. v. 11—31.

^b V. 270.

^c Hist. Anglo-Sax. Church (ed. 1845), ii. 131.

had been resorted to among the Danes for the detection of guilt and the acquittal of innocence. In all the nations of Christians in which these modes of trial prevailed, the clergy were engaged in them. Both in England and in Sweden the clergy presided at the trial by ordeal; and it was performed only in the sanctuary, or in the presence of ministers of the Church, and according to a solemn ritual. And yet its abolition in Europe was due to the continued remonstrances of the clergy themselves. It is said to have been condemned by St. Gregory the Great; but, if that pontiff's disapprobation was known to the missionaries who came to England, his authority was for the time overborne by the force of national manners; for during six centuries these appeals to the judgment of God were authorised and commanded by the jurisprudence of the Saxons and of kindred tribes. The canons, however, very early declared against the trial by ordeal as being a "fabric of the devil." In the ninth century Agobard Archbishop of Lyons denied the lawfulness of the practice;^a soon afterwards it was condemned as superstitious by Pope Stephen V.^b and later by his successors Alexander II. Celestine III. Innocent III. and Honorius III. through whose influence it probably was that the council of the youthful King Henry III.^c determined to enforce in England the prohibition of the holy see.^d During all this time the ordeal trials were common in England, and even so late as the eleventh century were not abolished in France.^e

And yet in the trial in the eleventh century, by the ordeal of fire, of the Gregorian and Mosarabic Liturgies, which affords one of the most curious instances on record of the appeal to the judgment of God, the clergy themselves approved of this method of decision. In Spain, during the pontificate of Gregory VII., it was

^a Hincmari Epist. ad Hildegard. Metens. Episcopum. "Agobard, Ep. contra damnabilem opinionem putantium Divini iudicii veritatem igne, vel aquis, vel conflictu armorum patefieri."—See Cave, i. 515, 536. In the times of William Rufus, Hildebert Bishop of Mans, being accused of treason by that prince, was prepared to undergo one of these trials, when Ivo Bishop of Chartres convinced him that they were against the canons and constitutions of the Church, the latter prelate adding, that in this manner "Innocentiam defendere, est innocentiam perdere."

^b Bale, Acta Rom. Pont. (ed. 1615), 136.

^c Gualo, guardian of Henry III., was the legate of Honorius.

^d The judges on circuit in the third year of this reign were directed that, instead of sending the accused to the ordeal, they should in petty offences take security for good behaviour; in cases of greater criminality, compel the culprit to abjure the realm; and in murder, robbery, or arson, remand him to prison without loss of life or member, evidently because it had not then been determined how to proceed in such cases. The mandate to the justices begins,—"*Cum prohibitum sit per ecclesiam Romanam iudicium ignis et aquæ, provisum est à concilio nostro ad præsens, ut in hoc itinere vestro, sic fiat de rectatis,*" &c. Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. III. m. 5. Compare Rym. Fœd. tom. i. p. 228.

^e Hallam's Hist. of Europe in the Middle Ages (8vo. 1841), ii. p. 359 note, citing Bouquet, t. ii. p. 430.

debated whether the Gregorian ritual or the Mosarabic ritual, which had been given by St. Isidore of Seville to the churches of Castile, contained the form of worship most acceptable to the Deity. The churches refused to receive the novelty, while the papal representatives urged the Spaniards to adopt that which the Popes had sanctioned. The contest being violent, the nobles proposed to decide the controversy in their accustomed manner, viz. by the sword; and, according to Dr. Robertson, two champions, one chosen by either side, met and fought. The champion of the Mosarabic liturgy was victorious. He tells us that the Queen and the Archbishop of Toledo, who favoured the Gregorian use, insisted on having the matter submitted to another trial; while, according to Baronius, the clergy never consented to the decision of the question by combat, but had no objection to try the merits of each ritual by fire. A great fire was accordingly kindled, and a book containing the Gregorian ritual and another containing the Mosarabic ritual were thrown into it, in order that the flames might refuse to burn that which was the most acceptable to God. Cardinal Baronius, who says he was an eye-witness of the miracle, relates that the book of the Gregorian Chants was no sooner laid upon the fire, than it leaped out "like a parched pea—uninjured, visibly, and with a great noise." Every person present thought that the saints had decided in favour of Pope Gregory. But when, after a short interval, the fire was extinguished, the book of St. Isidore, wonderful to relate, was found covered with ashes and uninjured. Like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, "upon whose bodies the fire had no power," this wonderful book was preserved. Upon this it was resolved, that both Gregorian and Mosarabic were alike agreeable to God, and that they should be used by turns in all the churches of Seville.^a

We may now consider under what circumstances and with what solemnities these most remarkable trials were conducted in England.

Four kinds of ordeal prevailed:—

1. By carrying, and perhaps also by walking over, hot iron.
2. By plunging a portion of the arm into boiling water.
3. By being cast upon a river or other body of water.
4. By the administration of the corsned, or consecrated bread.

Besides these, there was the *Judicium Crucis* or ordeal by the cross, which however was not often resorted to.

^a This outline is given from the full account which may be seen in the "*Histoire de Mess. Bertrand du Guesclin par Paul Hay du Chastelet*," livre i. chap. xix. The account given in Robertson's *Charles V.* (apparently from *Roderigo de Toledo*), vol. i. note xxii. varies in regard to the finality of the decision.

The trials by fire ordeal and water ordeal were sometimes termed "*vulgaris purgatio*," to distinguish them from another test, the canonical purgation, which was made by oath.^a

The time, the nature, and the ceremonies of the appeals to the judgment of God in the ordeal trials, as well as the cases in which they were to be made, were defined with precision. They were not indiscriminately permitted, nor were they left to the option of the parties. With regard to the time when these appeals might be made, we find that among the Anglo-Saxons it was deemed indecorous to hold judicial trials on days particularly appropriated to the service of God. Thus, the ninth of the laws enacted under Edward and Guthrum^b is to this effect:—

"Ordeal and oaths are forbidden on festival days and lawful fast days; and he who breaks that [ordinance] let him pay *lah-slit*^c among the Danes, and *wite*^d among the English."

And the 24th of the canons enacted under King Edgar^e is to the same effect:—

"We enjoin that on feast days and fast days oaths and ordeals be foregone."

And the prohibition was extended by the laws of Æthelred to the regular Ember days, and from Adventum Domini to the octaves of the Epiphany, and from Septuagesima until fifteen days after Easter.^f And, says a subsequent law of this king:—

"At those holy tides let there be, as it is right to all Christian men, general peace and concord, and let every strife be appeased."

If the person accused was a freeman or person of higher rank, he was required to demonstrate his innocence by carrying red-hot iron in his hands for a certain space with impunity, or by walking with impunity over nine heated irons. If the person accused were a villein or rustic, he was to plunge his arm into a certain

^a Post, p. 283, et seq.

^b Ancient Laws and Institutes of England (edit. 1840, 8vo.) i. 173.

^c The "*lah-slit*" was a mulct for offences committed by the Danes. See Glossary to Anc. Laws and Inst.

^d The "*wite*" was a mulct, fine, or penalty, to the Anglo-Saxon kings, payable for violations of the law. Ibid.

^e Ibid. ii. 249. King Edgar succeeded A.D. 959.

^f A similar prohibition is in the laws of King Edward the Confessor. Anc. Laws and Inst. i. 443. And in the laws of Canute, c. 17.

^g Eighteenth of the laws of Æthelred. Ibid. A.D. 1008. It is hardly necessary to observe that the practice of suspending judicial proceedings on days and in seasons consecrated to religious observances, was familiar to the Roman world before the introduction of Christianity. On this subject the reader may consult the interesting and well-executed work of Mr. Vansittart Neale, entitled "*Feasts and Fasts*;" and Sir Henry Spelman's learned treatise "*On the Original of the Terms*" (Lond. 1723, fol. part ii. p. 71, seq.); the occasion of which discourse was, as he tells us, a question proposed at a meeting of the gentlemen who formed the College or Society of Antiquaries which met weekly at Derby House, "to confer upon some questions in that faculty, and to sup together."

depth of boiling water without being scalded, or to be bound hand and foot and thrown into a river, when if he sunk his innocence was considered to be manifest.^a

By the laws of Edgar, A.D. 960, the iron to be handled weighed one pound if the ordeal was simple, and three pounds if, on account of the magnitude of the alleged offence, the ordeal decreed was threefold. Evil reputation, as well as alleged crime, consigned the accused to the triple ordeal in cases where the single ordeal (*expurgatio simplex*) sufficed for persons of credit; "a provision," says Mr. Hallam, "rather inconsistent with the trust in a miraculous interposition of Providence, which was the basis of that superstition." The threefold ordeal was applied when a person was accused of the crimes of sacrilege, treason, murder, idolatry, and magic; and also, by a law of Æthelred, where a moneyer was accused of striking false money.^b

These provisions are partly founded upon the law of Æthelstan (who was made king A.D. 924), which is as follows:—^c

"We have ordained concerning incendiaries, and concerning 'morth-slayers,' that the oath be augmented by threefold, and the ordeal iron be increased so that it weigh three pounds, and that the man himself who is accused should go thereto; and let the accuser have the choice of whether it be water ordeal or iron ordeal, whichever be to him the more desirable. If he cannot bring forth the oath, and he then be guilty, let it stand within the doom of the chief men belonging to the 'burh' whether he shall have or not have his life."

And another law of the same king directs:—^d

"He who oft before has been convicted openly of theft, and shall go to the ordeal, and is there found guilty, shall be slain."

He might, however, be released, if the kindred or the lord were willing to pay his "wēr" (price,) and have him in borh^e that he might desist from evil. The accuser

^a Glanvil, who wrote (in the reign of Henry II.) the earliest known treatise of the laws of England, says, "He who is accused ought to purge himself by the judgment of God, to wit, by hot iron or by water, according to the difference of his condition; by hot iron if he be a freeman (*si fuerit homo liber*), and by water if he be a rustic (*si fuerit rusticus*)."
Tract. de Leg. et Consuet. Regn. Angliæ, 12^o. Lond. 1604, lib. xiv. ch. 1.

^b Laws of Æthelred, iii. 8. *Anc. Laws and Inst.* i. 297. "And if he be foul," says the doom, that is, if he be not cleared at the ordeal, "let him be slain." This law is more severe than the earlier law of Æthelstan, which merely directs that the accused moneyer go to the hot iron, "and therewith clear the hand with which he is charged to have wrought the fraud." And if at the ordeal he were found guilty, his hand was to be struck off.

^c Laws of Æthelstan, iv. 6. *Anc. Laws and Inst.* i. 225. And see *ibid.* 297, for the law of Æthelred allowing option to the accuser.

^d Laws of Æthelst. v. i. (*Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ*,) *ibid.* 229.

^e Surety.

was bound to prosecute his accusation. By a law of King Æthelred, if the owner of stolen property would not attend the ordeal, he was to pay twenty ores,^b and lose his suit. Another law of the same king directed that every vouching to warranty and every ordeal be in the King's burh; and that, if the accused flee from the ordeal, the borh (pledges or sureties) should pay for him according to his "wēr."

One of the laws of King Æthelstan^c provides that—

"Such who are tried by ordeal, shall be ceremoniously prepared thereunto, with the solemn manner of that trial."

Another of the laws of the same king^d is to this effect:—

"Let him who shall have given security to be forthcoming to be tried by the ordeal, go to the mass-priest three days before he enters upon the trial, that the priest may hallow it according to custom; and in the mean time let him feed on bread and water, salt, and herbs only, and besides let him be present on those days at the mass, and let him offer his gift. Moreover, on the day wherein he is to enter on the ordeal, let him take the bread of the Eucharist, and swear the oath, according to folk-right, that he is innocent of the crime of which he is accused. And then let the accuser urge the accusation by a fore-oath as we before ordained, and let every one of the persons on either side who may be there, be fasting, by the command of God and the priest, and let not either accuser or accused come attended by more than twelve persons."^e

These preliminary ordinances obeyed, the discovery of the truth was considered to be committed to the judgment of Heaven. The test thus directed to be applied to the conscience of the parties was of a most solemn kind. For at the mass on the third day the priest called the accused to the altar before the communion, and adjured him by the God whom he adored, by the religion which he professed, by the baptism with which he had been regenerated, and by the holy relics that reposed in the church, not to receive the sacrament nor to go to the ordeal, if his conscience reproached him with the crime of which he was accused.^f

^a The ora was equal to sixteen Saxon pennies.

^b Laws of Æthelst. v., enacted in the Council at Greatlea, A.D. 928. *Anc. Laws and Inst.* i. 225.

^c Æthelst. Ordinances in the same Council, i. 23; *Anc. Laws and Inst.* i. 213. And *Spelm. Concilia*, vol. i. p. 399, from which last mentioned authority the ordinance given in the text is derived.

^d And see *Wilk. Gloss.* p. 422. "Aqua vel ferro non licet in causa aliqua experiri nisi in qua modis aliis non potest veritas indagari." *De Jure Feudali Sax.* c. 24, art. 19, apud Van Espen, ii. 336, cited by Lingard, *ut sup.* p. 132.

^e Lingard, *ut sup.* p. 133. And see the adjuration in *MS. Ritual. Dunelm.* A. iv. 19, f. 55, p. 114 in printed copy. Tradition calls this relic of the devotion of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria "King Ælfrid's Ritual." See also *Missa Judic.* apud *Spelm.* voce "Ordal."

If, however, the accused denied the charge, he attested that denial with his oath, and was then led to the ordeal.^a And for its regulation, we find in the laws of Æthelstan^b the following :

“Doom concerning hot iron and water. And concerning the ordeal, we injoin by command of God, and of the Archbishop, and of all Bishops, that no man come within the church after the fire is borne in with which the ordeal shall be heated, except the mass-priest and him who shall go thereto ; and let there be measured nine feet from the stake to the mark by the man’s feet who goes thereto.^c But, if it be water, let it be heated till it boil. And be the kettle of iron or of brass, of lead or of clay. And if it be a single accusation, let the hand dive after the stone up to the wrist, and, if it be threefold, up to the elbow. And when the judgment shall be prepared, then let two men go in, of either side, and let them ascertain that it is as hot as is before expressed. And let an equal number of men on either side go in and stand on both sides of the judgment along the church,^d and let these all be fasting and abstain from their wives that night ; and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them kiss the holy gospel and the image of Christ’s rood ; and let no man mend the fire any longer when the benediction is begun, but let the iron lie upon the hot embers until the last collect ; after that, let it be laid upon the stapela,^e and let there be no other speaking heard within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that he will vouchsafe to manifest the truth therein. Then shall the person accused drink holy water, and his hand wherewith he shall carry the judgment shall be sprinkled therewith, and so let him go thereto, the nine feet measured being distinguished by three and three. At the

^a Leg. Sax. pp. 61—64. The ritual appropriated to the several kinds of ordeal is given in Canciani, tom. ii. p. 453. It begins with the following directions : “Inquisitus aliquis de furto, vel adulterio, vel de quocunque alio crimine, si nolit confiteri, pergat sacerdos ad ecclesiam, et induat se vestimentis sacris, excepta casula, portans in læva Sacrum Evangelium cum Chrismario, et reliquiis Sanctorum, calicemque cum patina, expectante plebe cum illo qui criminis reus esse deputatur, in atrio Ecclesiæ ; et dicit plebi, Videte, fratres, Christianæ religionis officium,” &c. Anc. Laws and Inst. ii., Glossary.

^b Laws of Æthelst. iv. 7 ; Anc. Laws and Inst. i. p. 227.

^c A similar regulation is found in the old Chronicle of Jorevale.

^d The ninth of the laws of S. Edward relates to the persons who are to attend an ordeal, “De illis qui judicium faciunt aquæ vel ferri calidi :” “Assit ad judicium minister episcopi cum clericis suis, et justitia regis cum legalibus hominibus provincie illius, ut videant et audeant quod omnia eque fiant, et quos salvaverit Dominus per misericordiam suam et justitia eorum quieti sint et liberi abscedant ; et quos iniquitas et injusticia sua condemnaverit, justitia regis de ipsis fieri faciat justitium.” Anc. Laws and Inst. i. 445.

^e Dr. Thorpe (in the Ancient Laws and Inst.) remarks that Stápela, which may also signify a pile (of wood, &c.) seems in this place to be synonymous with “staca.”

first mark next to the stake he shall set his right foot, and at the second his left foot, and thence he shall remove his right foot unto the third mark, where he shall throw down the iron and hasten to the holy altar. And let his hand be enveloped,^a and be it postponed until after the third day whether it be foul or clean within the envelope. And he who shall break these laws, be the ordeal with respect to him void, and let him pay to the King one hundred and twenty shillings as 'wite.'"

So the accused took up the ordeal bar with his hand, went in three steps the whole length of the nine feet, and then threw down the iron of judgment.^b

With regard to the alleged ordeal of walking on heated irons or ploughshares, the story of the trial of Queen Emma, mother of St. Edward the King, which, if it ever took place, occurred not later than the year 1046, is the only instance which is afforded by English historical records, so far as we are acquainted with them, of this mode of purgation. In this kind of ordeal, the writers say that the nine ploughshares were laid on the ground at distances of one foot from each other, and that the accused person, blindfolded as well as barefooted, was to pass over them, and that, if he stepped upon the hot irons unhurt, he was pronounced innocent, otherwise he was held guilty of the accusation.

But the story of Queen Emma deserves little credit, since it appears to have been unknown to those historians who ought to have been the best acquainted with it, viz. Ingulphus, Æthelred of Rievaulx, Malmesbury, and the author of the Saxon Chronicle.^c However, the story runs^d that Queen Emma cleared herself by this

^a Mr. Price translated *in-ſeȝl-ian* "and let his hand be sealed up;" but Dr. Thorpe believes the word is to be here understood in the sense *envelope*. The law of Æthelstan directed that the hand be not unsealed for the space of three days.

^b The venerable commentator, Sir William Blackstone, states the fire ordeal to have been performed either by taking up in the hand, unhurt, a piece of red-hot iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight; or else by walking barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at unequal distances; but this statement, as we have seen, does not accurately describe the severity of the ordeal, since the accused not only took up the iron, but was obliged to carry it a certain number of regular paces. This error is pointed out by Mr. Vidal in the letter mentioned at the beginning of this memoir, and he further remarks, correctly, that the Anglo-Saxon laws do not notice the intermediate weight mentioned in the Commentaries, and, erroneously, also by Blount. Spelman, voce "*Lada*," says that there were only the two degrees already mentioned.

^c The story is discredited by Godwin. See his work *De Præsul*, p. 56. Dr. Lingard (*Hist. Angl. Sax. Church*, i. 136) deems the story suspicious; and the Rev. J. S. Brewer, in his recent edition of *Fuller's Church History* (Oxf. 1845, vol. i. p. 376), says it must be regarded as of modern growth. Mr. Hallam added the weight of his great authority against the story, for he described it as "unsupported by any contemporary or even respectable testimony."

^d See *Mon. Angl.* i. 34, for a full account of this trial; also Cressy's *Church History*, p. 960.

mode of trial from the imputation of conduct unbecoming her marital vows;^a that the Queen, not knowing that she had passed all danger, exclaimed, "O Lord! when shall I come to the place of my purgation?" but that, on finding she had escaped, she fell upon her knees, and, with tears, gave thanks to the Almighty; and that by this trial she recovered both the love of the King and her former estate; in memory whereof she gave nine manors, according to the number of the ploughshares, to the church of Winchester, wherein she had the trial;^b the King also, in penitence for the wrong he had done to her, bestowing on the same church the Isle of Portland in Dorsetshire.

The worthy Fuller^c remarks, "By what power this was performed, I will not dispute, finding amongst the heathens a city, Feronia, twenty miles from Rome, under Mount Soracte, where the inhabitants, possessed with the spirit of a deity therein worshipped, usually walked upon burning coals without any harm."^d

As to the ordeal by boiling water, there is little to be said. In this trial the "expurgatio simplex" demanded merely that the bare arm be immersed as far as the wrist, while in the threefold ordeal the depth of the stone to be taken out required that the arm be immersed as far as the elbow.^e The priest instantly wrapped the arm in linen cloth, and fastened it with the seal of the church. At the expiration of three days, the bandage was unfolded, in the presence of the priest and the friends of both parties, and the fate of the accused was decided by the appearance of the arm. It was necessary to a sentence of acquittal that the arm should be found uninjured.

We may now pass from the consideration of these frightful tests to the mode of proceeding in the ordeal by cold water. In this trial religious solemnities preparatory to the ordeal were observed; the accused was deprived of clothing, he was sprinkled with holy water; and, a cord knotted at the distance of two ells and a half^f

^a Thom. Rudborn, Hist. Maj. Winton. lib. iv. ch. 1. This monk expressly states that the queen was not blindfolded: "Emma vero nullum manipforam sive pannum ante oculos habens, super novem vomeres novem passus faciens, et singulos eorum totius corporis pleno premens pondere."

^b Mon. Angl. i. 980.

^c Church Hist. of Brit. edit. 1845, i. 376.

^d "Only I wonder," he adds, "that Bishop Ælfwine, equally suspected, and equally innocent, with Emma, should not proffer himself to the like trial. But, perchance, the prudent prelate remembered that such barbarous customs, though kept up amongst the common people, were forbidden by the ancient Canons; and now Emma, who went upon this sad errand, did the business for them both, and cleared their credits." A story similar to this is related of Cunegunda, wife of the Emperor Henry II.

^e Leg. Inæ, c. 77, ap. Wilk. Leg. Sax. So in the Textus Roffensis (ed. Hearne), p. 33.

^f In the laws of Æthelstan it is provided that he dive an ell and a half by the rope. Leg. Æthelst. i.; Anc. Laws and Inst. *ut sup.* 213.

from the extremity being fastened round his waist, and his hands being bound cross-wise to his feet, he was lowered slowly into the pool. If he sank, so as to draw the knot below the surface, he was pronounced innocent, and was liberated; but, if he floated, his guilt was considered manifest, and he was delivered to the officers of justice.^a The prevailing idea of this mode of ordeal seems to be the old heathen superstition, that the holy element, the pure stream, will receive within it no evil-doer. "This," says Fuller, "is the first footstep we find of the swimming of witches, for which there is no law save custom at this day" (A. D. 1655). Although the designation "witch" occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, we do not find any trace of a doom of ordeal for witchcraft in those venerable records. The ordeal of cold water was resorted to in capital cases in England, according to Hoveden,^b in the reign of Henry II.; for a citizen of London, suspected of murder, having floated when thus tried, was hanged by order of the king, though he offered, as if he were living under the Saxon laws, five hundred marks to save his life.

It appears that both these modes of trial might be performed by deputy; but the principal was to be bound by the result, "the deputy," in the language of Blackstone, "only venturing some corporal pain for hire, or perhaps for friendship."^c

The last-mentioned method of ordeal, viz. that by cold water, was resorted to in England for the detection of witches, until the beginning of the last century.^d

^a Leg. Sax. p. 26; *ibid.* p. 61. Grimm, D.R.A. 923, is cited on this point in *Anc. Laws and Inst. Glossary*. The following form of adjuration was pronounced by the priest over the water in which the accused person was to be cast: "I adjure thee, O thou water, in the name of the Father Almighty who created thee in the beginning, commanding thy use for human necessities; I adjure thee, by the unspeakable name of the Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, under whose feet the sea and element being severed was trod upon, and who was pleased to be baptized in the watery element; I also adjure thee by the Holy Ghost, which descended upon the Lord when He was baptized; I adjure thee also by the Name of the holy and individual Trinity, by whose will the element of waters was divided, and the people of Israel forthwith passed through dryfoot; at whose invocation the prophet Heliseas caused the axe which fell out of the helve to swim upon the water; that thou do not in any manner receive this man N. if he be guilty of that of which he is accused, by his act, consent, or knowledge, or any other device; but make him swim upon thee, to the end there may be no counterfeiting with thee, or any deception by the enemy, that may disguise the truth. And by the name of Christ we command thee that for His sake thou obey us, unto Whom every creature doth service," &c. *Orig. Jur.* 87.

^b P. 566; Lingard, *Hist. Engl.* ed. 1844, ii. 290.

^c This is still expressed, says the venerable commentator, in that common mode of speech, "of going through fire and water to serve another." *Comm. b. vi. c. xxiii.* and Blount's *Tenures* (ed. Beekwith, 4to. Lond. 1815), 661, note.

^d Dr. John Webster, who was Master of the Free School in Clitheroe in 1643, and died in 1682, was an astrologer, and zealous detector of witchcraft. Butler alludes to the ordinary arts that were practised in the

The judgment by hot iron (*ferri candentis judicium*) is the only kind of ordeal referred to in the Domesday Survey. The cases in which the ordeal occurs in the Survey are chiefly on claims of right to land, and these claimants were likely to be of the higher rank; it is therefore probable that the rule afterwards laid down by Glanvil then applied.^a The Survey does not afford a single instance of trial by water.

Blount gives a very remarkable extract from a muniment of the church of Rochester in the time of Gilbert de Glanvil (who was bishop from 1185 to 1214), in which it is recorded that two women came into the town of Sufflete (Southfleet?) in the county of Kent, who had stolen many cloths in the town of Croindone (Croydon in Surrey?), and that the men of that place whose cloths were feloniously carried away followed the fugitives to the town of Sufflete, and that there they were imprisoned, and had their judgment in the court of Sufflete to carry hot iron; one of them was acquitted, and the other condemned, whereupon she was drowned in Bikepole. In that judgment were present the King's coroner and Sir Henry Cobham,^b and many other eminent men of the country, Robert de Hecham, a monk, being keeper of the manor of Sufflete. The women, therefore, were tried where they were taken, and not in the county where the offence was committed, if Croin-

honourable business of witch-finding, where he refers to one Matthew Hopkins, who was of great celebrity in his day:—

“Has not the present Parliament
A legate to the devil sent,
Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has not he, within a year,
Hang'd three score of 'em in a shire?
Some only for not being drown'd,
And some for sitting above ground.”

From Brand we learn that in the melancholy year 1649 the sapient magistrates of Newcastle-upon-Tyne sent into Scotland with a view to make a bargain with a Scotchman, who professed the art of finding out witches. His plan was the simple one of pricking them with pins. The magistrates agreed to give this disgraceful practitioner twenty shillings a-piece for all he could condemn, and, moreover, bear his travelling expenses. On his arrival, the crier was sent through the town to invite persons to bring the suspected forward. Thirty women were led into the town hall, stripped, and subjected to the test: twenty-seven were found guilty. On this evidence (so called) one wizard and fourteen witches were tried at the assizes, convicted, and executed.

^a See Dissert. on Domesday, App. to Second Gen. Rep. of Commiss. p. 462.

^b Dugdale says that the first mention he finds of the family of Cobham is in the 12th John, when Henry de Cobbeham, of Cobbeham in Kent, gave 1,000 marks for the King's favour. Baronage, 65.

done be Croydon; and it is observable that the court of Suffiote, though only a manor court, had the power (not unusual in ancient times) of trying and executing felons;^a the trial and judgment appear to have been before persons of eminence, she who was burned by the hot iron being adjudged guilty, while the other, whom we may suppose was not burned by it, was acquitted. As regards the mode of execution, too, it is observable that the condemned culprit was not hanged, but drowned, a way of execution which Dr. Harris supposed to be peculiar to her sex.^b

The trial, both by fire and water, appears to have been in frequent use so late as the fifteenth year of the reign of King John. Our notice of these methods of trial as adopted in England, may be concluded by subjoining in a note references to the Judicial Rolls on which the trials that took place in the reigns of Richard I. and John, are recorded to have been awarded.^c

^a This probably was in right of the territorial franchise of *Utfangenetheof*, which was exercised so late as the reign of Edward I. Blomefield mentions two instances, both in 1285, where executions for felony took place by the sentence of a court baron, and the lord's privilege was questioned at the assizes.

^b Blount's *Tenures by Beckwith*, *ut sup.* p. 641, *seq.* The author elsewhere informs us, that in the hundred of Sandwich the execution of felons condemned to death was, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and probably much earlier, by drowning; and that in the year 1315 complaint was made against the prior of Christ Church, for that he had diverted the course of a certain stream called the Gestling, so that felons could not be executed for want of water. Here there is no distinction of sex. See *Orig. Jurid.* p. 88.

Another instance of the use of the trial by water occurs in the great roll of the Pipe, 12 Hen. II. when the shire-reeve of Norfolk and Suffolk "*reddit compotum de catallis fugitivorum et eorum qui perierunt in iudicio aquae, viz. de Ricardo Haiward, iiiijs. vijd.*"

The ordeal of cold water is mentioned in a charter of King Philip Augustus, in A.D. 1200.

^c In Thorne's Chronicle an extract is given from the rolls of the Itinerary in 6 Ric. I. relating to the Ordeal trials in the lands of St. Augustine's Abbey. The following later instances are given in the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*: "*Mariona uxor Hugonis Dobin malecreditur per totum visum de Markele, de morte Hugon' Dobin viri sui, eo quod sepius fuit medleta et contentio inter eos pro delictis suis. Et quia plures adulterabantur cum ea, &c. Ideo purget se per iudicium ferri, &c. David Blundus malecreditur quod ipse consentiens fuit, &c. Ideo purget se per aquam,*" &c. *Plac. Ric. I. et Joh. Heref. r. 6.*

Several instances on Rot. Plac. Linc. incerti temp. R. Joh. p. 68. "*Loquendum in veredicto de Wilton' de Gilberto serviente abbatis de Wilton' qui occisus fuit in . . . Ille mundet se per aquam.*" *Plac. Ric. I. Wiltes', Hund' de Cadew'rth.*

"*Philippus custodiatur quosque sciatur quid accidat de Walerando, qui debet se mundare per aquam pro facto illo.*" *Plac. Ric. I. Abb. Plac. p. 17, col. 1.*

A like judgment in an accusation of murder and arson, *ibid.* "*Juratores dicunt quod Osbertus Cole occidit quendam Godefridum cum quadam furca ferrea. Et Osbertus captus est, et venit et defendit quod eum non percussit nec per eum mortem accepit. Mundet se per aquam de morte illa.*" *Plac. Ric. I. Wiltes'.*

"*Bernard' Palmer dat D'no Regi j. marcam ut ipse qui appellatus est pro Ricardum p'batores et aetatem p'teriti possit purgare se per aquam vel per ferrum calidum.*"

"*Agnes uxor Odon' m'catoris appellavit Galienam de sorceria. Et ipsa liberata est per iudicium ferri. Et ideo Agnes remanet in misericordia.*" *Plac. Hil. 10 Joh'is, Norf. rot. 8. dorso.*

It has been already stated that in the reign of Henry III. these methods of trial were disused and abolished;^a and thenceforth the trial by the country, *i. e.* by the great assize, or by combat, were awarded both in civil and criminal cases. Before we speak of the judicial combat, some other modes of purgation remain to be noticed.

And first, of that which was performed by the corsned bread (*panis conjuratus*).^b The corsned was a cake of barley bread, of the weight of one ounce,^c given to an accused person by the priest, with a solemn adjuration, after he had attested his innocence of the accusation by his own oath. It seems that originally the sacramental bread was thus administered, it being devoutly believed that the blessed Sacrament could not be swallowed by a guilty and perjured person; but this use of the host being deemed a profanation, another cake of bread came to be substituted. In the administration of this bread the Almighty was invoked to manifest the truth between the accuser and the accused. It was believed that, if guilty, either his jaws

In an appeal of manslaughter in 5 John, the judgment is, "Et ideo purget se per iudicium aquæ." Rot. 2, in anno, dors.

"Radulphus fil' Hugonis, imprisonat' apud Newgate et malecredit' de latrocinio, &c. Purget se p' aquam purgavit se et ejuravit regnum." Plac. Trin. 15 Joh'is. Midd. r. 20.

See other instances in the same year, Abb. Plac. p. 90.

One Lenns, accused (*malecreditus a juratoribus*) of aiding and consenting in a manslaughter, is sent to the iudicium *ferri*, Plac. 5 Johannis. Staff. r. 2.

The same roll contains two other cases of the judgment by *water*. One is on suspicion of homicide.

"Alius malecreditur de morte hominis. Purget se per aquam, quod non fuit consentiens perit et suspensus est." Trin. 15 Joh'is. rot. 21.

"Quia ipsa elegit portare *ferrum*. Et ideo purget se per iudicium *ferri*." &c. 5 Joh'is. Staff. rot. 2. dorso.

"Walter' aurifaber, de Fadewell, malecreditur de retonsurâ a xii. de Wapentac' iudicium purget se per aquam."

Another is remitted to the judgment by *iron*. Ann. incert. Joh'is. Line. rot. 8.

^a Coke, Rep. 9, p. 32. Dugd. Orig. Jurid. c. xxix. 1 Rym. Fœd. 228. Spelman, Gloss. 326. The King's mandate to the justices (itinerant (inrolled Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. III.) may be seen in the Orig. Jurid. ut supra.

MS. treatises on the subject of these ordeal trials may be seen in the undermentioned codices in the Cottonian Library: JULIUS, C. II. fo. 58b. Cap. de Ferro Candente et Aqua. Ibid. fo. 95. Consuetudines Regni Angliæ; ubi quidam de Ordalio, etc. from the Textus Roffensis. CLAUDIUS, D. II. fo. 15b; a MS. of the fourteenth century. Institutum de Ordalio. This seems to be founded on the sixth law of Æthelstan, already described. TITHECUS, B. VIII. an office book of the fourteenth century. Fo. 155. Benedictio ferri judicialis. Fo. 165b. Iudicium aque ferventis, cum benedictione ejusdem. Fo. 177. Benedictio aquæ frigide, ad iudicium faciendum; cum adjuratione ejusdem, et hominis cui culpa objicitur. See a curious treatise on the proof by cold water, 4to. Franc. 1686, Grentzii.

^b The name "corsned" seems to be derived from "cor," "kur," trial, proof. See Glossary to Anc. Laws and Inst. citing Grimm, D.R.A. 932.

^c Hist. Ang.-Sax. Ch. ut supra, 133, citing Exorcismus Panis Ordeacii, apud Spelman, voce "Ordal." For the old form of "Exorcismus panis ordeacii vel casei, ad probationem veri," Blount, in the Tenures, refers to Lindenbrogius, p. 107. See also Text. Roffens. pp. 19—36.

would become fixed, or his throat contracted, so that the bread would not be received, or, if received into the mouth, would be ejected from it,^a as the guilty person was believed to be rejected by the water in that method of ordeal. If an accused person could not produce compurgators, or, in other words, friends, to corroborate his own oath, he was to come to this judgment.^b

This mode of trial, as Dr. Lingard has remarked, seems to have been instituted in imitation of the ordeal prescribed by the Mosaic law, and called the water of jealousy.^c Indeed, the ordeal mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures seems a type of the ritual for this mode of ordeal among the Christians. The instrument of the former "doom" was water, which in like manner was to be swallowed by the accused. The trial was resorted to in cases where there was no witness against the woman; and there was an offering, a sprinkling, an oath, and an admonition. It would seem that the accused took the bread with a solemn oath, and prayed that it might prove his last morsel if his statement were not true.

Among the Anglo-Saxons persons accused of robbery were tried by the corsned as well as by the other modes of ordeal already described. If the accused freely swallowed the bread, and did not present any tokens of guilt, he was considered innocent; if otherwise, he was adjudged to the punishment assigned to his offence. Ingulphus records of the perfidious Godwin, Earl of Kent, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, that, on abjuring by this way of trial the murder of the King's brother, the bread choked him, as a just judgment of his solemn perjury.^d This, however, was the ordeal to which the clergy commonly appealed when accused of any crime, and certainly it was the least terrible and inconvenient of all the modes of ordeal. This method of purgation followed the fate of the other methods of appeal to the Divine tribunal used by the Anglo-Saxons, and was probably antiquated and disused before they were finally abolished.^e "But it is very strange," says

^a Du Cange.

^b Blount (*Tenures*, *ut supra*, 663) cites the laws of King Canute, chapter 6 (but the reference does not apply) for the following: "Si quis altari ministrantium accusetur, et amicis destitutus sit, cum sacramentales non habeat, vadat ad iudicium quod Anglice dicitur 'Corsned,' et fiat sicut Deus velit, nisi super sanctum Corpus Domini permittatur ut se purget." This law is found in the Ordinances of Æthelred, A.D. 1014, art. 22; *Anc. Laws and Inst.* i. 345.

^c Numbers, v. 11—31.

^d See also Stevenson's edit. of *Scalachronica*, Append. 275. "Notable thinges translated into English by John Leylande out of a booke caullid *Scala Chronica*, &c. Godwyne accusid at the table at Wyndesore of Alfride, King Edwardes brother's, death, according to his othe, was strangelid with a pece of brede, and burid at Winchestre."

^e See Du Cange, and Jacob's *Law Dict.* tit. Corsned. Blount remarks that we have still some remem-

Father Cressy, "that such manifest tempting of God, such sortileges and divinations, should be continued among our Saxon ancestors after they were enlightened by the Gospel. And it is wonderful to consider with what confidence and assurance innocent persons exposed themselves to such dangerous trials. Yet such wonder will be abated," continues this author, "when we reflect on the prodigious and miraculous success of them, insomuch as we can scarce find one example of a person innocent who has suffered by them. Aimonius relates how Louis King of France, for deciding a doubtful controversy, sent ten men to be examined by boiling water, and ten others by cold water, and moreover ten by burning iron, and not one of them received the least harm by the examination. And Eadmer records an example where about fifty men, in the days of King William Rufus, underwent the judgment of red-hot iron, which they held in their naked hands without any prejudice at all."

Among the tests of guilt resorted to in mediæval times was that of causing a person accused of murder to touch or approach the corpse of the murdered. It was believed that on the approach or touch of the murderer blood would issue afresh from the body of the victim. If this effect took place, or if any change was observable in the face, hands, or feet of the body, it was believed that the murderer was present by the bier. This method of ordeal was allowed by authority in England, and it was used in Germany also.^a It forms (to use the language of Mr. D'Israeli) a solemn picture in the histories and ballads of our old writers. Shakspeare alludes to it in the well-known address of the Lady Anne, as mourner, to Richard Duke of Gloucester, over the remains of King Henry :^b—

brance of this superstitious custom in the vulgar phrases of abjuration, such as "I will take the Sacrament upon it," "May this bit be my last if," &c. See also MS. Cott. Tiberius, B. viii. (an office book of the fourteenth century, already quoted) where at fo. 186b we have "Exorcismus panis et casei ad probationem veri investigandam, cum benedictione eorumdem." Dugdale (*Orig. Jurid.* 63) mentions a MS. treatise "De Judicio Aquæ et Ignis, Panis Hordeaci, et Casei et Sacramenti," as being in MS. Cott. Vitell. A. vii., but the codex is wanting.

Father Cressy, in speaking of the trial by the holy Eucharist, says, that by such an examination Pope Adrian II. terribly convinced Lothair King of Lorraine, and several of his nobles, of perjury, for when at receiving the holy Eucharist they had attested their innocence touching adultery committed by the King, he presently after died miserably, and not any of the nobles outlived the year, but all were consumed by some fearful calamity. Church Hist. fo. 960. Thus the priest in the Church of England to this day, in giving notice of celebrating the holy Communion, is directed to warn his flock against the great peril of receiving the holy Sacrament unworthily, for then the receiving of it "doth nothing else but increase your damnation."

^a It is there called "Barrecht."

^b Richard III., Act I. Sc. 2.

" O ! gentlemen, see, see ! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afresh !
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity ;
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells.
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural."

In the comparatively recent case of Philip Stanfield, convicted of murder in 1688, the accused was subjected to the ordeal of touching the corpse, and this superstition appears to have had great influence in obtaining his conviction.^a

In the efficacy of this mode of ordeal a belief, it is said, still prevails in some of those parts of the kingdom in which the old superstitions yet linger. The ordeal by touch was certainly used in the county of Durham so late as 1783, when, according to ancient custom, three of five persons suspected of the murder of a Mr. Harrison touched the body, which, it was supposed, would bleed under the hand of the assassin ; but Lockey and Barker, the other two, could by no means be persuaded to this ordeal. The former afterwards murdered the latter, and on being questioned before his execution as to his share in Harrison's murder, became pale and confused, and turned aside his face, but would not answer.^b

When this solemn ordeal was to be undergone in the face of the church, the guilty person must have possessed courage more than mortal who could, in the presence of ecclesiastics and judges assembled round the altar of the all-seeing God, approach and touch the silent remains of his victim, knowing that, although the soul had departed, consciousness was believed to return supernaturally, for the purpose of convicting him whose guilt had liberated the spirit to its awful flight.

Another mode of judgment was resorted to occasionally, which would seem to have been chiefly used in causes ecclesiastical, and was called the judgment of the cross. This trial does not appear to have been practised by the Anglo-Saxons. It seems to have had its origin from the sentiments of veneration which were attached in the Middle Ages to that holy symbol. This ordeal was performed in two ways. In one, a rod was divided into two similar portions, upon one of which a cross was marked. The two portions were inclosed in wool, so as to be undistinguishable from each other ;

^a Though Sir Walter Scott remarks, in his *Note Book*, from which Lockhart gives the passage, that " the conviction appears very doubtful indeed. Surely no one," he says, " could seriously believe in 1688 that the body of the murdered bleeds at the touch of the murderer, and I see little else that directly touches Philip Stanfield." Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, i. 261. A report of the trial of Stanfield may be seen in *Lord Fountainhall's Chronological Notes of Scottish affairs* (edited by Sir Walter Scott), 4to, Edin. 1822.

^b Walbran's *Antiq. of Gainford*, part i. 54, 55.

they were laid upon the altar, or upon relics, and the Almighty was invoked to declare by a sign whether the accused had sworn truly in the oath which he had taken. This done, a priest, or in his absence a child, was appointed to take up one of the lots, and if that one bore the cross the accused was pronounced innocent.

The "*judicium crucis*" was also performed in civil cases, in this way. The parties litigant, or their champions, each stretched out his arms before the cross, and he who was soonest wearied, and dropped his arms, was adjudged to have lost his cause. Instances of appeal to this mode of judgment in the reigns of Charlemagne and of Pepin the Short are mentioned,^a but Louis the Pious decreed that this trial should be resorted to only in causes ecclesiastical.^b The trial by the cross is mentioned in a charter of King Philip Augustus, in A.D. 1200.

And here ends our notice of the modes of trial by Ordeal that were known to the law other than the canonical purgation, performed by the oath of the party, and the judicial combat, which superseded and long survived all the ordeal trials, though it was a mode of appeal to the divine judgment not less presumptuous, and much more sanguinary.

If it might be permitted to travel for a moment into the region of mediæval poetry and romance, we might notice some of those innocent tests or modes of trial of conjugal fidelity the powers and incidents of which are mentioned, not in the judicial records we have been considering, but in ballad literature. One of these quaint conceits was the mantle mentioned in a ballad of which Queen Guenever is the principal heroine, and which is supposed by Bishop Percy^c to have suggested to Spenser his conceit of Florimel's girdle:—

" That girdle gave the virtue of chaste love
And wifehood true to all that did it beare;
But whosoever contrarie doth prove
Might not the same about her middle weare,
But it would loose, or else asunder teare."

Another was the trial by the horn, which occurs in the old romance called *Morte Arthur* (translated from the French, temp. Edward IV., and first printed in 1484),

^a On the authority of D'Israeli, in *Curios. of Lit.* (ed. 1840), p. 58. His authority is not mentioned, and it has not been found by the writer of these remarks. He states that the Bishop of Paris and the Abbot of St. Denis disputed about the patronage of a monastery, and that King Pepin, not being able to decide upon their claims, decreed the judgment by the cross. The champions of the respective dignitaries appeared in the chapel, and stretched out their arms "in the form of a cross." The Bishop's champion was first tired, and so he lost his patron's cause. See also Cressy, *Ch. Hist.* 960.

^b Montesq. *Esprit des Loix*, book xxviii. c. 18.

^c *Reliques of Anc. English Poetry* (ed. 1844), iii. 38.

from which Ariosto is thought to have borrowed his tale of the Enchanted Cup. The story of the horn is this :—

“ By the way they met with a knight, who was sent from Morgan la Faye to King Arthur ; and this knight had a fair horn, all garnished with gold, and the horn had such a virtue that there might no lady drink from it unless she were true to her husband ; and if she were false, she should spill all the drink ; but if she were true, she might drink peaceably,” &c.

In Wales a mode of purgation, founded probably on an old British superstition, appears to have prevailed, for an Act of Parliament in the 1st Henry V. (A.D. 1413)^a forbade the Welsh by purgation or trial called “ assach,” according to the custom of Wales, by a jury of three hundred men or otherwise, to take revenge against the English who pursued their friends in the late rebellion.

It may be proper in this place to consider briefly another test or mode of exculpation, namely, that which was made by oath, and distinguished as the canonical purgation. The decision by negative proofs in certain cases was conducted through the intervention of a jury or compurgators, and appears to have softened the rigorous operation of the fiery ordeals to which our attention has been directed ; for by the law of the Saxons, continued for a considerable period under the Anglo-Norman kings, a King’s thain, when accused of a crime, appeared with twelve peers or compurgators, and solemnly asserted his innocence, while the compurgators attested their conviction of the truth of his assertion. Thus the person accused was absolved, and, under the Danish kings of England at all events, the positive testimony of his accusers was disregarded. The inferior thain was entitled to the same privilege if a King’s thain were added to the usual number of his peers, but this mode of purgation seems to have been confined to the feudal tenants. The compurgators formed a kind of negative jury, though they judged, not from evidence adduced in support of the accusation, or from circumstances in favour of the accused in relation to the particular accusation ; but, from their knowledge of the general tenor of his conduct, they concluded that he was incapable of committing the crime and of adding the aggravation of perjury. When the character of the accused was too infamous to procure compurgators, he was obliged to undergo the trial by ordeal. And a thain was not exempted from that judgment ; but he might, upon payment of a mulct or fine, clear himself of the accusation by oath, if he could find the required compurgators ;^b and such a privilege was common to other nations of Europe. Thus the

^a Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 10.

^b The Pipe Rolls for Northumberland in 31st Hen. I. afford an instance of this, for in that year Cospatrick of Newcastle is stated to owe twenty marks of silver, that he may clear himself of the judgment of fire ordeal by oath. Hodgson’s Pipe Rolls for Northumb. in anno.

Salic law, to soften the rigorous operation of the ordeal by boiling water, allowed the accused to ransom his hand by his own oath and the oaths of compurgators, and by payment of a certain fine. So also by the laws of the Thuringians a woman accused of adultery was condemned to the trial by boiling water only when there were none to defend her, and a man only when he had no witnesses to justify him by their oaths. So, likewise, there was a species of "lád" (purgation or exculpation) among the Anglo-Saxons, wherein the accused cleared himself by his own oath, supported by the oaths of his consacrmentals, according to the number of whom the "lád" was simple or threefold. The judicial oaths or negative proofs were, under the first kings of the Lombards, made in the churches, the sanctity of which was used in order to intimidate persons who would commit perjury.^a It was customary for the Saxon kings, in their donation of privileges and royalties, to give "athas" and "ordalas,"—a power of administering oaths, and, in doubtful cases, of obliging their tenants and vassals to undergo the trials by ordeal. As the right of purgation extended not to the allodiarii, it is probable that every accusation was decided in their courts by this method, until Alfred the Great humanely caused a jury of twelve men to be sworn in the court of every hundred, and invested with authority to acquit and to condemn.^b This power was used where ordinary offences and clear evidence came under discussion; but in cases of greater importance, and where the evidence was doubtful, the law, in conformity with the notions of piety which then prevailed, referred the cause to the decision of Divine Providence in the trial by ordeal, the nature of which, as we have seen, was governed by the rank and condition of the criminal. The compurgators, therefore, before whom no evidence was adduced save the parties' oath, were admitted as negative but conclusive evidence in the feudal courts, while the jury upon positive testimony gave their verdict in the allodial assemblies.^c "The jury in England," says Mr. Ibbotson, "was totally unconnected with the fiefs; it was the offspring of justice and mercy, and will continue to flourish while they continue to be venerated."^d On the accusation of treason against Richard

^a Montesq. *Esprit des Lois*, book xxviii. c. 18.

^b Lambard, de *Elfrede Rege*. But see Hickes, and Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 75, as to whether the ancient usage of compurgation is not meant.

^c In the Ordinances of Æthelred relating to the Marches of Wales it is directed that the juries be composed of six English and six Welsh; this was the origin of the modern juries *de medietate lingue*.

^d *Dissertations*, 8vo. Lond. 1782, p. 59. Dugdale (*Orig. Jurid.* p. 88) remarks that "in actions of debt there hath been anciently a manner of trial which still continues in practice, for small sums of money, throughout divers parts of the realm, viz. where apparent proof is not made on the plaintiff's part, the defendant is permitted to wage his law, that is, to take his own oath that he oweth nothing at all to the plaintiff, and to bring as many credible persons as the court shall assign to make oath that they believe he swears true; which manner of waging law (adds the author) is very ancient as may appear from what Mr. Lambard ob-

Fitz-Osbert in 1194, the appellees claimed the franchise of the citizens of London to defend by compurgation.

Before proceeding to consider the usage of trial by judicial combat, it may be interesting to compare with the usages now described the features of the ordeal trials among the Hindoos, who conduct these trials in nine different ways, of which the following is a rapid sketch :^a

1. Ordeal by the Balance. In this absurd trial the accused, after fasting, bathing in sacred water, and worshipping the deities, is carefully weighed ; when he is taken out of the scale the pandits pronounce over it an exorcism agreeably to the Sastras, and, having written the substance of the accusation on paper, bind it on his head. Six minutes afterwards he is again weighed, and, if he weigh more than before, he is held guilty, if less, innocent ; if exactly the same he must be weighed a third time, when it is believed there will certainly be a difference in his weight.

2. Ordeal by Fire. In this method an excavation nine hands in length, two spans in breadth, and a span in depth, is filled with a fire of pippal wood, into which the accused must walk barefooted, and if his feet be unhurt he is held innocent, if burned, guilty.

3. By heated Oil : and this trial is performed in a manner not unlike that which was in use in England. Into a round pan of metal or clay, sixteen fingers in diameter, and four fingers deep, the pandit throws eighty sicca weight of clarified butter or oil of sesamum, oblations to the deities having been previously performed. A ring of gold, silver, or iron, washed in water, is cast into the oil, which the attendants heat until it burns a leaf of pippala, when a mentra is pronounced over the oil, and the party accused is directed to take out the ring ; and if he does so without his hand being burned or blistered, his innocence is considered to be proved. If, however, his hand is burned, his guilt is supposed to be established.^b

serveth thereof, though then in cases criminal." This usage, indeed, was practised by the Jews. In the courts of the Wardens of the North Marches the defendant was allowed to clear himself by his oath that the accusation laid against him was false ; and such a law is retained by the Scots, though exploded in every other code.

^a They are described fully in a paper communicated by the celebrated Warren Hastings to the society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, &c. of Asia, and published in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, 388, *seq.*

^b In Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. chap. xi. it is stated that the accused is guarded for several days before the ordeal ; that his hand and arm are closely covered with waxed cloth, which is sealed up to prevent deceit ; that a piece of money is used, as well as the ring ; that when the liquid boils, the arm is unsealed and washed in the presence of the judges and accusers, while the attendant Brahmins supplicate their deities ; that after the arm has been plunged into the oil it is again sealed up, and so remains until the time fixed for re-examination, when, if no blemish appears, the accused is declared innocent.

4. By hot Iron. An iron ball or the head of a lance made red-hot is the instrument of this ordeal. At sunrise the pandits, having adored Ganesa, the god of wisdom, draw *nine* circles on the ground at intervals of sixteen fingers, present oblations to the fire, and read certain *mentras*. The person to be tried washes, and, turning to the east, stands in the first ring. He then rubs rice in the husk between his hands, which are carefully inspected, and the presiding magistrate and pandits place in his open hands, held close together, seven leaves of the pippal, seven of the *sami*, or *feird*, seven blades of *darbha* grass, a little moistened barley, and a few flowers, all which are fastened on either hand with seven threads of raw cotton. The accusation is then written on a palmyra leaf, which is tied on his head; the ball or lance-head, weighing five pounds, when red-hot is placed with tongs in his hands, and he must step gradually from circle to circle, his feet being constantly within one of the circles, until he reaches the eighth, whence he is to throw the iron into the ninth; and if any mark of burning be found after a certain time he is convicted.

5. By Water. In this trial the accused person stands in a certain depth of water not moved by wind, and, grasping the foot or staff of a Brahmin on the bank, is to dive under the water for as long a period as a man can walk a certain distance. If in the meantime he rise above the water, he is condemned.*

6. By Poison. This trial is conducted in two ways. In the one, the accused must eat a certain quantity of poison from the hand of a Brahmin, and if it produces no visible effect he is acquitted. In the other he has to take a ring or a coin from a deep earthen pot into which the hooded snake called *Naga* has been thrown, and if the serpent does not bite him he is pronounced innocent.

7. By *Cosha*, or water in which idols have been washed; and if within fourteen days the accused has any illness, his guilt is considered to be proved.

And 8. By drawing Lots. An image of the genius of justice in silver, and another in iron, are thrown into a deep jar, and the accused is pronounced innocent if he bring out the silver image.

Some of these modes of judgment are more barbarous and absurd than those which prevailed in Europe, but in some particulars they present a remarkable similitude. With regard to the latter it remains to observe, that they present a subject of curious speculation. That all the accused were not proved innocent by the corsned and the immersion, nor all guilty by the hot water and the hot iron, is evident from the permanence in public estimation of these methods of appeal.

* On the coast of Malabar a person accused of a serious crime is doomed to swim across a large river abounding with crocodiles, and if he escape unhurt he is esteemed innocent. At Siam the person spared by a tiger is considered innocent. Gilchrist, Brief Display, &c. *ut sup.* 11.

Modern writers generally suppose that the clergy were possessed of a secret by which as they saw convenient they either indurated the skin before the ordeal, or afterwards healed it speedily.^a But the theories that have been suggested do not apply to all the methods of trial, nor do they satisfactorily show by what human means these fearful proofs were ever resorted to with impunity. Their constant employment by almost every nation of Christendom for various long periods, and during not less than six centuries, is an historical fact inconsistent with the theory that collusion and fraud were practised by the clergy; and, though it was fashionable and is very easy thus to accuse the clergy of the ancient Church of practising delusions, the author for one considers, that, to believe the ecclesiastics guilty of the impious profanation of sacred things which has been imputed to them, would be to exercise a very uncharitable credulity.

We now come to that other method of appeal to Divine Providence for the decision of controversies which claims a higher antiquity and a greater permanence than the methods of trial we have already considered: it is the Trial by Combat.

The laws of Gundebald, A.D. 501, which are preserved in the Burgundian code, afford the first written injunction of the judicial combat; but it seems to have been the common usage of all the northern nations from the earliest times. Mr. Hallam, in his valuable work on the middle ages, says that the custom is met with under the first Merovingian kings in France.^b It was revived by Charlemagne.^c It was established by the laws of the Alemanni, or Suabians, and also of the Lombards,^d and was always popular in Germany. Otho II. established it in all disputes

^a Mr. D'Israeli, in an article on "The Trials and Proofs of Guilt in Superstitious Ages," reminds the reader that Voltaire mentions a secret for undergoing the trial by boiling water; that late travellers in the East have confirmed his statement that some dervises, and even some jugglers who have been seen in Europe, can hold red-hot iron between their teeth; and he suggests that terms might be made with the priest, and cold iron substituted for the fiery ball.

The conjectures of Dr. Henry are unworthy of notice, for they proceed upon a misconception of important particulars prescribed by the ritual.

Montesquieu suggests that the hands of the hard-working peasant might become able to resist hot iron; and Mr. Hallam points out that there are medicaments which help to resist the action of fire upon the skin.

Mr. Sharon Turner follows on the same side; but his conjectures do not aid the explanation of this curious inquiry.

^b Hist. of Europe, &c. i. p. 186, note, citing Greg. Turon. l. vii. c. 19; l. x. c. 10.

^c Montesq. Esprit des Lois, l. xxviii. c. 18.

^d Hallam, Hist. of Europe, *ut sup.* i. 186; and he cites Baluz, t. i. p. 80, and Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. t. ii. c. 65, from whom it appears that Luitprand, King of the Lombards, says in one of his laws: "Incerti sumus de iudicio Dei: et quosdam audivimus per pugnam sine iustâ causâ suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostræ Longobardorum, legem impiam vetare non possumus."

relating to real property;^a and there is a famous case where the right of inheritance by the son of a deceased elder child in preference to his uncle in succession to his grandfather's estate was decided by this extraordinary mode of trial. The "Ornest," or trial by battle, was of very remote origin in the kingdoms of the North of Europe, where it was practised under the name of "Holmgang," from the custom of fighting these duels on a small island, or holm.^b Selden derives the original of this custom from the Longobardi, or Lombards; and, as we have seen, it spread over the continent of Europe. Among the Danes "all controversies took this for their touchstone, until (continues Selden) King Poppo, a Christian (thinking wronged Vulcan to be a better judge than wronging Mars), by new introduction of the fiery ordeal, made thereof abrogation."^c But the Church deprecated the custom. Pope Nicholas I. forbade the Emperor Lothair to try his wife's suspected chastity by the appointed combat of two elected champions;^d other pontiffs condemned that mode of trial; and, lastly, the Council of Trent inhibited the practice.^e

Selden thinks it not easy to prove the use of this custom in England before the Norman Conquest,^f though Verstegan, treating of the Saxon manners, numbers the camp-fight, from whence are derived our English names of Kemp and Champion for a combat-fighter,^g as one of the four ordeals which among that people cleared or condemned as mute judges. Olaus Wormius affirms that the Danes, laying aside

^a When the Jewish rabbins had to decide upon such disputes between parties, neither of whom could produce evidence to substantiate his right, they terminated the dispute by the result of single combat. So the capitularies of Dagobert say, that if two neighbours dispute about the boundaries of their possessions, a piece of turf of the contested land is to be brought before the judge; the rival claimants, touching it with their weapons, are to call on God as witness of their claims; after which, victory is to decide the right.

Otho II. in a conference with Conrad, King of Burgundy, and with Italian lords, held at Verona in A.D. 988, made a law that disputes touching inheritance, or relating to fiefs, should be decided by combat; and the clergy were to be subject to the same law, but were to be allowed to fight by champion.

^b For the judicial combats, as also for common athletic exercises, an amphitheatrical circus of rude stones was formed. "Quaedam [saxa] circos claudabant, in quibus gigantes et pugiles duello strenue decertabant." Ol. Worm. p. 62. Again: "Nec mora, circuaturs campus, milite circus stipatur, concurrunt pugiles." Ibid. p. 65. Circles of this kind are yet to be seen in Cornwall, a county still famous for athletic exercises.

^c Selden, "Duello." Lond. 12mo. 1610.

^d Ibid. p. 39.

^e Concil. Trident. Sess. 9, can. 19, par. 2.

^f Seld. "Duello," ut sup. p. 41.

^g Jocelin of Brakelond, in an episode to his Domestic History of the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, (published by the Camden Society,) relates that Henry of Essex, a powerful nobleman, being accused of treason by Robert of Montfort, and denying the accusation, met his adversary in *camp-fight* in a certain island hard by the abbey. This combat was fought in 1163. The accused was vanquished but not killed, and became a monk in that abbey.

He relates also that one Ketel, who held as a free tenant of the cellarer of St. Edmund's, and dwelt

that sanguinary method of deciding controversies (namely, the appeal to arms), which had long been exercised by them, adopted in England the trial by jury of twelve men.^a And William le Rouille d'Alençon, in his preface to the Old Graund Customier du Normandie, makes the Norman customs, amongst which the combat is one, to owe their origin to England rather than the English to Normandy.^b But the laws of the Saxon kings which make such frequent mention of the fiery trials and the ordeals by water, are silent as to the judicial combat; nor do the historian monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries refer to any instances of its use in England before the Conquest. In the laws of William the Conqueror, however, it is decreed that if a Frenchman appeal an Englishman of perjury, murder, theft, manslaughter, or robbery, "*Anglus se defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut iudicio ferri, aut duello.*"^c And it soon came to be resorted to in civil cases also, the Normans supposing, says Dugdale, "that a certain divine justice did attend those sharp encounters." But in writs of right to land King Henry II. gave to the person challenged the option of defending his title in that way, or of putting it on trial by the oath of twelve men chosen out of the neighbourhood as in the times of the Saxons, which trial was then and since called the trial by great assize; "and this," the learned Ranulph de Glanvil says, "is a royal benefit vouchsafed to the people through the King's clemency, upon consultation had with his nobles, whereby in tenderness of life men might decline that doubtful issue of battle, and try the right to their freehold that way."^d

However, of combats in civil causes relating to land, the learned Selden remarks without the gate, was charged with theft, and being vanquished in camp-fight was hanged. The burgesses murmured at this, alleging that if the accused had happened to dwell within the borough he need not have fought, but might have acquitted himself by the oaths of his neighbours according to their privilege. The abbot thereupon (A.D. 1198) granted that malefactors taken upon the fee of the cellarer should nevertheless be tried by the portmanemot, or assembly of the borough. Such was the privilege of the citizens of London so early as the reign of Henry I. See ante, p. 283.

The appellation "Kemp" is Saxon, "cempa," a soldier. See Lye's Dictionary, *in voce*. In the form "campio" it occurs in Domesday. The word is probably derived from "campus," as the place for meetings in arms. So, labour performed in the field, as to reap, is in the North called "to kemp."

^a Ol. Worm. Mon. Danicorum, lib. i. cap. 10. To the Danes Olaus Magnus derives it from the Goths—"Expurgatio in iudicio duodecim legalium hominum," he says, "per Gothos in Italia degentes, vetusto tempore observabatur; et hodierno die in Gothicis regnis observatur."

^b His words are transcribed by Selden, *ut sup.* p. 41.

^c "Accusato," says Ranulph de Glanvil, Justiciar under Henry II. "*per omnia in curia legitime negante, tunc per duellum solet placitum terminari,*" &c. lib. xiv. c. 1.

^d Glanvil, l. 2, c. 7. So Bracton tells us that the defendant "*habeat electionem, utrum se ponere velit super patriam, vel non, vel defendendi se per corpus suum.*" lib. 3, Tract. de Coron. c. 21.

that he has not read of any earlier than that combat in the reign of King Richard I. the subject of which was a knight's fee in Croston, Wilts, demanded by Emma de Peri from William Basset. And yet in a writ of right, when the tenant pleaded the general issue, viz. that he had more right to hold than the demandant to recover, the wager of battle which the demandant offered by the body of his freeman was the only mode of decision from the time of the Conquest until the introduction of the grand assize,^a a peculiar species of trial by jury, in concurrence with it, giving the tenant his choice of either one or the other. In criminal causes we find that there are many instances of the judicial combat on record before the reign of Richard I. So, in the book of the Life and Miracles of St. Godric (the hermit saint of Finchale, who lived early in the twelfth century), there is a curious account of a combat fought on the Palace Green at Durham between an agent of the Bishop, who was accused of having plundered his master, and another individual, in which the accused was defeated and killed.^b So also Reginald of Durham, who wrote in the reign of Henry II. affords a valuable instance of purgation by combat.^c And even in civil causes fines were paid for the privilege of deciding controversies by the duel or combat in the 28th, 30th, and 31st Henry II.^d In the instance of combat as to the right of inheritance of land awarded in the reign of Richard I. and alluded to by Selden as the most ancient instance of combat in such a cause that he had met with, the demandant offered to prove her right by her freeman as champion.^e

^a Blackstone's Comm. ed. Stephens, iv. 413, in note.

^b *Libellus de Vita et Mir. S. Godrici*, curante Rev. Jos. Stevenson, p. 189—191. This very learned and admirable edition of a valuable work is one of the recent publications of the Surtees Society.

A man charged with a crime professes his innocence before the proper tribunal, and his readiness to wage battle in proof of his assertion. As a preliminary step he goes to the church of Norham (his parish church), to take the necessary oath of innocence upon a cross made of the wood of a table upon which St. Cuthbert had been in the habit of eating his refectory, and upon which all the neighbouring people were accustomed to swear when an oath was required. The place of duel was called Midhop (the middle hill), the weapon was a lance, and Swain, the priest of Fishwick, on the opposite side of the Tweed, was an eye-witness. The accused, however, committed perjury, and was slain in the combat. *Reg. Dunelm. Libellus, &c. cap. LVII.*

Madox's Hist. Excheq. 66, 71. In the same work is a notice of a recovery of land decided by this process, p. 294. See also Dugd. Monast. new ed. iii. 306.

Plac. Mich. 6 Ric. I. r. 3. And see Selden's "Duello," *ut supra*, p. 72.

In 34 Hen. III. Agnes de Rutelsdon, wife of Adam de Rutelsdon, impleaded Richard de Reynes for the fourth part of a fee in Overstrand, in the county of Norfolk. Richard had released it to Roger de Herlebirge for 80 marks of silver, and the latter was called to warrant the title. A combat was fought between him and a freeman on behalf of Agnes the demandant, and afterwards the parties came to an agreement. Blount's

Many instances of this method of trial in England during the reigns of Richard I. John, and Henry III. in both criminal and civil suits, are to be found in that very valuable publication of the Record Commissioners, the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*.^a To give the particulars of those cases would be to extend this paper greatly beyond its prescribed length; but some few illustrative cases in the subsequent reigns may be briefly mentioned in a note.^b Instances are found in almost every reign, from the

Tenures, *ut sup.* citing Blomefield's *Hist. Norf.* fol. ed. iii. p. 331. See also the instance, temp. Edw. I. mentioned by Selden in his "Duello," *ut sup.* p. 77.

^a See p. 7. *Duellum inter virum et mulierem*, temp. Ric. I. r. 27, p. 31. *Inter clericum et laicum*, Mich'as 2 Joh. r. 24; pt. 2, pp. 86, 96, 122, 124. It is offered by the body of a freeman, 6 Ric. I. p. 4, and 1 Joh. p. 22.

Rex Johannes mandavit Justic' de Banco q'd certa duella vadiata coram eis de roberia coram ipso Rege ponantur, quia ea vult videre, Mich'as 2 Joh. r. 3. p. 27. See also pp. 31, 32, 38, 62, 91.

"Et dies datus partibus ubicumq' Justic' itin' in com' Surr' et tunc venient armati." Pasch. 25 Hen. III. Essex, r. 5, p. 116. See also p. 83, Mich'as 13 Joh. r. 7, pp. 66, 67. In the 4th John, parties are to proceed in the duello, "according to the customs of England." Pasch. 4 Joh. Line. r. 7, p. 39. A person appealed of larceny is acquitted on finding sureties, the appellor having failed to appear on the day fixed for the combat, 34 Hen. III. p. 127. See also pp. 107 and 334; the latter an instance in 12 Edw. II.

^b In a suit in 22 Edw. I. A.D. 1294, between William de Vesey and John Fitz Thomas, for defamatory words, trial by combat was offered and admitted by the judge, Walter de la Hay, escheator of the King, and keeper of his office of Chief Justice in Ireland. The wager of combat was accepted before the combat was judicially awarded, and this was contrary to the custom of the realm; whereupon the King's writ issued to William de Estden, his treasurer in Ireland, Robert Bagod, and the said Walter de la Hay; and the trial was removed before the King at Westminster, where, on the day appointed,—*"venit predictus Willielmus eques armatus armis militaribus, viz. cum dextrario, cooperturo, lancea, scuto, cultello, lorica, et cum aliis armis militaribus."* And the aforesaid John was called, but came not. The combatant who did appear prepared, desired that, if he had more or fewer arms than he ought, he might lessen or increase them accordingly. The whole record is in Rot. Parl. i. pp. 127—133.

The prover in an appeal of felony was assigned to try by combat in Smithfield, in 42 Edw. III. Rot. Parl. ii. p. 297.

During the reign of Edw. III. an adverse claim to the manor of Hawkeslawe, in Northumberland, which had been confirmed to the prior and monks of Tynemouth in that county, was to their great distress made by a powerful neighbouring lord, Sir Gerard de Woderington. Thomas de la Mere, then prior, defended the suit at law. Sir Thomas de Colvill, a valiant knight who had served with Edward "the Black Prince," came into court during the trial, and suddenly offered to become champion for the prior, if a combat should be awarded. "But," says the Chronicler, "none durst encounter him to try if the cause of the adversary were just, whereupon the prior's enemies being out of heart, he gained the termination that he wished." MS. Cott. Claud. E. iv. fo. 232, seq. published in Gibson's *History of Tynemouth*, ii. cxviii.

Touching championship, it may be mentioned here, that Selden refers to a deed made in 42 Hen. III. whereby one Henry de Ferneberg, "*dictus marescallus*," bound himself to the Abbat of Glastonbury to be his champion at all times, for certain manors, against the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of Bath and Wells, and against any champions chosen by them, "*pro triginta marcis sterlingorum*." The champions were wont to be

reign of Henry II. to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which the trial by combat was resorted to in England for the decision as well of criminal accusations as demands of civil right.^a The wager of battle, which seems to have remained a part of English

sent to several churches to invoke the divine aid through the intercession of saints there honoured, to their victory, and the champions were to find pledges for their due appearance. Seld. *Duello*, 75, 76.

In 1355, Robert de Kellaw, formerly sacrist of Coldingham, cleared himself of an accusation "*pro asportatione septemviginti librarum de bonis Cellæ.*" Vide *Cartæ Priorum et Conventus Dunelm.* ii. In 1362 we have "*Literæ testimoniales super purgatione Willelmi de Bamburgh Prioris de Coldingham accusati de Incontinentia.*" *Cartæ Episcop. S. Andr.* ii. Willelmi (V.) Landells.

It was enacted in 6 Ric. II. that in an appeal of ravishment the defendant shall not be admitted to wage battle, but shall be tried by inquest. Rot. Parl. iii. p. 140.

In cases of treason, proof by combat was disallowed in 11th Ric. II. Rot. Parl. iii. p. 238.

But, in the reign of Elizabeth, two near kinsmen of the family of O'Connor having charged each other with sundry treasons in the late rebellion, and desiring a trial by combat, fought by consent of the lords justices of Ireland, in the court of the Castle of Dublin, according to the customary laws in such cases of England, each combatant in his shirt only, and armed with sword and target, when the appellant disarmed and cut off the head of the defendant, and presented it to the lords justices, who thereupon acquitted him. Collins's *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, vol. iv. p. 309. The award and presence of the lords justices might seem to give to this combat the character of a trial for purgation from the charge of treason; but it was probably analogous to a proceeding in the court of chivalry (like that of the Marshal of England) for avenging an imputation of dishonour. Amongst the complaints exhibited against the unfortunate Richard II. in 1399, we find him charged with causing his subjects to be taken before the Constable and Marshal of England. "*In qua curia dicti ligei accusati ad aliud responsum admitti non poterant nisi respondendo se in nullo fore culpabiles, et per eorum corpora et non aliter se justificarent et defenderent, non obstante quod accusatores et appellatores eorum essent juvenes, fortes, et sani, et illi accusati senes et impotentes, mutulati vel infirmi.*" Rot. Parl. iii. p. 420.

^a One of the latest instances in which trial by battle was claimed and awarded on a demand of right to land, occurs in the reign of Elizabeth. The matter in question was a manor and demesne lands in Kent. Simon Low and John Kyme were plaintiffs, and Thomas Paramore defendant. He claimed to defend by battle, and the plaintiffs accepted his challenge. He alleged that he had purchased the land from a person under age, who, on coming of age, conveyed to the plaintiffs. The champions met before three of the judges of the Common Pleas sitting within the lists in Tothill Fields, Westminster; and, after the formal ceremonies had been performed, and in the presence of several thousand persons, proclamation was made for the appearance of the plaintiffs, who, however, had come to an arrangement with the defendant, and did not appear. The defendant's champion was one Thorne, who is described as a big, broad, strong-set fellow. The plaintiffs' champion was one Nailor, master of defence, and servant to the Earl of Leicester, a slender man, and not so tall as the other. He was dressed in a doublet, and "*galey gascoigne breeches all of crimson sattin, cut and laced; a hat of black velvet, with a red feather and band, drums and fifes playing before him.*" Thorne's gauntlet was borne before Nailor on a sword's point; and his baton (a staff of an ell long, made taper-wise, tipped with horn,) with his shield of hard leather, was borne after him. The Lord Chief Justice, after rehearsing the proceedings in the suit, and for default of the plaintiffs' appearance, adjudged the land to Paramore, and dismissed the champion, acquitting their sureties. *Antiq. Repertory*, vol. i. p. 181.

law only as a concomitant of the law of appeals in felonies and crimes against the person, was finally abolished by statute 59 Geo. III. c. 46. In a case which had then recently occurred, public feeling had been startled by finding the wager of battle still a part of English law and usage. The question of its abolition had been previously agitated in Parliament between 1620 and 1641, and battles were fought in 1631 and 1638.^a

The long prevalence of this custom in England seems to show that the trial by combat was regarded as a privilege by the nobles; it was, undoubtedly, a usage that was in keeping with the martial spirit of the Norman nobility, and suited to warlike and turbulent times. Other causes, such as systematic perjury by witnesses, and the want of legal discrimination by judges, contributed to maintain the judicial combat in France for a long period, until wisdom, and equity, and gentler manners took the place of barbarous contest.^b But this mode of trial was judicially disused in France long before it was disused in England, for after the times of St. Louis^c it became at the discretion of the litigant parties in all civil suits to adopt the law of the establishments or to resort to the combat; and the equity of the new code before long obtained the preference, especially as the trial by combat experienced the uniform opposition of the clergy.^d The same superiority of just and settled rules over fortune and violence which had prevailed in the ecclesiastical courts, and extended their jurisdiction, now came to be manifested in the royal courts of justice. Philip IV. restricted combat to capital accusations unsupported by testimony.

^a See Notes of Parliamentary Proceedings in relation to trial by battle, between 1620 and 1641, in Kendall's *Argument on Trial by Battle and Appeal*. (8vo. Lond. 1818) 135 *seq.*

In 1632 an anonymous writer published a work, entitled "*Anti Duello, or a treatise in which is discussed the lawfulness and unlawfulness of single combats*," &c. Lond. 4to. The author was John d'Espagne, a French Protestant divine.

^b Hallam, *Hist. of Eur. in the Middle Ages*, i. 187, citing Beaumanoir, who wrote in the reign of Philip the Bold. In the *assizes de Jérusalem*, a monument of customs two hundred years earlier than the age of Beaumanoir, we find, says Mr. Hallam, little mention of any other mode of decision than that by judicial combat.

^c That incomparable prince, unable to overthrow the judicial combat, confined himself to discouraging it by the example of a wiser jurisprudence. He listened to all complaints with a kind of patriarchal simplicity. "Many times," says Joinville, "I have seen the good saint, after hearing mass in the summer season, lay himself at the foot of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes, and make us all sit round him; when those who would come and spake to him, without let of any officer; and he would ask aloud if there were any present who had suits; and, when they appeared, would bid two of his seneschals determine their cause upon the spot." Hallam, *ut supra*, 188, citing *Collection des Mémoires*, t. 1, p. 25.

^d We nevertheless find that an Abbat of Angers in A.D. 1066, offered to justify his defence to a claim of the territorial lord by the trial of the ordeal, or by combat, and to furnish a champion; but the lord, after accepting the wager of battle, agreed to waive his claim, on the abbat undertaking that the convent should pray for him, his wife, and brothers, evermore.

The custom of legal duels prevailed at Orleans even in all demands of debt.^a But Mr. Pearsall in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, recently communicated to the Society of Antiquaries,^b has made known a more curious feature of the judicial duels as practised in ancient times in Germany, for the combat judicially awarded and conducted seems to have been considered a fitting mode of settling differences between husband and wife. Mr. Pearsall says that he has not been able to find any positive record of such a combat later than A.D. 1200, when a man and his wife fought under the sanction of the civic authorities of Bale. In Germany, the combatants before battle received the holy Sacrament; in the midst of the lists a bier was placed, and by its side the accuser and the accused leaned for some time in silence before they began the contest. It would seem that the trial by battle, as practised in England, was conducted in a much more simple manner than it was under the governments of Europe in ancient times.

With regard to the rules by which these trials were governed,^c Montesquieu remarks, that as there are many wise things managed in a foolish manner, so there are many foolish things that are very wisely conducted. The reader who may desire to see an account of the solemnities preparatory to this mode of trial in England, and of the formalities observed in arming the combatants, may consult the *Origines Juridiciales* of Sir Wm. Dugdale, who^d says he has not seen any narrative so exact as that which he there gives from a codex then in Lincoln House.^e The learned Selden also, in his treatise on the *Duello*, already cited, has gone at large into these ceremonies.

If there were several plaintiffs or accusers, one was selected to prosecute the quarrel or accusation: before the combat, the relations of the combatants were warned to retire, and the people to be silent; the civil officers guarded the lists; when, in capital cases, the combat was fought by champions, the parties concerned were placed where they could not behold the conflict, and each was bound, it is said, with the cord that was to be used in his execution if his champion should be over

^a Montesq. *Esp. des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 19.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. p. 348, *seq.*

^c For these ceremonies as practised on the continent see the *Anciennes Loix Françaises* of Houard, t. i. p. 764. Mr. Hallam refers to Velly, t. 6, p. 106; *Recueil des Historiens*, t. ii. préf. p. 189; Du Cange, *encc Duellum*.

^d *Orig. Jur.* p. 68, *et seq.*

^e It is in Norman French, and describes the proceedings on a plea before the justices itinerant at Northampton, in 3 Edw. III. between Thomas FitzHugh de Staunton, and the prior of Lantony, for the advowson of the church of Harlaston in Northamptonshire.

come. The nobleman fought with all his arms of attack and defence:^a the plebeian on foot, with his club and target. The same were the weapons of the champions to whom women and ecclesiastics were permitted to intrust their rights. If the combat was intended to ascertain a civil right, the vanquished party not only forfeited his claim, but paid a fine. If he fought by proxy, his champion was liable to have his hand struck off, a regulation which may have been necessary to obviate the corruption of hired defenders. In criminal cases the defendant suffered on defeat the punishment which the law awarded to his offence. Amongst the rules for governing these trials, we find oaths and regulations which seem to indicate that the notion of spells and enchantments, so long and widely cherished among all ranks of the people, had found its way into the ritual of these judicial trials, as it afterwards did into that of chivalry.^b Such a law is found so early as in the code of the Lombards; for if one of the two parties, or the champions, was discovered to have any herbs fit for enchantment about him, the judge was to order them to be taken from him. The Goths, we must remember, came from the region of Colchis, and the country of Medea; a region and country famed for witchcraft and incantation.^c In all judicial combats in England, each champion attested on oath that he did not carry about him any herb, spell, or enchantment.^d It is impossible to give any further account of these oaths and regulations within the scope of the present paper; but these rules, as well as those which relate to the joining of issue between the parties, may be seen in the authorities cited in the note.^e One rule applicable to trial by battle on a writ of right is curious, and, by the common law, the combat

^a The combat seems to have been performed between persons of the rank of gentlemen, in England, with lance, sword, and dagger, and sometimes with axes, and by persons under that rank with staves. Bondmen on the estates of the Church were, out of respect to her, to be put upon an equality with a free man of the laity.

^b See Hickes's account of the silver Dano-Saxon shield dug up in the Isle of Ely, having a runic inscription which was supposed to have the magical power of rendering those who bore it in combat invulnerable. *Thesaur. Dissert. Epist.* p. 187.

^c Woden himself was not only a warrior but a magician.

^d *Dugd. Orig. Jurisd.* p. 82. The oath of the combatant ran:—"This heare you, justices, that I have this day neither eate, drunke, nor have upon me either bone, stone, nor glasse, nor any inchantment, sorcerie, or witchcraft, wherethrough the power of the Word of God may be inleased" (from the French word *enlassé*, i. e. intangled or ensnared) "or diminished, and the devil's power increased, and that my appeal is true," &c.

^e *Dugd. Orig. Jur.* 68, *seq.* Selden's *Duello*, and Kendall's *Trial by Battle*, *ut sup. passim*. *Stat. de Westm.* primer edit. ann. 3 Edw. I.; Coke, 2d Inst. (edit. 5) p. 246, and authorities there cited. See also *Rot. Pat.* 55 Hen. III. m. 3; *Rot. Plac.* 15 Edw. I. r. 8, Norf. MS. tracts on duels may be seen in MS. Cott. Tiber. E. viii. fo. 50b, 190; Nero, D. vi. 82; Vitell. C. iv. 129; Titus, C. i. *passim*; iv. *passim*. A representation of the combat before the King and court is in Roy. MS. 14 E. 3, in Mus. Brit.

was fought between sunrise and sunset; the champions were not bound to fight after the stars appeared. The champions were to come into court before the trial bare-headed, ungirt, uncloaked, and bare-footed, and the court demanded of the serjeants if they knew any reason why the champions were not fit for the combat.^a

Combats fought according to the laws of arms are, perhaps, not strictly within the scope of this discourse. But the reader may be referred to those memorable instances in which combat was offered by John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, in 1 Richard II. to such as had aspersed his fame;^b later, viz. in 1433, the Duke of Bedford offered to meet in combat whoever should accuse him of being the cause of the losses in France.^c The Dukes of Lancaster and Brunswick agreed to decide their differences by combat before John King of France, whereupon the lists were prepared with the solemnity of a trial by battle, but the King afterwards prevented the combat. Again, the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk having met to decide their memorable dispute according to the laws of chivalry, they were interdicted by the King, and banished in the 21st Richard II.^d So also trial by combat in the dispute between the Dukes of Gloucester and Burgundy in 3rd Henry VI. was expressly prohibited,^e for curious reasons, which may be seen at length in the fourth volume of the Rolls of Parliament, p. 277. Other examples are mentioned in Selden's *Duello*.^f

We have now taken a rapid view of the extraordinary methods of terminating litigation which were relied upon by our unlettered ancestors.^g In conclusion, the writer would merely remark that, although some of these appeals to the judgment of Heaven were presumptuous in the highest degree, and founded on superstitious

^a Seld. *Duello*, *ut sup.* 70.

^b Rot. Parl. iii. p. 5.

^c Ibid. iv. 421.

^d Rot. Parl. iv. 277. Mr. Hallam remarks that duelling, in the modern sense of the word, exclusive of casual frays and single combat during war, was unknown before the sixteenth century. All single combats, whether for the decision of a civil right, the trial of a criminal accusation, or the vindication of personal honour, were anciently invested with the character of judicial trials.

^e Rot. Parl. iii. 383.

^f Seld. "*Duello*," *ut sup.* pp. 55, 70. So lately as the month of June, 1846, a duel authorised by a tribunal of honour in Prussia was fought, with swords, before the judges, in the manner of the combats of the Middle Ages. An account of it may be seen in the Times newspaper 9th July, 1846.

^g Parties litigant have still their champions, for they are justly accounted foolish if they attempt to fight their own battles now in courts of justice; but the weapons and the mode of procedure are curiously changed. Refined distinctions, legal subtlety, and learning are now weapons of conflict, and masses of statutes occupy the place of few and simple regulations.

notions, even such customs as these may be supposed to be less mischievous to society than a state of opinion which practically denies the interference and control of the Judge of all men in the troubled affairs of the world. It is true, that in criminal trials some trace of the *Judicium Dei* is preserved in the form, "God send you a good deliverance," addressed to the prisoner on trial for his life; but a superintending Providence is now seldom recognised in the legislative acts and contentious proceedings of men. Coleridge has well observed that "to speak gently of our forefathers is at once piety and policy. Nor let it," he says, "be forgotten, that only by making the detection of their errors the occasion of our own wisdom, do we acquire a right to censure them at all." We look back with a feeling of conscious superiority on what we deem the barbarous superstitions of our ancestors; and we may well rejoice that we live in an age when customs such as those which form the subject of this paper are no longer in force. But let the ordeals of our ancestors warn us to prepare for that ordeal which we all must undergo, before a Judge from whom no secrets are hid. Let us be warned to strive for that innocence of life without which we cannot fail to be condemned, so that we may pass unscathed the many trials which beset us, and be found worthy of the robe of innocence, and the crown of a blessed immortality.

XXII.—*On the Existence of Municipal Privileges under the Anglo-Saxons.* By
THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. F.S.A., &c.

Read 21st and 28th January 1847.

IN the general confusion of the Middle Ages, one class of the people, the burghers or inhabitants of cities and fortified towns, alone succeeded in preserving something approaching to real independence. This independence was not, as it has become a sort of maxim in law to believe, a boon granted from the Crown by the Norman monarchs, but it was a right arising out of uninterrupted possession from a period of remote antiquity. It is by a comparison with what happened on the continent of Europe that we can best understand the manner in which such independence was preserved in our own island. An eminent French antiquary, M. Raynouard, has clearly proved that the Roman *municipia* (or civic corporations) in Gaul survived the invasions of the Barbarians, and he has traced them through various modifications in name and form, though they remained the same in spirit, under the different races of the Frankish monarchs. The more extensive researches which have since been made, under the directions of MM. Guizot and Augustin Thierry, fully confirm the opinions of Raynouard on this subject. There can be little doubt that this was equally the case in Britain, where the circumstances were precisely the same. When the Barbarians began to settle in the Roman provinces, the fortified towns, often obstinately defended, opposed the greatest difficulty to the invaders. Some that were taken by storm were immediately plundered and destroyed; but a few only of the larger Roman towns in England appear to have experienced this fate, such as Verulamium (near St. Alban's), Uriconium (Wroxeter), Segontiacum (Silchester), and one or two others, which never revived from their ruins. In fact, ruined towns at this period were seldom rebuilt; and where we find a modern city occupying the site of an ancient one, it is more than probable that it has had an uninterrupted existence. In a great number of instances, the Romano-British townsmen must have withstood long sieges, and they perhaps only yielded upon composition, by which they bought the peace of the conqueror with a sum of money and the promise of an annual tribute. The Saxon kings must soon have seen

the advantage of such arrangements; and they had no great interest in interfering with the internal municipal constitution, which would thus be only eventually modified, as the blood of the new population became mixed with that of the old, and the turbulent freedom of the Saxon character took the place of the more orderly spirit of the Roman imperial laws. We often find these two sentiments at strife in the history of medieval towns. We must also bear in mind that these invaders had had long intercourse with the Romans, and that their chiefs, when they established themselves as kings in the conquered provinces, aped Roman manners and Roman politics.

Perhaps it may be well briefly to state that the Roman *municipium* consisted, like the medieval town, of the people at large and the *curia* or governing body. The members of the *curia* were called *curiales*, *decuriones*, or senators; the rank was hereditary, the son of a *curialis* becoming a member of the *curia* by right of birth. Persons who were not of senatorial birth might, however, be elected into that body. The *curiales* received various emoluments, and possessed important privileges; they alone had the right of electing the magistrates and officers of the *municipium*. These officers were, first, two *duumviri*, or chief magistrates, who answered to the consuls at Rome, and whose authority extended over the *civitas*, or territory surrounding and depending upon the town. Sometimes the *municipium* had only one *duumvir*. The *duumviri* were chosen from among the *curiales*, no person not a member of the senatorial body being capable of election to that office. They were obliged to accept office, if elected; a *curialis* refusing to act as *duumvir*, or concealing himself to escape election, was punished by confiscation of his property. After the *duumviri*, a certain number of officers, termed *principales*, were elected out of the body of the *curia*, who were the administrators of the municipal affairs, and formed the permanent council of the *curia*. The *duumviri* were in general elected yearly; the *principales* continued in office during fifteen years. Besides these, there were different inferior officers, equally elected by the *curia*. The whole body of the citizens—the *plebs* (the *menu peuple*, *minutus populus*, of the middle ages), elected an important officer called the *defensor civitatis*, who was not to be a member of the *curia*, and whose duty it was to protect the populace against the senatorial body, when the latter acted unjustly or tyrannically; he was to the *municipium* what the tribune had been in Rome. There were also corporations or colleges of the different trades in the Roman *municipia*, who chose their patrons among the senators or *curiales*.^a

^a A more detailed account of the Roman municipal constitution and laws will be found in Raynouard's *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*.

The internal government of the Roman towns was thus in principle a decided oligarchy. In Italy, where, in the mixture, the spirit of the Roman institutions prevailed most over the barbarian population, the cities, relieved from the imperial power to which they had been previously subjected, became in the middle ages powerful republics, and the *curia* was the prototype of those bodies of patrician princes, whose personal feuds led in the end to their subversion. In other parts of Europe, amid the general wreck, some powerful commercial cities retained a complete independence, and became known as free cities, and some of them have continued so to the present day. In France, Raynouard has traced the existence of the municipal officers by their original titles, even the *defensor civitatis*, during several centuries after the fall of the Roman power. We have unfortunately few documents which throw any light on the condition of the towns in England during the Saxon period of our history; but we cannot help recognizing in the Roman *curia* the origin of the elective body in our medieval towns, the *probi homines* or *boni homines* of the older records, the burgesses, who, like the *curiales* or senators, obtained their rank by birth or election. The *duumviri* answered to the two *ballivi* or bailiffs, or, as the Saxons called them, *præfecti* or *reeves*, who were the chief magistrates in most of our medieval boroughs. The *principales* were the *scabini* (*échevins*) of the continental towns, in England generally known by the Saxon name of aldermen. We might go on to point out a number of minor points of resemblance between the constitutions of the *municipium* and of the medieval borough at the time when we become fully acquainted with the domestic affairs of the latter; but my object on the present occasion is to gather together the few circumstances which have fallen under my observation, tending to throw a light upon the condition of these boroughs under the Anglo-Saxons, when they are commonly supposed to have had no corporate existence.

The few historical facts relating to the condition of our towns during the Saxon period, preserved by the older annalists, exhibit them in a state of importance and independence, which they could hardly have reached, had it not been derived from municipal constitutions already existing when the Saxons settled in this country, and which is observed most distinctly in those places which are known to have occupied the sites of the more powerful Roman towns.^b All traditions (for our history of the first Saxon invasion is nothing more than tradition, and that very vague,) represent East Kent as having been occupied by the Saxons under a pacific arrange-

^b It may be observed that the destruction of Roman towns is rarely mentioned in our earlier historians. The Saxon Chronicle speaks of the entire destruction of Andredescester in 491 as though it were a remarkable occurrence.

ment, when they took Durovernum, or Canterbury, as their capital. Recent discoveries show that the Saxons not only continued to inter their dead on the site of the Roman burial-places around the ancient city down to the time of their conversion, but that they afterwards erected Christian churches on the same spots; one of the strongest proofs we could have of the gradual change from Roman to Saxon in that city. We find Canterbury at an early period governed by a prefect, or reeve, who gives land to the monks; and in a later charter confirming his grant, dated in 805, there is a remarkable distinction between the *villa* or town, and the *civitas* or corporate body, such as we might naturally expect in the transmission of the Roman principle to the Saxon people.^c

Rochester (*Hrofescester*) derived its Saxon name, according to Bede, from one of its early rulers or prefects named Hrof, who, for some circumstance or other, had probably gained greater notoriety than most persons of his class and rank.^d In the reign of king Ethelred (in the latter half of the tenth century), on account of some dissensions with the bishop, the king besieged this city with an army, but, being unable to take it, he in revenge laid waste the surrounding and dependent district.^e We here find the body corporate of the city taking part with its bishop, engaged in open war with the king, and successfully resisting him. The anger of the king is said to have been finally appeased by a sum of money given by the archbishop of Canterbury (Dunstan).

Dover occupies the site of the Roman *Dubris*. It is not often mentioned by our earlier historians, because Richborough (*Rutupiæ*) was the more usual port in landing from France; but an incident occurred in the reign of Edward the Confessor which throws some light on the position of its municipal body. In 1048, Eustache Count of Boulogne, Edward's brother-in-law, visited the king at Gloucester, where he was then holding his court. On his return, when at a short distance from Dover, Eustache and his men put on their armour, and, entering the town in a rude manner, they proceeded to take forcible possession of the lodgings which pleased them best.^f This was a right which the feudal barons of the continent claimed under the

^c Hanc prænominatam terram quidam homo bonus nomine Aldhun, qui in hac regali *villa* inlustris *civitatis* præfectus fuit, pro intuitu internæ mercedis fratribus nostris ad mensam tradidit. Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum, vol. i. p. 231.

^d Quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofescester cognominat. Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3. In another place, lib. ii. c. 6, Bede calls the city, in Latin, *civitas Hrofi*.

^e Osborn's Life of Dunstan, in the Act. SS. Benedict. Sæc. V. p. 683. W. Malmsh. de Gest. Reg. p. 63. (Ed. Savile.)

^f Ða hi þider comon, þa woldon hi innian hi þær heom sylfan ge-licode. Sax. Chron. From the circumstance of their arming before they came to the town, we might be led to suspect that Eustache and his men had had a previous dispute with the townsmen of Dover on this subject, perhaps when they first came to England.

title of the *droit de gîte*, and which was always expressly provided against in the English municipal charters subsequent to the Conquest. One of Eustache's men went to the dwelling of a townsman, and wounded the householder because he refused to admit him. The latter seized his own weapon and slew the intruder. "Then," to use the words of the contemporary Saxon chronicler, "Eustache got upon his horse, and his companions upon theirs, and they went to the householder and slew him within his own dwelling; and then went up towards the burgh, and slew as well within as without more than twenty men. And the townsmen slew nineteen of the count's men, and wounded they knew not how many, and Eustache escaped with only a few companions." Eustache returned to the king, gave a partial account of the affair, and made him so "wroth with the townsmen," that he ordered Godwin, in whose earldom of Kent the occurrence had taken place, to proceed with an army against the men of Dover. But earl Godwin, knowing that Eustache had begun the quarrel, espoused the cause of the townsmen, and an irruption of the Welsh seems to have turned the king's attention in another direction. Four years after this, in 1052, count Eustache again visited king Edward, and on his landing at Dover the old feud was renewed. "Then," says the Chronicler, "went his men inconsiderately after lodgings, and slew a certain man of the town, and then another, until seven lay slain. And much harm was then done on both sides, both with horse and with weapons, until the people gathered together, and then Eustache's men fled away till they came to the king at Gloucester." On this second occasion, Godwin more openly took part with the townsmen of Dover, and, raising a considerable army, marched towards the king, demanded that count Eustache and his men should be delivered into his hands. We have here a town virtually claiming a very important municipal right, and defending it by force; while the king proceeds, not judicially against the individuals who had offended, but against the whole corporate body, as though it were an independent state.^g We learn also from the Domesday Survey, that in this same reign the burgesses of Dover had purchased certain immunities of the king, for the condition of serving him with twenty ships for fifteen days in the year.^h

We have another instance of municipal responsibility in the case of Thetford in

^g The above version of the story is taken from the Saxon Chronicle as printed in the text and in the notes of the Collection of Historians edited by order of the Record Commission (but not yet published), which appears to be the best authority. The subsequent historians have confounded the two riots, and made only one. See Florence of Worcester, sub an. 1051; W. Malmsh. de Gest. Reg. p. 81, &c.

^h Burgenses dederunt xx. naves regi una vice in anno ad xv. dies; et in unaquaque navi erant homines xx. et unus. Hoc faciebant pro eo quod eis perdonaverat sacam et socam.

Norfolk. In 952, the people of that town were engaged in hostilities with the monks (probably in defence of some of their privileges), in the course of which they slew their abbot Eadhelm. King Eadred appears to have taken no steps to discover the persons immediately concerned in this act of violence, but he sent an army, and caused "a great slaughter" to be made of the townsmen.ⁱ

In 1040, king Hardacnut imposed a very heavy tribute on his English subjects. Two of the king's *huscarles* were sent to enforce its payment by the citizens of Worcester, who rose against them and slew them in the cathedral. The king in revenge sent an army to ravage the neighbourhood and destroy the city, but the inhabitants had taken shelter with their most valuable effects in an island in the river Severn, and there they set their persecutors at defiance.^k We here find a town asserting its right to exemption from extraordinary taxation; another of the municipal privileges guaranteed by the charters of a later period.

The city of Exeter affords a remarkable instance of the manner in which the Roman municipal institutions were preserved. In other towns the Romano-British population gradually disappeared; but we learn from William of Malsbury that, down to the reign of Athelstan, Exeter was inhabited by English and Welsh, who lived on an equality of rights (*æquo jure*^l), which they could only have done by virtue of an original composition with the Saxon conquerors. It may be cited as a proof of the correctness of this view of the mode in which the Roman corporations outlived the shock of invasion, and thus became a chief instrument in the civilization of subsequent ages, that even the Danes, in their predatory excursions, often entered into similar compositions with the Saxon towns, as with Canterbury in 1009. It may be added, that there is no greater evidence of the independence and strength of the towns under the Saxons, than the circumstance that, while the king and his earls, with the forces of the counties, were not able to make a successful stand against the Danish invaders, it frequently happened that a town singly drove a powerful army from its gates, and the townsmen sometimes issued forth and defeated the enemy in a pitched battle. The Saxon Chronicle furnishes many examples. In 855, the townsmen of Rochester made a brave defence against the Danes, till they were relieved by Alfred. The inhabitants of Exeter opposed the invaders with success on several occasions; the townsmen (*burg-ware*) beat them

ⁱ Saxon Chron. sub an.

^k Saxon Chron. Florence of Worcester.

^l Illos [Cornewallenses] quoque impigre adorsus, ab Excestra, quam ad id temporis æquo cum Angis jure inhabitant, cedere compulit. W. Malsb. de Gest. Reg. p. 50.

in battle in 895. In 918, the men of Hereford and Gloucester went out, and defeated the Danes in a pitched battle. In 921, the Danes were beaten by the men of Bedford, and also by the inhabitants of Maldon in Essex. In 1001, the people of Exmouth drove away the Danish army which came to attack that town. When the Saxons began to obtain the ascendancy by the abilities of the family of Alfred, we find the towns revolting from the Danes in a manner which can hardly leave a doubt of their acting as free corporate bodies. The Saxon Chronicle under the year 918, speaking of Ethelfleda, tells us, "in the early part of this year, by God's help, she got into her power by treaty the burgh of Leicester, and the greater part of the army which owed obedience thereto (*þe þær-to hyrde*) became subject to her; and the people of York (*Eforwicingas*) had also covenanted with her, some having given a pledge, and some having bound themselves by oath, that they would be at her command." And again, in the same year, "Thurecytel, the eorl, sought king Edward to be his lord, and all the *holdas* and almost all the chief men who owed obedience to Bedford, and also many of those who owed obedience to Northampton." In the year following, "those who owe obedience to Bedford" are called *burgwara*, burgesses. In 921, "the army which owed obedience to Cambridge" chose king Edward to be their lord.

We can trace the power and independence of the citizens of London from the earliest period of our annals. We have no reason for believing that this city, which was a powerful commercial port, was ever taken and ravaged by the Saxon invaders. It appears to have afforded a shelter to the people of West Kent, when that district was overrun by the Saxons in their first inroads.^m At the end of the sixth century, London was considered as the capital of the East Saxons, although Ethelbert king of Kent appointed Mellitus to the bishopric, and built there for him the church of St. Paul.ⁿ At that period it was still a rich trading town,^o and it appears to have experienced no check to its prosperity. After the relapse of the East Saxons to idolatry, the Londoners refused to receive back their bishop, and neither the king of Kent nor the two East Saxon kings had power to force him upon them.^p About the year 635, Wini bought of Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, the see of the city of London, and remained bishop thereof till his death. At a subsequent period Archbishop Theodore appointed bishops of the East Saxons "in the city of London," and Essex has been ever since included in the diocese. In 679, we hear of Fries-

^m See the Saxon Chron. sub an. 457.

ⁿ Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3.

^o Et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium. Bede, ib.

^p Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4.

land merchants in London, and it appears to have been then a great mart of slaves.⁹ A comparison of these different circumstances gives us some grounds for believing that, although nominally the metropolis of the kings of the East Saxons, London was in the fullest sense of the word a free-trading town, neutral to a certain degree between the kingdoms around, although each king exercised a greater or less degree of influence over it according as he was more or less powerful than his neighbour, and perhaps each had his officers there to look after the interests of his own subjects. This would explain in some degree an obscure law of the Kentish kings, Lhothhere and Eadric (673—685), made at a time when we should expect London to have been under the power of the kings of Mercia:—"If any Kentish-man buy a chattel in Lunden-wic, let him then have two or three true men to witness, or the king's *wic-reeve*. If it be afterwards claimed of the man in Kent, let him then vouch the man who sold it him to warranty, in the *wic* (town) at *the king's hall*, if he know him and can bring him to the warranty; if he cannot do that, let him prove at the altar, with one of his witnesses or with *the king's wic-reeve*, that he bought the chattel openly in the *wic*, with his own money, and then let him be paid its worth: but if he cannot prove that by lawful averment, let him give it up, and let the owner take possession of it."¹⁰ The *king's wic-reeve* appears to have been an officer of the King of Kent who exercised a jurisdiction over the Kentish men trading with or at London, or who was appointed to watch over their interests. When the different Saxon kingdoms became consolidated into one, the influence of the sole monarch over the metropolis would be of course greatly increased, but we still meet with remarkable proofs of its power and independence. Athelstan was one of the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs of England; yet under his reign, soon after the year 900, we find "the bishop and reeves, who belong to London," making in the name of the citizens laws, which were confirmed by the King (because they had reference to the whole kingdom), and are preserved in the Anglo-Saxon code. These laws prove that the body corporate of the city of London exercised an independent jurisdiction in matters which concerned themselves far beyond the limits of their own territory, and the necessity of making this power known throughout the kingdom was the cause that their laws on this subject were entered among the public laws of the land, which circumstance has led to their preservation, while every document relating to the internal government of the city at this early period has

⁹ Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 7, and lib. iv. cc. 6, 12, 22.

¹⁰ Thorpe's Anglo-Saxon Laws, p. 14. Some antiquaries have supposed, very erroneously, that *Lunden-wic* is here another name for Sandwich.

perished. These laws relate chiefly to robberies committed by strangers, to which a large commercial city was naturally exposed, and against which it could provide itself with no redress unless it could pursue the offenders to a distance. One of the clauses provides, "if it then should happen that any kin be so strong and so great, within land or without land, whether twelve-hynde or two-hynde, that they refuse us our right, and stand up in defence of a thief, that we all of us ride thereto with the reeve within whose district (*manung*) it may be; and also send on both sides to the reeves, and desire from them aid of so many men as may seem to us adequate for so great a suit, that there may be the more fear in those culpable men for our assemblage, and that we all ride thereto, and avenge our wrong, and slay the thief, and those who fight and stand with him, unless they be willing to depart from him." * The power of making a law like this, implies something like an understood agreement or treaty between a free commercial city and the states which surround it, whereby those states are allowed commercial privileges on condition of giving the citizens the right of pursuing offenders through their territories; and it agrees perfectly with the interpretation given to the earlier law of the kings of Kent.

This also explains to us why, at a very early period after the Norman Conquest, the privileges of the city of London are excepted and protected in charters given to corporate towns in far distant parts of the kingdom. In a dispute with the abbot of Bury, in the twelfth century, the citizens of London, so far from admitting (as Brady absurdly supposed), that their privileges were newly acquired from their Norman sovereigns, professed to have enjoyed them from the first foundation of their city, which they carried as far back as the time of the foundation of Rome.¹

We learn from the Saxon Chronicle that, in the Danish invasion of the year 994, "Anlaf and Swegen came to London, on the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8), with ninety-four ships; and they then continued fighting stoutly against the town, and would eke have set fire to it. But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever imagined that any townsmen (*buruhwaru*) would be able to do unto them." In 1009, the men of Canterbury bought a peace with the Danish invaders, and then, as we learn from the contemporary authority just quoted, the latter "fought oft against the town of London; but, praise be to God, that it yet stands sound, and they there ever fared ill." In 1013, King Ethelred sought shelter in London, which was besieged by Swegen: "when he came to the town," says the

* *Judicia civitatis Lundeniæ*, viii. § 2, 3. Thorpe, p. 100.

¹ Et dicebant cives Lundenienses fuisse quietos de theloneo in omni foro, et semper et ubique, per totam Angliam, a tempore quo Roma primo fundata fuit, et civitatem Lundeniæ eodem tempore fundatam. *Josceline de Brakelonde*, p. 56.

Chronicle, "the townsmen (seo burhwaru, *la bourgeoisie*, it is a collective noun in the singular number) would not submit, but held out against him with all their might." Although the Danes now overrun without opposition the rest of the kingdom, the Londoners defended the Saxon king, until at length he deserted his protectors, and then, Swegen being generally acknowledged as King of England, "the townsmen of London submitted, and delivered hostages, because they dreaded lest he should utterly undo them."⁴ When king Ethelred returned, after the death of Swegen, he was again received by the Londoners, who formed his surest defence. In 1016, Eadmund Atheling collected his forces against Cnut: "When the forces were assembled, then would it not content them, except it so were that the king were there with them, and they might have the help of the townsmen of London." As the townsmen would not go, Eadmund's army dispersed itself. On king Ethelred's death, which occurred the same year, "all the witan who were in London, and the townsmen (seo burhwaru, William of Malmsbury calls them the *proceres Londoniæ*) chose Eadmund to be king." The Danes soon afterwards laid siege to London, but the citizens again defended themselves with obstinacy, until Eadmund came and relieved them. They sustained a second siege the same year, but, after Eadmund's defeat at Assandun, "the men of London made a truce with the army."⁵

It appears from the foregoing statements of a contemporary Chronicler, that the men of London were brave and experienced warriors; but they were evidently, like the citizens of the Roman *municipium*, not liable to be called out of their own walls to fight, even when the country was on the brink of ruin by a successful invader; and the power of the monarch over them was very limited. In the course of the history I have just recited, they act in every respect as a small independent state. Another incident occurred at this period which illustrates in a remarkable degree the extent of their power. When archbishop Alfey had been slain by the Danes in 1012, the Londoners purchased his body of the murderers, and deposited it in St. Paul's cathedral. After Cnut had obtained the crown by conquest, and peace was restored, archbishop Agelnoth (Alfey's successor) applied to the king to give up the body of the martyr to the monks of Canterbury. Cnut, who was then holding his court in London, consented, but he would only undertake to get away the body by deceiving the citizens. He gave orders to his *huscarles*, or household soldiers, to disperse themselves in parties, some on the bridge and along the banks of the river, whilst others went to the gates of the city, and there raised tumults and riots.⁶ By dint

⁴ Compare W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 69, with the Saxon Chronicle.

⁵ Saxon Chronicle.

⁶ Mandans omnibus familiæ suæ militibus, quos lingua Danorum *huscarles* vocant, ut alii eorum per ex-

of promises and persuasions, the men who had the care of the body of Alfey were prevailed upon to assist in the plot, and, whilst the attention of the citizens was called to the disturbances at the gates, the sacred deposit was carried by stealth to the river and there placed in a boat, which was rowed in all haste beyond the limits of the capital, and then landed in Kent. The king stood on the bank of the Thames, and watched its progress with anxious eye, for *he was afraid of the citizens.*² When the latter discovered the trick which had been played upon them, they sent out a party in pursuit of the fugitives, who, however, had reached a place of safety before they were overtaken.³

This anecdote gives us a curious glance at London manners at the beginning of the eleventh century. About half a century after, at the entry of the Normans, we find the citizens of London again holding the same bold position, and the conqueror of Hastings was obliged to make terms with them before they would acknowledge him as king. It is not necessary to enter into their subsequent history; but it must be stated to their glory that, if we begin with their defence against the Danes in the tenth century, the citizens of London have been through at least nine centuries the constant, powerful, and unflinching, perhaps sometimes turbulent, champions of the liberties of Englishmen.

To return again to the more general subject before us, we trace by various allusions during the Anglo-Saxon period, that in these corporate towns there was, independent of the municipal officers, an officer of the king, or king's reeve, who took certain tolls or dues which were reserved for the king on sales, manumissions, judicial executions, &c., and which the king had obtained in the transmission of the municipal system from the Roman to the Saxon government. Thus at Exeter, as we learn from the entries on the fly-leaves of the now well-known *Codex Exoniensis*, such duties were regularly paid to an officer "for the king's hand," to use the phrase of the original; as for instance, Alfric Hals took the toll in Tovie's house "for þæs kynges hand" (fol. 6, r^o); Widfet took the toll "for þæs cinges hand," (fol. 6, v^o.) and so forth. When we hear of a Saxon king giving a town to a queen, or to a bishop, or to an abbey, it means of course that the king gave to those persons merely the duties which accrued to him from the towns in question.

tremas civitatis portas seditiones concitent, alii pontem et ripas fluminis armati obsideant, ne exeuntes eos cum corpore sancti Lundanus populus præpedire valeat.

² Timebat namque civium interruptiones.

³ Translatio S. Elphegi, by Osborne, ap. Act. SS. Ordinis Benedict. sæc. VI. part i. pp. 124—126. Osborne received his account from people who were present, see p. 125.

Although the municipal privileges were all derived directly from the Romans, it does not of course follow that such privileges were enjoyed only by towns which had been founded in Roman times. As the Saxons became established throughout the island, and adopted, to a certain degree, the manners of their Roman predecessors, they founded other towns, and they naturally imitated the forms presented to their view in the Roman models already existing. Most of these were, as the Roman towns had become, royal towns, that is, they had no superior lord but the king. But others, after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity, gradually sprung up about, and under the protection of, episcopal sees and abbeys, and these eventually received their rights and privileges at the hands of their ecclesiastical protectors. Numerous instances of such towns might be pointed out, such as St. Alban's, Dunstable, Beverley, &c. It was more common for the early Saxon and Frankish monarchs to give towns to bishops and abbats, than to any other class of persons, or at least gifts to ecclesiastical dignitaries were always of a more permanent character. Hence it arises that, at a later period of medieval history, we find so many corporate towns whose charters are derived from ecclesiastical, and not from lay, lords. On the continent, one or two towns became in this manner ecclesiastical principalities.

We trace in these ecclesiastical towns of the Anglo-Saxon period the existence of a municipal government, and the same jealousy of their privileges, as in the more perfect models derived from Roman times. When the Danish king Swegen, then at Gainsborough, ignorant or careless of local privileges, demanded a tax of the people of Bedricsworth, or Bury St. Edmund's, the latter pleaded their exemption from royal taxes, and refused to pay. The monks of St. Edmund's of course took their part, because to them the regular taxes of the town had been given. Swegen was furious, and threatened with his vengeance both the monks and the townsmen; but the ecclesiastics have recorded, exultingly, that that same night the hand of death was laid upon the proud and scornful Dane, and that the country was thus delivered from one ferocious enemy.^b

In the foregoing remarks, my object has been to bring together a few historical incidents which, in the entire absence of more explicit documents, seem to show pretty clearly that the municipal government and privileges of corporate towns, derived from Roman civilization, had existed in this country, as on the continent, uninterruptedly from Roman times. In these incidents we trace here and there the

^b An interesting account of this affair is given among the miracles of St. Edmund, MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. 11. fol. 25 and 26. See also W. Malmsb. De Gest. Reg. p. 71.

preservation of Roman forms and Roman principles, and we trace still more distinctly almost every municipal right and municipal power which were at a later period guaranteed by royal or other charter, and which by comparison with the privileges and government of corporate towns in France and Italy, and elsewhere on the continent, we know to have been derived from the political constitution of the Romans. From these circumstances we are justified in concluding that our municipal corporations were not the creations of the royal will in Norman times, but that they had existed in a perfect form throughout the Saxon period. By these considerations, also, we are enabled to understand better the entries relating to the towns in Domesday book. We find there that in many of these towns the king received *his* rates by his receiver (the *præpositus regis*) from each particular person from whom they were due individually, and in each individual case. In such towns, the numbers of burgesses paying rates are enumerated, both in the time of king Edward and in that of king William. The *præpositus regis*, or king's reeve, is frequently mentioned, as at Dover, Lewes, Guildford, &c. In other instances, and these are not few, we find that the municipality, to escape the too officious interference and sometimes oppressive conduct of a collecting officer who was not under their own jurisdiction, had compounded for the king's taxes, by the yearly payment of a certain sum of money. Such was the case with Dorchester, Bridport, Wareham Shaftesbury, Hertford, and other places. It was a very necessary safeguard, especially for smaller towns, whose revenue the king might let out to farm to some one who paid a certain sum, and made as much of it as he could, and would probably practise every kind of extortion to enrich himself. This was experienced more severely in Norman times; and when the towns obtained charters, they invariably bought the farm of the king's dues for ever, which was called the fee-farm of the town.

The judicial entries on the fly-leaves of the Exeter manuscript, written before and after the Conquest, show us that the municipal forms and conditions of that city underwent no change upon the transfer of the English crown to a Norman line of sovereigns, and such was probably the case in all other cities and towns then in existence. But, although their privileges and constitution were in principle untouched, in practice they were frequently trespassed upon. A new race of feudal lords had entered upon the land, who were ignorant of the customs of the people over whom they had intruded themselves, and who had little respect for any customs which stood as obstacles in the gratification of their views of aggrandisement. This must have led to continual riots and disturbances in the old Saxon towns, and to infringements of their privileges where they had little power to obtain permanent

redress. After undergoing all these vexations during a few years, they saw the advantages, or we may perhaps better say the necessity, of purchasing from the king written charters confirming their old rights, which became an effective protection in a court of law. Thus originated municipal charters, which are rather to be considered as a proof of the antiquity, than of the novelty, of the privileges they grant. They were granted most abundantly under Henry II. and his sons, when it became the policy of the English monarchs to seek the support of the independent burghers against a turbulent feudal aristocracy.

XXIII.—*Observations on the celebrated Monument at Ashbury, in the county of Berks, called "Wayland Smith's Cave:"* by JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N. Director.

Read, 4th March, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lewisham, 3d March, 1847.

I beg to submit through you to the Society of Antiquaries, drawings, from actual admeasurement, by Mr. C. W. Edmonds, of that interesting monument of the Celtic period, popularly known as "*Wayland Smith's Cave*," (Pl. XVII.) situated at Ashbury, in the county of Berks.

At a period when Antiquarian researches are prosecuted with so much zeal and vigour, anything that may assist our knowledge of the manners and customs of the early races in Britain cannot but prove interesting. We are, it is to be hoped, no longer in danger of seeing the most curious remains of antiquity gradually perishing under the united assaults of ignorance and cupidity.

"*Wayland Smith's Cave*" is a cromlech of the Celtic period. It stands about a mile and a half west of the famous *White Horse*, cut in the chalk of the downs at Uffington, of which a representation was communicated by me to the 31st volume of the *Archæologia*, and within a hundred yards of an ancient road called the "*Ridgway*," which passes eastward over Whitehorse Hill towards Ilsley, and westward over the hills above the villages of Ashbury, Bishopstone, &c., towards Avebury. The stones once composing the "cave," and lying in disorder about the spot, are called "Sarsens," or "grey weathers." They are of the same quality as those at Abury and Stonehenge.

The vault or cave was formed, as usual in these sepulchres, by upright stones covered by large slabs at the top. Of the latter, but one remains; a large quantity of stone having been taken from this place some time since for the purpose of building a barn! The accompanying drawing and ground-plans show the present state of this interesting monument, which it is greatly to be regretted has suffered so much under rude and ignorant hands.

It will be observed in this cromlech that there are two lateral chambers, or transepts, giving to the entire ground-plan the form of a cross. These chambers would alone be sufficient to negative the absurd idea of these stones having been raised as *altars* for human sacrifices; a supposition indulged in by the *speculative* antiquaries of this and other countries up to the present time, but which has, at length, received a more decided refutation by the researches of Mr. Lukis among the cromlechs existing in the Island of Guernsey, detailed by him in the Journal of the British Archæological Association.

It appears evident, from the scattered fragments lying around, that, although these chambered tumuli have been almost obliterated, they were often originally inclosed within a circle of stones. Traces of this circle are still visible around the cromlech at Ashbury; and in the arrangement of the vault, though differing in some respects, we recognise a striking similarity to that of the dilapidated *Cromlech du Tus*, as shown in a drawing which accompanies this communication, copied from Mr. Lukis's representation of the ground-plan of that monument.

It seems probable that the whole of the areas formed by these outer circles, which may be considered as marking the limits or base of the tumulus of earth which once covered the sepulchral chamber, were sacred to interments; that these circles formed, in fact, what the Anglo-Saxons in after times called the *licetun*; that here the remains of the humble and obscure rested, while those of persons of exalted rank were consigned to the principal vault. The exploration of the mound of a perfect chambered tumulus may establish or disprove this. Successive interments in the same solitary tumuli of the Celtic period are very common, but there are not very many examples of the practice in the clustered tumuli of the Anglo-Saxon era.

A word in conclusion on the popular tradition of "Wayland Smith," which a beautiful fiction has immortalised. In my note on the White Horse already alluded to, I have ventured to express a doubt of that object having been the work of the Anglo-Saxons, at least of the Christianised Anglo-Saxons, and have referred it to an earlier period. I leave the discussion of this curious subject to abler heads, and shall merely observe that popular tradition is at all times a better theme for the poet and the novelist than for the sober and inquiring, the fact-loving and pains-taking antiquary. The country-people tell you that, in former times, if a traveller's horse cast a shoe as he passed that way, he had only to lead his steed to the cave, place a groat on the cap-stone, and retire for a while; on returning he would find the horse shod, and the money gone! They have another story, of the invisible smith; that he was plagued with a disobedient apprentice, who being one day chastised

by his master ran away, and when at the distance of a mile, Wayland Smith cast a huge stone at the fugitive, which struck him on the heel, leaving the print of the boy's foot on the stone! The boy sat down and cried at this spot, which to this day is called by the rustics *Snivellin Carner*! This solitary stone, much mutilated, is still to be seen in the corner of a meadow at a place called Old-stone Farm.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully Yours,

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

Captain William Henry Smyth, R.N., F.R.S.
Director S.A., &c. &c. &c.



Plan and View of Wayland Smith's Cave - Ashbury Berks.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London April 24th 1841

J. Russell sc.

XXIV.—*On the Legend of Weland the Smith.* By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 11th March, 1847.

MY LORD,

The interest which, at the last meeting of your Society, you appeared to take in the traditions connected with the cromlech known as that of Wayland Smith, described in the paper by Mr. Akerman, has encouraged me to offer a few remarks on the subject, which, though not possessing much novelty, have not hitherto been, I think, laid before English readers in a connected form. As Mr. Akerman has observed, the Antiquaries of former days have treated with too much contempt the local legends connected with the monuments of our early forefathers; and through their neglect we have lost irretrievably a large portion of the valuable materials which connected the popular belief of our peasantry hardly a hundred years ago with the mythology of our forefathers at a remote period, when it differed comparatively little from the other branches of the same primeval stock which are now so widely separated. During a century these materials, the popular legends and traditions of the peasantry have been rapidly disappearing before the march of modern improvements; and I would earnestly impress upon the members of this Society the utility of collecting and preserving as many of them as still exist.

When our forefathers came into this island, they found it covered with Roman towns and buildings, as well as with monuments of an earlier population, in the shape of cromlechs, vast entrenchments, and other similar works. With the character and uses of the Roman buildings they were perfectly well acquainted; but they looked with greater reverence on cromlechs, and barrows, and indeed on all earthworks of which the origin was not very apparent, because their own superstitions had taught them to attribute such structures to the primeval giants of their mythology, who were objects of dread even to the gods themselves. They believed that the spots on which they stood were under the immediate protection of beings of a higher order than humanity, who frequented them at the silent hour of night, and whose anger it was perilous to provoke. The Saxons brought with them a multitude of mythic traditions and stories relating to their gods and heroes, which they had preserved through ages of which we have no historical account, and the scene of which had been successively placed in every country where they had made a settlement.

Many of their stories had thus become located in England, when the introduction of Christianity worked a sudden change in people's belief, and what were merely mythic personages were looked upon either as the real heroes of former days, or as so many devils and evil spirits. The mythic legends were still current as romances, and continued to exist under altered forms as romances of chivalry, and under various subsequent degradations, until they were at last hawked about the streets in the still humbler form of penny chap-books and nursery tales. It was in this manner, and by such gradations, that the mighty deeds of the god Thor against the giants of Jotenheim became transformed into the exploits of *Jack the Giant-killer*.

But the peasantry were unacquainted with all these literary vicissitudes. With them the earlier legends were intimately connected with localities, and the names of Woden, and Thor, and Weland, and the rest, were often preserved when they had been long forgotten in more cultivated society, and their stories were as often handed down traditionally with very little transformation. When John Leland made his antiquarian tours in the reign of Henry VIII., these local legends appear to have been extremely numerous, and he has alluded to several of a very interesting description. The topographical antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also make frequent allusions to them; but unfortunately they looked upon them with contempt, and seldom condescend to do more than barely mention them. I will cite an example from the Itinerary of Leland, who (vol. v. p. 101), speaking of Corbridge in Northumberland, says, "By this broke, as among the ruines of the olde town, is a place caullid Colecester, wher hath beene a forteres or castelle. The peple there say that ther dwellid yn it one *Yoton*, whom they fable to have beene a gygant." The giant race of the Northern and Teutonic mythology were termed *Jotens* or *Yotens*, in Anglo-Saxon *Eótenas*. To them the early Anglo-Saxon poetry attributes works of immense power or antiquity—the mounds and earthworks of ancient days, as well as the weapons and other articles found within them. The wonderful sword which Beowulf found in the den of the Grendel's mother was thus a weapon of Eotonish make.

Ge-seah ȝá on searwum
 sige-eádig bil,
 eald sweord eótenisc,
 ecgum pyhtig,
 wígena weorð-mynd,
 † wæpna cyst,
 * * *
 gód and geato-líc,
 gíganta ge-weorc.

Then saw he among the weapons
 a bill fortunate in victory,
 an old sword *constructed by the Eotens*,
 doughty of edge,
 the glory of warriors,
 the costliest of weapons,
 * * *
 good, and ready for use,
 the *work of giants*.

In a curious fragment of the Exeter book (p. 476), the poet is introduced soliloquising over an ancient ruin, of which he says,—

Wrætlíc is þes weal-stan,
wyrde ge-bræcon,
burg-stede burston.
Brosnað enta ge-weorc,
hrofas sind ge-hrorene,
hreorge torras,
hrim geat-torras berofen,
hrim on lime,
scearde scur-beorge,
scorene, ge-drorene;
ældo under Eotene,
eorð-grap hafað
waldend-wyrhtan,
for-weorone, ge-leorone.

Wondrous is this wall-stone,
the fates have broken it,
have burst the burgh-place.
The *work of giants* perishes,
the roofs are fallen,
the towers tottering,
the hoary gate-towers despoiled,
hoaryness on the lime,
shattered the battlements,
riven, fallen;
ancient under the Eotensish race
the earth-grave hath
its powerful workmen,
decayed, departed.

In the same manner, the antique vessels of gold found by Wiglaf in the cave in the mound of the dragon slain by Beowulf, are described as “ancient work of the giants,” enta ær-ge-weorc. At a later period, Layamon, who breathes a pure Saxon spirit, describes the giants who (according to the fable) first inhabited Albion, as being *Eotens*,—

Wuniað in þon londe
Eotantes swiðe stronge;
Albion hatte þat lond.

There dwell in that land
Eotens (or giants) *very strong*;
Albion is the land named.

Layamon, vol. i. p. 53.

In the same poem, Corineus, boasting of the services he had rendered to Brut, says,—

for his lufe moni eotend
ic leide dead a þene grund.

for his love *many a Eoten*, or giant,
I laid dead on the ground.

The same writer, with true Saxon feeling, translates the name *chorea gigantum*, which Geoffrey of Monmouth gives to Stonehenge, by *the ring of Eotens*,—

hit his a swipe sellich þing,
hit hat þe Eatantes Ring.

vol. ii. p. 296.

it is a very wonderful thing,
it is called the *ring of Eotens* or giants.

It was this mythic name which was preserved in the legend alluded to by Leland; and how interesting would it be to us to know the story or “fable” which the “people” of Corbridge then told relating to the “one Yoton” who dwelt in the

ancient castle or earthwork, for such it appears to have been ! It would probably have made us acquainted with some stray fragment of the mythology of our Teutonic forefathers.

The legend of Weland is a remarkable example in which the mythic traditions were thus preserved, because we can trace it through the various transformations incident to the medieval literature, as well as in the popular local stories of the peasantry. The story of Weland (which bears a close analogy with that of the Grecian *Ἡφαιστος*) is found at some length in the Edda ; from which we learn that he was the son of the giant Wade ; that he obtained from the dwergr, or dwarfs, in the interior of the mountains, extraordinary skill in the working of metals by fire. He subsequently fell into the power of king Nidung, who, discovering his merits as a smith, employed him in making wonderful weapons and jewels ; and, that he might never escape from him, he caused his ham-strings and the muscles of his feet to be cut, and thus lamed him for life. Weland continued in this manner to work for the king, brooding over his injuries, until he had found the opportunity of revenging himself by killing the king's two sons and outraging his daughter, and then he flew away with wings which he had constructed. It is not necessary for my purpose to enter further into the details of this legend, which was popular throughout all the branches of the Teutonic race.

The most ancient allusions to it are found in the remains of Anglo-Saxon poetry ; and the fact of its been referred to no less than three times among the very few fragments of that poetry now remaining, shows that it must have been very popular among our forefathers in this island. In the early romance of *Beowulf*, the hero's favourite breast-plate was made by Weland :—

On-send Hige-láce,
gif mec hild nime,
beadu-serúda betst,
þæt míne breóst wereð,
hrægla sélest ;
þæt is Hrædla láf,
Welandes ge-weorc.

Beow. l. 898.

If the war take me,
send to Higela
the best of war-coverings,
the most precious of clothing,
that which guardeth my breast ;
it is the legacy of Hrædla,
the work of Weland.

In the Exeter Book there is a curious poem, of apparently a very early date, to which Mr. Thorpe gives the title of "The Complaint of Deor the Scald." The bard, who appears to have fallen into some misfortunes, cites the examples of some of the famous personages of Teutonic fable who had supported great calamities, and at length recovered from them, as an encouragement to himself to show patience

under his grief. He begins with Weland, and his story of the smith appears to have been a more ancient form of the myth than that in the Edda:—

Weland him be wurman
wraeces cunnade,
anhydig eorl
earfoþa dreag,
hæfde him to ge-sippe
sorge 7 longað,
winter-cealde wraece,
wean oft onfond,
sippan hine Niðhad on
nede legde,
swonere seono-bende,
onsyllan mon.

Dæs ofereode,
þisses swa mæg.

Weland in himself the worm
of exile proved,
the firm-soul'd chief
hardship endured,
had for his company
sorrow and weariness,
winter-cold exile,
affliction often suffered,
after on him Niðhad
constraint had laid,
with a tough sinew-band,
the unhappy man.

That he surmounted,
so may I this.

The next example shows us how apt our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were to apply the legends of their mythology to things which they did not understand. Boethius, in the seventh metre of the second book of his treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, a work extremely popular in the Middle Ages, lamenting over the transitory character of human greatness, asks—

Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent?
Quid Brutus, aut rigidus Cato?

King Alfred, translating this passage into Anglo-Saxon, was led by the sound of the word into the singular supposition that *Fabricius*, instead of being a proper name, meant some famous smith, and this bringing to his mind the celebrity of Weland, he paraphrased his author—Hwæt sint nu þæs foremæran and þæs wisan goldsmiðes ban Welondes? . . . hwær sint nu þæs Welondes ban? oððe hwa wat nu hwær hi wæron?—“Where are now the bones of the celebrated and wise goldsmith Weland? . . . Where are now the bones of Weland? or who knows now where they were?” The Saxon who turned Alfred’s prose version of the metres into verse (for I have given reasons in the Article on Alfred in the *Biographia Literaria* of the Royal Society of Literature, for believing that it was not Alfred who composed this metrical version,) gives the following turn to this passage:—

Hwær sint nu þæs wisan
Welandes ban,
þæs gold-smiðes
þe was geo mærost?

* * *

Where are now the bones
of the wise Weland,
the goldsmith,
who was formerly most famous?

* * *

Hwa wat nu þæs wisan
 Welandes ban,
 on hwelcum in hlæwa
 hrusan þeocen ?

Who knows now the bones
 of the wise Weland,
 under what mound (or barrow)
 they are concealed ?

The earliest allusion to Weland by a German writer is found in the Latin metrical romance of Walthere (*Waltharius*), composed apparently in the tenth century on the banks of the Rhine. In it the armour of Walthere, being *the work of Weland*, is proof against the weapons of his Frankish assailants—

Ecce repentino Randolph athleta caballo
 Prævertens reliquos, hunc importunus adivit,
 Et mox ferrato petiit sub pectore conto.
 Et nisi duratis *Wielandia fabrica* gyris
 Obstaret, spisso penetraverit ilia ligno.

At a subsequent period the story of Weland, his skilful works, and especially his famous sword Mimung, are frequently and distinctly alluded to in the German romances, such as the Nibelungen Lied, Dietrich von Bern, Biterolf, and others. The name of Weland was also well known among the Franks ; and it occurs by no means unfrequently under the French form *Galand* or *Galant*, in that important class of early French poetry known as the *Chansons de Geste*. Most of the passages of early French writers on this subject have been collected by MM. Depping and Michel, in their pamphlet on *Véland le Forgeron*. In the romance of Raoul de Cambrai, the hero's sword was forged by Galans in a dark cavern :—

Li rois li çaint l'espée fort et dure ;
 D'or fu li pons et toute la heudure,
 Et fu forgie en une combe obscure :
Galans la fist, qui toute i mist sa cure.

In the romance of Ogier le Danois, one of the heroes, Sadoyne, bears a sword which was from the forge of Galant,—

Sadoines s'arme bel et cortoisement ;
 Il vest l'aubert, lace l'elme ensemment,
 Il chaint *l'espée de la forge Galant*.

Brehus, another hero of this romance, has also a sword which was made by Galans in the isle of Mascon, and against which no armour was proof,—

Galans la fist en l'ille de Mascon ;
 Contre l'achier n'a nule arme foison.

Charlemagne is said, in the romance of Fierabras, to have possessed three swords made by Galans, and named respectively Floberge, Hauteclere, and Joieuse :—

Et *Galans fist* Floberge à l'acier atempéré,
Hauteclere, et Joieuse, où molt ot digneté ;
Cele tint Karlemaine longuement en certé.

Several swords made by Galant are mentioned in the romance of Godefroi de Bouillon, on one of which the name of the maker was written—

Letres i ot escrites qui dient en Romans
Que Galans le forga, que par fu si vaillans.

The same romance speaks of armour made by Galand. A sword figures in the romance of Huon de Bordeaux, on which was similarly inscribed the name of its maker, Galand—

Hue le prant, dou fuer l'ait geter,
De l'une part se trait lez ung pillier.
Se dit la lettre qui fuit en brant lettrez :
Elle fuit suer Durandau au poing cler,
Gallant la fist, ung an mist a souder,
Xx. fois la fist en fin acier coller.

Galand is mentioned in several of these romances as the maker of Charlemagne's famous sword Durendal. The name of this celebrated smith occurs in several other of these romances or *chansons de geste*, but those already quoted will be enough to show its popularity. It may be remarked that, in the much more ancient Anglo-Saxon romance of Beowulf, we find mention of a sword with a Runic inscription on the hilt; and that Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich has now in his possession a silver hilt of a sword found in an Anglo-Saxon barrow with Runic letters inscribed on it.

In a manuscript written in England about the time of Edward I., and now I believe in the possession of Mr. Hudson Gurney, we find a pretended description of the sword of Gauvain, one of the most celebrated of the Knights of Arthur's "Round Table," also made by Galant, which is stated to have had the following lines inscribed *in canello gladii* :—

Jeo su forth trenchant e dure ;
Galaan me fyth par mult grant cure ;
Catorse anz [out] Jhesu Cristh,
Quant Galaan me trempa e fyth.

i.e. "I am very sharp and hard; Galaan made me with very great care; Jesus Christ was fourteen years old when Galaan tempered and made me."* This singular statement shows how entirely the real character of Weland had been lost sight

* This description of Gawain's sword is printed in Michel's Notes to Tristan, vol. ii. p. 181.

of in his passage into the French romances, which, however, vary much in their accounts of the date at which he flourished. In the romance of the Chevalier au Cygne, a sword made by Galand is said to have been possessed by Julius Cæsar, and to have been the chief instrument of his mighty conquests. The romance of Godefroi de Bouillon mentions a sword made by Galand which had been in the possession of Alexander the Great, and had subsequently passed successively through the hands of Ptolemy, Judas Maccabæus, and the emperor Vespasian.

The pretended inscription from Mr. Gurney's manuscript seems to prove that, in the thirteenth century, the smith had been made known in England through the French romances by the name of *Galand*. Proof, however, is not wanting, that he continued to be well-known and popular under his old Anglo-Saxon name of Weland. In a Latin poem, which belongs, perhaps, to the earlier half of the thirteenth century, the Life of Merlin, which has been ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a king of Cumberland is made to produce cups sculptured by the hand of Weland.

Afferrique jubet vestes, volucresque, canesque,
Quadrupedesque citos, aurum, gemmasque micantes,
Pocula quæ sculpsit Guilandus in urbe Sigeni.

Vita Merlini, l. 233.

We have here Weland in his Anglo-Saxon character of a *goldsmith*, which is lost in the French romances; so that we are justified in considering it as an evidence of the continued existence in England from the Anglo-Saxon period of traditions connected with the celebrity of Weland. We have a further proof of this in a passage of one of the English versions of the romance of Horn, written in the fourteenth century, in which "Maiden Rimmild" presents to Horn a sword, "the companion of Miming," and the work of Weland—

Than sche lete forth bring,
A swerd hongand bi a ring,
To Horn sche it bitaught:
"It is the make of Miming,
Of alle swerdes it is king,
And *Weland* it wrought.
Bitterfer the swerd hight,
Better swerd bar never knight,
Horn, to the ich it thought.
Is nought a knight in Ingland
Schal sitten a dint of thine hond,
Forsake thou it nought."

The strictly correct form of the name of the smith, and the mention of the famous sword Miming, which is I believe confined to the Germanic traditions, are sufficient evidence that the allusion in this poem is to a purely national legend, to a tradition which had been preserved from our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

A similar allusion is found in the English metrical romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, composed probably early in the fifteenth century :—

My sword that so wylle ys wrowyt,
A better than yt know I nowght
Within Crystyn mold.
Yt ys so glemyrryng ase the glase,
Thorow Velond wrought yt was,
Bettyr ys non to hold.

We have thus briefly traced the traditions connected with the mythic smith as they ran through the literature of the different peoples of Western Europe. We have, unfortunately, no means of tracing the same traditions as they were handed down orally by the peasantry and the mass of the population, although there can be no doubt that they were handed down in that manner; and these oral traditions were probably much more correct in themselves, and bore stronger traces of the original myth, than the allusions of the poets or romancers. Oral traditions are the literature of a class which is cut off from the use of written or printed documents; and they disappear very fast, as the persons who had cherished them are made familiar with such documents. The schoolmaster is the great enemy of legendary lore. In other countries, as well as in England, those traditions have always been preserved longest which have become identified with some permanent monument or locality. Such also was the case in ancient Greece; and, to judge by the numerous local traditions mentioned by Pausanias, the local legends of the Greek peasantry had preserved many traces of a mythology of a much earlier form than that which has been handed down to us moulded and embellished by the refined imaginations of poets and historians. Such also was the case in England, and is now the case perhaps to a greater degree than we imagine, if we could collect together all the still existing local legends of the description of those of which I am speaking. We have already seen an instance in which a circumstance of the early Saxon mythology was preserved in a local tradition of the sixteenth century, in the legend of the giant Yoton: the fable of *Weland* presents us with an instance in which another such circumstance was similarly preserved to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and appears not to be quite extinct at the present day. I believe the cromlech described by Mr. Akerman was first noticed in a letter from Francis Wise to Dr. Mead, who informs

us that, "All the account which the country-people are able to give of it is: at this place lived formerly an invisible smith; and if a traveller's horse had left a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again and find the money gone, but the horse new shoed. The stones standing upon the Rudgeway, as it is called, I suppose gave occasion to the whole being called Wayland-Smith, which is the name it was always known by to the country-people."

I am inclined to believe that this legend, in the identical form in which it was told to Wise, is of extreme antiquity. The Grecian mythology, in its origin, was in a great measure the same as the Teutonic: the peoples and their languages came from the same stock. I have already observed that the Teutonic ham-stringed smith Weland was the same personage as the lame Ἡφαιστος of the Greeks, better known to us by the name of Vulcan. I have also just hinted that in Greece, as in England, the local legends of the peasantry represented the mythology of the people in its more primitive form. These local popular legends are sometimes preserved by that class of industrious writers who are known by the title of Scholiasts, particularly by those who comment on poets like Apollonius Rhodius. Price, in his Introduction to Warton's History of English Poetry, has quoted a Grecian local legend from the scholiast on the fourth book of the Argonautics of Apollonius, which bears such a remarkable resemblance to the Berkshire legend of Wayland-Smith, that I cannot help thinking that the latter must have been attached to the earliest form of the myth of Weland. The words of this scholiast, as quoted by Price, are these:—"Vulcan appears to have taken up his abode in the islands of Lipara and Strongyle and it was formerly said, that whoever chose to carry there a piece of unwrought iron, and at the same time deposited the value of the labour, might on the following morning come and have a sword, or whatever else he wished, for it." I will only add that, both in the northern legends and in the medieval romances, Weland is described frequently as residing and working in islands.

I have the honour to remain, my Lord, with very sincere respect,

Your Lordship's very obedient Servant,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

To the Rt. Hon. Viscount Mahon,
&c. &c. &c.
President of the Society of Antiquaries.

XXV.—*Copy of an Historical Document, printed by Machlinia, dated in 1475 : communicated in a Letter to the President, from SIR HENRY ELLIS, Secretary.*

Read 4th March, 1847.

MY LORD,

British Museum, March 4th, 1847.

HERBERT, in his edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*,^a at the end of the *Account of the Books printed by Machlinia*, the contemporary of Caxton, says,

"A CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND,

"Partly written, and partly printed, on paper and vellum; was in the possession of the late John Anstis, Esq., Garter. It is a miscellaneous piece, and has printed in it, First, 'The promise of Matrimonie.' Second, 'The Lettre annuelle port.' Third, 'The obligation of Nisi.' Fourth, 'Tharticles of the Convencion, bitwene the Frensshe King and the Duke of Austrice, late called duc of Burgoine.' Quarto."

Dr. Dibdin, in the later unfinished edition of Ames, copies this paragraph: adding that he was not able to enlarge the account.

In one of the old Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum, a perfect copy of the paper here alluded to is preserved: probably the only one now in existence. The whole of it is in Machlinia's type, printed, not in quarto, but in folio. It appears to have been a sort of manifesto announcing to the English public the terms of the Treaty of 1475, between Louis the Eleventh of France and our Edward the Fourth. That its date was contemporary with that of the Treaty there can be little doubt, inasmuch as it would have had no interest with those for whom it was designed, had it been printed at a later date. It seems unquestionably to be an earlier production of Machlinia's press, than any other specimen to which the year of printing is annexed. There is no heading of "A Chronicle of England," nor does it belong to one.

The greatest interest, however, attaching to this paper is that it preserves the terms and circumstances under which an early marriage was proposed for Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth with the Dauphin of France, (her who was afterwards courted by Richard the Third, and finally married to Henry VIIIth. ;) and in case of her demise for her next sister the Princess Mary.

^a Vol. i. p. 115.

^b 17 D. XV. fol. 10.

Sandford says,

"Elizabeth of York was born at Westminster, 11th Feb. 1466, and there christened in the Abbey with great solemnity, whom the said King first intended to bestow on George Nevil, Duke of Bedford, who was deposed from that title by Act of Parliament, anno 17 Edw. IV. She was afterwards promised in marriage to the Dauphin of France, and in the Court of France called Madame the Dauphin. Next she was wooed and courted by King Richard the Third, her unhappy uncle, after he had murdered her two brothers : but last of all most happily married to King Henry the VIIth." ^c

The present paper is both an historical and a typographical curiosity.

I am, my Lord,

With great respect,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

The Promise of Matrimonie.

Loys by the grace of God Kyng of Fraunce, unto alle theym that thies present lres shall see gretynge. Be it knowen that betwene the most xpen Prince the King of Fraunce aforesayd, and the most noble Prince the Kyng of Englonde hys moost dere cousyn, true, entier, and pfit amyte ys covenanted and ²cluded invyolably tendure from the date of thies presentes, duryng their bothe lyves. So that as long as they lyve, werre, batailles, and hostilitie betwixt theym, their realmes, countreies, and subgettes alweye shall cease, and with benivolence and frendlihode they shall receyve and entrete theym self and their subgettis. ¶ Item to thynvyolable observance of the seyd amyte betwyxt the seyd prynces, it ys pmysed, couvenanted, accorded, and concluded, that their shalbe contracted and had a mariage betwene the right noble Prynce Charles the sone of the seid moost xpen Kyng of Fraunce, and the moost benyngne princesse my lady Elizabeth, doughter of the seyde most victorious kyng of England, whanne that they shall come to yeres of mariage. And that the same most xpen King of Fraunce shall conduyte and conveye, or do to be conveyed honorably the same Lady Elizabeth from the Realme of Englonde, for the solempnizacion of the same mariage, into the parties of Fraunce at the costes and

^c Genealog. Hist. p. 417.

charges of the same king of Fraunce, and over that he shall endowe her or do her to be endowed to the yerely rent of thre score thousand pound in Asshiete, after the custume of the realme of Fraunce. And that the same dower shall be assigned and yeven to the same lady assone as she shall come to yeres of mariage. And yf it fortune the same lady Elysabeth afore the pftyng of the seyd contract as it is afore seid of the seyd matrimonye, that God defende, to decese, that than matrimonie shall be maad betwixt the seyd Prince Cherls and the most noble Princesse my Lady Marye, another of the sayd King of Englund daughters. ¶ Item the seyd Kyng of Fraunce shall cōveye her, or do her to be conveyed worshipfully from the realme of England into the partyes of Fraunce at hys propre and oonly costes and charges, and in semblable wise endowe her as it is before reherced. And to thentent that the seyd matrimonye as it is afore seyd without fayle shall be doon and aperfyt, the said moost mighty Prynces of Fraunce and England in the worde of a prince, and on theyr feythes, have pmysed, and either of them hath pmissid and bounden hym self to thapfytng therof, and with al their powers to put therunto their helpyng handes, and with effect to employe unto the same their continuell labours. ¶ In witnesse of all whiche and singuler pmisses the sayd Kyng of Fraunce hath put to this present writyng, subscribed with his own hand, his grete seale. ¶ Yeven in the Citee of Amyas the xxix. day of August the yere of our Lord m.cccc.lxxv. And the xv. yere of the sayd Kyng of fraunces reign. beyng present at the sealyng ther, the Duke of Bourbon, the Bysshop of Euereux, Thadmyral of Fraunce, the Lord Lude governour of Dolphenale, the Lord Sainpere, the Lord Argenton, the Lord Bussage, and many other.

The Lettre of Annuelle Port.

¶ Lowys by the grace of God King of Fraunce, to all and euiche that thies presentes lettres shall see gretynge. We wull that alle men knowe, that we have graunted, pmysed, and obliged vs, and alsoo by these presentes we graunte, pmitte, and oblige us to pay, and really and with effect to delyver in the citee of London within Englund to the moost noble Prynce Edward, by the same grace Kyng of England, our derest cosyn, every yere duryng our bothe lyves l. thowsand scutes of gold, every scute beyng of the valour of xxxiii. grete blankes, under suche manere and fourme as here after foloweth. That ys to say, we shall paye and delyvere, or we shall doo to be payed and delyvered, to the same oure cousyn Kyng of Englund, in the citee of London, xxv. thousand scutes of gold of the forsayd valure and estymacion, in the feste of

Ester next commyng, and xxv. thowsand scutes of gold of the same estymacion and valure in the forsayd place in the feste of Saint Mighell tharchaungell than next folowing, and soo we shall pay and delyvere or do to be payed and delyvered yerely and from yere to yere unto our sayde cousyn, in the place and tymes afore sayde, duryng our bothe lyves l. thousand scutes of golde of the sayde valour at Ester and Mighelmas by equale porcion, as it ys before reherced: To the whiche payement truly, fermely, and contynuelly by vs duryng oure bothe lyues yerely, as ys before sayd to be made, we pmytte, bynde, and oblige us by oure faith and in the worde of a Kyng, and by the holy Evangelistes by vs touched we bynde and oblige alsoo our heires, executors, and successours, oure realme and contreies, lordships, and all oure goodes that we nowe have and hereafter shall have, everiche of our subgettis and their goodes wheresoever they may be founde. And for the more sure obfuaunce and accomplyshyng of all and eueriche of the premisses we shall bynde vs under the peynes of the chambre apostolyke and by the obligacion of Nisi, And over this we promitte and bynde vs by these presentes that we shalle peure and make the felisship and felowes of the banke de Medycys dewly and laufully to be bounden for the sayd fyfty thousand scutes, yerely and inviolably to be paied to the same oure cousyn of England, under suche maner and fourme as ys before reherced. The whiche their obligacion theruppon dewly made in wryting we shalle delyvere or doo to be really delyvered in England to the same moost noble Kyng of Englonde before the feste of the Purificacion of our Lady next comyng. Or elles we shall purchase and obteyne at oure ppre costes and charge of our holy father the Pope a bull apostolyke sealed with lede, wher in by auctorite of the See apostolyke all and eueriche of thees premisses shalbe confermede vnder peynes of Interdytyng oure Realme, countreies, and lordshipes, and of cursyng oure owne persone yf we observe not and perfourme all and eueriche of thees premisses vnder suche fourme as ys before reherced. And that bull soo by us purchaced we shalle delyvere or doo to be delyvered in England to oure sayde moost derest Cousyn Kyng of England before the sayd feste of the Purificacion of oure Lady next commyng. ¶ In witnesse and faith of all and eueriche of whiche pmisses we have doon to be sett to thees our present lres patentz subscribed with oure owne hand oure grete seale. Yeven in oure citee of Amyas the xxix. daye of the moneth of August the yere of our lord a thousand cccc.lxxv. and of oure Reigne the xv. ¶ Subscribed thus Lowys.

¶ There were present at this sealyng and assentyng to the same the Duke of Burbon, the Bisshop of Everoce, Thadmyrall of Fraunce, the Lord Lude governour of Dolphyne, the Lord Sainpere, the Lord Argenton, the Lord Bossage and many moo, a appereth in the sayd lettres patentz.

The Obligation of Nisi.

¶ In the name of God, Amen. By this present publike and autentyke instrument, Be it knowen to alle men that on the yere of our Lord a thousand cccc.lxxv. the viii. Indiccion, the xxx. day of the moneth of August, the v. yere of our holy father Syxt the iiiii., the Pope, in the citee of Amyas, on an high chambre within the Palais of the Bisshop of Amyas, the moost noble and moost Xpian Prynce Louys, by the grace of God King of Franse, beyng personelly, of his benyngnite and of his free wille gave obedyence and submytted hym in alle these thynges that folowen unto the spirituall Courte of Amyas, and unto vs thofficiall of the right Reverend father in God John Bisshop of Amyas, & vnto our Jurisdiccion. And the same oure iurisdiccion to be used and exercised vpon hym concerning suche thynges as foloweth, well, lawfully, and duly proged, and before vs the seyd officiall beyng soo on this behalue his lawfull and competent Juge, and sytting in iuggement, being also present with us a notary apostolyke here subscribed, the sayd moost noble Prince Lowys knowlaged and confessed hym self lawfully to are and rightwysely to be obliged vnto the moost noble Prince Edward by the same grace Kyng of England to pay to the same King of England l. thousand scutes in the citee of London within England every yere at the termes of Ester and Michelmas, by equale porcion, as long as bothe the sayd princes of Fraunce and England shall lyve. The same Kyng Loys promised also to pay yerely the sayd l. thousand scutes to the same Kyng of England, at the sayd tymes and place as it is before reherced, vpon the peyne of the chambre apostolyke, and of all the censures of the Chirche, Renuncyng all such preuileges and benefices of the lawe as to hym belôged and apperteyneth or may apperteyne in that behalue. And over that the same Kyng Lowys required us the sayde officiall to gyve iugement of excôicacion ayenst hym, & than & there to acurs hym nowe as then and then as nowe yf he paid not yerely to the saide King of England the forsayde l. thousand scutes at the said tymes and place during their bothe lyves as it is before reherced; we therfore the sayde officiall, havyng God before oure heyes and sitting as juge & in iuggement, seing the forsayde knowlage and confession of the sayde King Lowys, have monisshed & inioyned, and by these presentes monisshes and inioyne the same King Lowys that he paye or doo to be paidyerely and every yere during their bothe lyves, l. thousand scutes at the place and tymes before reherced, and that vpon peine of excommunicacion and cursyng, the whiche sentence and iuggement of excommunicacion and cursyng we the forsayde officiall gyve and adjuge in this our writting apon & ayenst the sayde moost noble Prince Lowys Kyng of Fraunce, & hym doo acurs nowe as then and then as nowe if he

pay not or do to be paied every yere to the said Kyng of England l. thowsand scutes at the tymes and place aforesayde, and hym soo acursed denounce, woll denonce, and shall make to be denounced. ¶ In witnesse & pene of all and eueriche of thees premisses we the forsayde officiall have sette to this present publyke and autentyke instrument the seal of the spirituall court of Amyas and also oure private signet. And also have caused the Notarye apostolyke here under written to signe and subscribe the same. Yeven the yere Indiccion, moneth, the daye, and place as it ys here before wryten.

¶ And I, Johan Fabri, clerk of the Diocise of Amyas, publike as well by the auctorite apostolyke as imperiall Notarye, and also notarye and Scribe sworne of the spirituall and ordinarie Courte of Amyas, have been present whiles that all and everiche of these premisses were had, seid, and doon, and theyme sawe, hurd, and knewe soo had, seyde, and doon. And therfore to this present publyke and autentyke instrument, sealed with the seale of the sayd Court of Amyas, and with the signet of the sayd Officiall, I, the forsayd John Fabri, required, have sett myn vsed and accustomed apostolyke signe, and subscribed me with myn owne hand, in pue and witnesse of the trouthe of all and eueriche of thees premisses.

Tharticles of the convencion bitweene the Frenssh King and de Duc of Austrice late called Duc of Burgoyne.

¶ In the name of God, and the glorious Vyrgyn Mary, and of all the court celestial peas fynal, unyon, alyance, and benyvolence for ever more ys maad, promised and sworne betweene the King, my lord Daulphyn, the royalme, their londes, lordshippes, and subgettis, on the one partie, and my lord Maximylyan Duc of Austriche, my lord Duc Phelip and Damoyssel Margarete, their children, their londes, lordships, and subgettis on the other, by the whiche all maner rancours, hatereddes, and mayuolences, of eyther of the parties ayenst other ben put down and sette away, and al maner injuryes of dede and of wordes remytted and foryeuen, for gretter surtye of the sayd peas, traytye, and alyaunce of mariage is maad, promysed, ^sented, and accorded betweene my lord the daulphyn, only sone of the Kyng and heyre apparant to the Crowne, and my said damoyssel of Austrice, onely doughter of the decessyd my lord Duc Charles, whom God assoyle. And the sayd mariage shalbe ended and solempnysed, the sade damoyssel comen to age whan the same mariage shal be requyred of right.

¶ Item, that in the said traytye of pees the persone of my sayd ladye Margaret, duchesse of Burgoyne, wedowe, late wyf of my lord the Duc Charles, deceasid, is

comprised, and vnto her shalbe delyvered the hoole londes of chaucuns and of the perier in the londe of Burgoyne, and ther upon the King shal graunte vnto her his lettres patentes, accordyng unto the contene of the same that she had of the said Duc and ducesse.

¶ Item, in asmoche as the sayd ambassadours have maad requeste that for certeyn consideracion that they have shewed to the Kyngys folke that his plesure may be to comprise in the same traytye of peas the King of Englund and the Duc of Britaygne.

¶ It is answered that Englyssh men been in the treues with the Kyng, and that this trete toucheth them in no thyng; and as for the Duc of Bretaigne the King hath no werre with hym but peas fynal, & othe solempnly hath ben made betwixt them, the whiche the kyng wille kepe in his partie.

¶ And yet the Kyng and my sayd lord the Daulphyn auctorised and dyspended, for his yong age, in the presence of thambassodours & commissioners from the Kyng, shall swere solempnely vpon the precious body of our Lord upon the holy crosse and holy canon of the messe, to kepe and entreteygne this present traytye of peas & of maryage in his poyntes and articles, and never doo ne suffre to be doon in the contrarye by ony maner, weye, or mene that may be.

¶ And over thys the Kyng shal do be had the lettres & seales in ptticuler of my lordes the Dukes of Orleauce, angenlesme, Burboon, Cardynal de Leon, Erle of Nevers, my lord of Beaugyen, & of Vendosme, as nyghest to the bloode subrogued and substytute in the royalme of the perys, tharchebysshoppys & Duc of Laon & of Langres, of the Bysshops and erles of Noyon, chaloy, Beauyuois pieres of Fraunce, the selles of the universite of Parys, of the townes, cities, and comynaltees of Parys, Roen, Orleauce, Tourney, Leon, Troies, Burdeaux, Rochell, Angiers, Poytiers, Tolouse, Rayns, Amyens, Babeville, Monstereull, Therouaine, Aier, Saint Ouyntyns, Perone; Prelates and Nobles of the erldomes of Artoys and of Bourgoygne, to be delyuered vnto my sayd lord the Duc, & to thestates of hys Countrees.

XXVI.—*Contemporary Authority adduced for the popular idea that the Ostrich Feathers of the Prince of Wales were derived from the Crest of the King of Bohemia. In a Letter from Sir NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, G.C.M.G. to Sir HENRY ELLIS, Secretary.*

Read 13th May, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,

Torrington Square, 12th May, 1847.

IN the paper which I had the honour of communicating to the Society of Antiquaries last year on the Origin and History of the Badge of Edward Prince of Wales,^a I stated that there was no *contemporary* authority for the popular idea that the Ostrich Feathers were derived from the Crest of the King of Bohemia who was slain at Crecy, and that it could not be traced to any earlier writer than Camden.

An accident, which in historical and antiquarian investigations often supplies information, when all the obvious and direct sources of knowledge have been exhausted, has just shewn me that I was mistaken, and I lose no time in submitting to the Society what I have discovered on the subject.

Towards the end of the anonymous historian of the reign of King Edward the Third, printed by Hearne,^b that indefatigable antiquary quotes a remarkable passage from the celebrated physician John de Ardern's Medical Treatise; and, as he attended all the eminent persons of the court of King Edward the Third, he was likely to have known the origin of the Prince of Wales's badge.

There are several copies of Ardern's curious Treatise in the British Museum, but the passage is omitted in most of them, and it has been now transcribed from the copy in the Sloane Collection, (No. 56, folio 76,) and collated with another copy in the same collection, (No. 335, folio 67,) both of which were certainly written towards the close of the fourteenth century.

In the chapter "On Hemorrhoids," Ardern says, that he has depicted on a pre-

^a Archaeologia, vol. xxxi. p. 350—384.

^b "Walteri Hemingford Canonici de Gisseburne Historia de rebus gestis Edwardi I. Edwardi II. et Edwardi III. Accedunt inter alia Edwardi III. Historia per anonymum," &c. Oxon. 1731. Vol. II. p. 444-6. Note. The note relating to the Feather is not referred to in the Index to that work.

vious folio a "Nastare" (a species of clyster-pipe), and a feather of the Prince of Wales, to which he refers, and then adds :—

"Et nota quod talem pennam albam portabat Edwardus primogenitus filius Edwardi Regis Angliæ super crestam suam, et illam pennam conquisivit de Rege Boemiæ quem interfecit apud Cresse in Francia; et sic assumpsit sibi illam pennam quæ dicitur *Ostrich fether*, quam prius dictus Rex nobilissimus portabat super crestam. Et eodem anno quo dictus strenuus et bellicosus princeps migravit ad Dominum, scripsi libellum istum manu propria, videlicet Anno Domini 1376, et dictus Edwardus princeps obiit vi. idus Junii videlicet die Sanctæ Trinitatis apud Westmonasterium in magno Parlamento, quem Deus absolvat, quia fuit flos miliciæ mundi sine pare."

In the margin of these manuscripts the annexed representations of the feather are given :—



MS. Sloane 76, fo. 61.



MS. Sloane 56, fo. 71.



MS. Sloane 335, fo. 67.

There is therefore, undoubtedly, the statement of a contemporary, who from his situation was likely to be well informed on the subject, that the Black Prince took the Ostrich Feather from the crest of the King of Bohemia, whom he slew at Crecy, and assumed it for his own crest: but, though this assertion is entitled to great weight, I am not, I confess, convinced of its accuracy; and I still expect that proof will some day be found that the Ostrich Feather and the mottoes "Ich Dien" and "Houmout" were derived from the Prince's maternal house of Hainault.

It is a most remarkable fact, that the *only contemporary* evidence of the institution of the Order of the Garter is to be found in a tailor's account, and that the *only contemporary* notice of the Prince of Wales's Badge should occur in a memorandum in a treatise on Hemorrhoids!

I avail myself of this occasion to make a trifling addition to my remarks on the Order of the Garter, as well as to those on the Ostrich Feathers.

The charter^c granting the Duchy of Aquitaine to the Prince of Wales, on the 19th of July, 1362, is curiously illuminated. In the upper corner on the left hand are the Prince's arms supported by two angels; and on the right a man is represented in a stooping posture holding over his head a sable shield charged with three Ostrich Feathers, each having a label but no motto. The sides of the shield are also supported by angels. Below this drawing is the effigy of another angel, who holds a long scroll in his hand, which occupies the greater part of the right margin, and contains the motto—

"*Neon soit que mal y pense.*"

Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

N. HARRIS NICOLAS.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.
Sec. S.A.

^c Engraved for the new edition of the *Fœdera*, vol. III. p. 667.

XXVII.—*On the Literary History of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Britons, and of the Romantic Cycle of King Arthur.* By THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

Read June 10th, 1847.

THE history of Britain, during the latter years of its existence as a Roman province, is that of a series of rebellious usurpations in opposition or rivalry to the wearer of the imperial purple at Rome; and the manner in which these usurpations were carried on proves not only how the Romano-British population of this island had become essentially Roman in its character, but that the imperial power was fast drawing towards an end. About the middle of the fifth century, as the communications with Rome were cut off by the inroads and conquests of the barbarians in the other provinces, another race, of whom we are in the habit of speaking collectively as the Saxons, who had certainly been settled on the eastern coasts of Britain for years, and who had joined in supporting the Romano-British usurpers, began to contend for mastery in the island. In the dim cloud that envelopes the subsequent history, we can just trace the faint outlines of civil contention, until in the course of the latter half of the fifth century the different tribes of Germanic invaders had established their power over the greater part of what is now called England.

In authentic history this period is nearly a blank. A writer of a very suspicious character, who passes under the name of Gildas, but whose book, the more I read it the more I am convinced, is the forgery of some Saxon ecclesiastic of the seventh century,^a and whose information is probably the record of Saxon traditions, has preserved a story (which cannot be authentic in its details) that when the usurper Maximus, towards the end of the fourth century, had carried away the insular legions to war against the legitimate emperor in Gaul, the Romano-British population, without defensive troops, were exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots of the North. In this dilemma, they humbled themselves to Rome, and petitioned for help. A Roman legion was sent, drove the Scots and

^a See what I have said of this writer in the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period, page 120.

Picts back to their own mountains, constructed a new wall to confine them within their limits, and returned to Gaul. Their departure was the signal for a new invasion and new ravages, which were only checked by the return of the Roman troops, in consequence, we are told, of a new application for aid on the part of the inhabitants of this distant province. Towards the middle of the fifth century, as I have already observed, the Roman troops were finally withdrawn; a new irruption of their northern enemies reduced the Romano-Britons to the utmost distress, and, a last and touching appeal to Italy having been made in vain, the ruler or usurper of the power in Britain (for the island had long been in the hands of a series of usurpers), called Gurthrigernus by Gildas, and by later writers Vortigern, invited the Saxons from Germany to his assistance, and thus brought over Hengist and Horsa, who from allies soon became enemies, and persecuted the natives even more savagely than the Picts and Scots, until they were defeated in battle by Aurelius Ambrosius, one of the Romans of rank who had been left in the island. From that time, the supposititious Gildas tells us, till the battle of Mount Badon (said to be Bath), followed a long series of battles, in which sometimes the Saxons and at others the Britons had the better.^a He subsequently declaims against the wickedness and profligacy of five British chieftains, his contemporaries, whom he represents as reigning at the same time in different parts of the island, Constantinus (in Damnonia), Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus.^b There was probably some ground for these names, as they resemble in form those found on the late Roman inscriptions in this island.

It is not necessary for the present purpose to show that this history must have been in a great measure legendary; it is adopted by our earliest historian Bede, and, with some trifling additions made by him from other sources (not British), is all that the Anglo-Saxons in subsequent times seem to have known of the events of that period which intervened between the loss of Britain as a province to the Roman empire, and the establishment of their own supremacy. In the earlier Norman period, Ordericus Vitalis, who collected his historical materials with so much industry, and from his connection with the borders of Wales might be supposed to have known something of Welsh traditions, only repeats the words of Bede. It is tolerably clear, in fact, that this was all that was known of British history during the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Towards the end of the reign of Henry I. or a little before the year 1135, appeared William of Malmesbury's History of the English Kings. This writer is the

^a See the *Historia Gildæ*, § 14—26.

^b See the *Epistola Gildæ*, § 28—33.

first who adds anything to the previous outline of the earlier history of the island. He gives us the story of Vortigern and Rowena; and, besides some other slight additions to the narrative of the wars between the Britons and Saxons as given by former Chroniclers, he relates Hengist's fatal "parliament," and makes direct allusion to the prowess of king Arthur, adding, "*Hic est Arthurus de quo Brittonum nugæ hodieque delirant, dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces prædicarent historiæ, quippe qui labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque civium mentes ad bellum acuerit.*"^a A very slight comparison is sufficient to convince us that William of Malmsbury, an active inquirer after historical documents during the greater part of his life, derived this new information from the *Historia Britonum*, which has since passed under the name of Nennius.

There are two circumstances of importance in this passage of the English historian; in the first place, it is the earliest known allusion to the pseudo-Nennius, and in the second place it shows that as early as the reign of Henry I. the name of Arthur was celebrated in fables or romances (*nugæ, fabulæ*) among the Bretons of Armorica, for to them alone could the Latin name *Britones* be then applied. In Nennius only did William of Malmsbury find mention of the deeds of a British king named Arthur, and he immediately makes the reflection, this must be the Arthur who is the subject of Breton romance. In a subsequent part of his history, the same writer alludes to different legends current in his time relating to the death of Arthur's nephew Walwanus (the Sir Gawayne of later romance), but none of them agree with the story as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth.^b

It is evident that the book which bears the name of Nennius had then first made its appearance in England. Henry of Huntingdon, whose English history was composed between the date of William of Malmsbury's history and the year 1147, makes more extensive use of the book just alluded to than William has done, and cites it once directly under the name of Gildas, but he speaks of it with great caution and apparent suspicion . . . *apud quendam authorem reperi . . . dicitur . . . scripserunt quidam, &c.* I would remark, that it was next to impossible at this time to detect a literary forgery, because there was no rule of historical criticism by which to test it internally, and as to its external appearance, when any one found a manuscript in a monastic library or in private hands, he was obliged to take it for what it pretended to be, as the modern appearance of a manuscript only showed that it was a recent copy, and it would have been in vain to attempt to

^a Will. Malmsb. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 9, ed. Savile.

^b Ibid. lib. iii. p. 115.

trace back the prototypes. It may also be observed, that in most of the earlier manuscripts of this work it is either given anonymously, or ascribed to Gildas.

That the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius is an absolute forgery no one who has given it a careful perusal can doubt for a moment; but where it was forged, when, and for what special purpose, it would be difficult even to conjecture. It is a strange jumble of indigested materials. It commences with some chronological details relating almost entirely to Bible history, and copied apparently from a common and not very accurate authority. Then we have a few sentences descriptive of the island of Britain, followed by the fabulous history of its first inhabitants, who are stated to have been Trojans led to Italy, after the ruin of their country, by Æneas, the wife of whose grandson Silvius being pregnant, it was foretold by the soothsayers that she would bear a son who should kill his mother and his father, and become an object of aversion to his countrymen. This child was named Bruto; his mother died in childbirth, and he subsequently killed his father Silvius by accident while shooting with an arrow, and thus fulfilled the prophecy. Bruto and his companions were obliged to leave Italy, and, after various adventures, reached Britain, where they founded a new kingdom. Equally fabulous accounts of the origin of the Picts, Scots, and Irish follow. These stories were founded on the common ethnological speculations of the day, filled up by means of imaginary derivations of names, and a perversion of the fables of antiquity. The legend of the birth of Brutus is found elsewhere told of other persons, and under a variety of different forms; it was during the middle ages a popular legend as well among the Christians of the west as among the Mahomedans of the east, who had the same tendency to a belief in fatalism; but its prototype is recognised in the classic story of Œdipus.

The pretended Nennius now leaps over the British history to the period of the Roman invasion, his account of which is founded on the common narratives, but disguised, so as to give it the air of having been written by a native of the island, who tells the story to the disadvantage of the invaders. The history of the Roman emperors is taken chiefly from Prosper of Aquitaine. That of the Saxon invasion, and of the subsequent religious mission of St. Germanus, is abridged from Bede. But alterations are made in the narratives of these writers, with the aim of giving to the compilation the appearance of an independent authority. The compiler adds to them, first, a story of Vortigern's marriage with his own daughter; next, the legend of Merlin, which seems to have been derived from the East, for it is found in Oriental writers; and, lastly, the battles between Vortimer and the Saxons, and the murder of the British chieftains at the meeting with Hengist. After these various matters, the legend of St. Patrick is inserted, and then the writer suddenly returns

to the wars between the Britons and the Saxons, to mention the name of Arthur and enumerate the twelve battles in which he was victorious, the last being that memorable conflict of Mount Badon, already alluded to. The book concludes with the pedigrees of the different Anglo-Saxon kings, copied very carelessly from some of the lists which were then common, and are not now uncommon, and betraying the same design in the compiler of appearing a different person from what he really was that we trace in other parts of the book.

Most of the earlier manuscripts of the pseudo-Nennius belong to the latter half of the twelfth century; two only are of an earlier date, but I believe that their antiquity has been much over-rated, and that they are probably not older than the beginning of the twelfth century. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with these two early manuscripts is, that they appear to have been written abroad, and in fact never to have been in England until one of them was bought a little more than a century ago for the library of the Earl of Oxford. This manuscript had formerly been in the library of the monastery of Montauban in Quercy, not far from Toulouse. The other early manuscript is now preserved in the Vatican, and had formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Germain at Paris. Every thing, in fact, seems to show that this book was new in England when it fell into the hands of William of Malmsbury and Henry of Huntingdon; and, the circumstances just mentioned being taken into consideration, we may fairly be allowed to presume that it was brought from France.

It appears to have been in the autumn of the year 1147* that Geoffrey of Monmouth completed his *Historia Britonum*, a far more remarkable book than that of Nennius, and here the author appears before us in his own character and makes a statement relating to his undertaking. He says that he had often wondered why Gildas and Bede had handed down to posterity no account of the kings who reigned in Britain before the Christian era, or of Arthur and the various British kings of the subsequent period, whose glorious deeds were nevertheless traditionally celebrated

* The book is dedicated to Robert Earl of Gloucester, who died in October, 1147. In the preface to the seventh book, Geoffrey speaks of his patron Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, as recently dead—the bishop died in August, 1147. He said that when he had proceeded so far in his history, the prophecies of Merlin beginning to be much talked of, the bishop called him off from the history to give an authentic translation of those prophecies, which, now he had finished his history, he inserted in it as a seventh book.

A difficulty regarding the date is caused by a statement of Henry of Huntingdon in a MS. at Lambeth, which would seem to prove that Geoffrey's History had been at least partially published a few years earlier. I have not had an opportunity of examining the MS. and it is of no importance for the question agitated in the present paper.

—*a multis populis*—by many people.^a While occupied with these thoughts, his friend Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, showed him a very old book in the Breton language which contained the deeds of all the kings from Brutus first king of the Britons to Cadwalader the son of Cadwalon. At his friend's request, and struck with the interest of this volume, he undertook to translate it into Latin, and he pretends that his own history is a translation of the Breton book. At the conclusion he speaks jeeringly of William of Malmsbury and Henry of Huntingdon, "whom I command not to write on the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book in the Breton language, which Walter archdeacon of Oxford brought over from Britany."^b

It seems clear from this, and from what has been said above, that before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote, nothing further was known in England relating to these pretended British kings than the brief unsatisfactory account which had been furnished by the pseudo-Nennius, and Geoffrey distinctly refers his materials to that same country, Britany, where Arthur had been the subject of fables several years before, as we are assured by William of Malmsbury. The manner in which the new history was received can leave no doubt on our minds of the novelty which characterized it, and it was too romantic not to be widely popular as it became known. It seems to have produced everywhere an extraordinary sensation, and copies were rapidly multiplied and spread abroad. An Anglo-Norman trouvère named Gaimar, whose patroness the lady of Ralph Fitz Gilbert obtained through a northern baron named Walter Espec the loan of the book from the Earl of Gloucester, translated it into Anglo-Norman verse not long after its publication. This translation appears to be now lost, though Gaimar's history of the Anglo-Saxon kings, which formed a continuation, is preserved in several manuscripts. Nearly at the same time, a monk of Beverley named Alfred, endeavouring to dispel from his mind the grief caused by troubles in which his monastery was involved, by collecting historical materials, began, as he tells us, to hear people talk of British kings of whom he was entirely ignorant; and ashamed of being obliged to confess so often that he was unacquainted with them, he became anxious to obtain a sight of the new history, and with much difficulty succeeded in borrowing it for a short time, during which he made

^a In mirum contuli, quod intra mentionem quam de eis Gildas et Beda luculento tractatu fecerunt, nihil de regibus qui ante incarnationem Christi Britanniam inhabitaverunt, nihil etiam de Arturo, cæterisque compluribus qui post incarnationem successerunt reperissem; cum et gesta eorum digna aeternitatis laude constarent, et a multis populis quasi inscripta jucunde et memoriter prædicentur. Galf. Mon. Epist. dedicat.

^b Galf. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. xii. c. 20.

an abridgment of it,^a which has been preserved and was printed by Thomas Hearne. Very soon after this, another trouvère, the well-known Wace, began a new version of Geoffrey's History in Anglo-Norman verse, which he completed in 1155, and to which, from Brutus the pretended colonizer of Britain, was given the title of the *Roman de Brut*. Wace was a native of Jersey, and, having spent his youth in Normandy and Britany, was well acquainted with the legends of both countries. He frequently amplifies his original, and sometimes adds incidents which we may suppose he borrowed from the original traditions of Britany.

While some were thus expressing their astonishment, without being incredulous, at such an extraordinary narrative of the earlier history of this island, there were others who looked upon it in a very different light. These, however, were not numerous, though they are important by their character. William of Newbury wrote as an old man at the end of the century, and speaks the impressions of his youth. "A man in our times," he says, "called Geoffrey, and who received the *agnomen* of Arturus because he cloaked with the honest name of history, by giving them the clothing of the Latin tongue, the fables concerning Arthur taken from the old tales of the Bretons and increased from his own imagination. Moreover, what he calls the history of the Britons, how petulantly and impudently he lies in almost every part of it, no one, unless he be ignorant of the old histories, when he meets with that book, is left in any doubt. I omit how much of the acts of the Britons before Julius Caesar that man invented, or wrote from the inventions of others, which he set forth as authentic," &c.^b Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welshman well acquainted with the legends of his country, who was born before the *Historia Britonum* was published, and bears testimony that it was not supported by Welsh traditions, tells us of one of his countrymen who had the faculty of seeing evil spirits, and who gave an unerring judgment on the truth or falsity of books placed before him or in his hands, by the freedom with which the evil spirits approached them: "Once," says Giraldus, "when he was much tormented by the evil spirits, he placed the Gospel of St. John in his bosom, and they immediately vanished from his sight, flying away like birds; afterwards he put the Gospel away, and for the sake of experiment took the History of the Britons by Galfridus Arthurus in its place, when they returned and covered not only his body, but the book in his bosom, far more thickly and in a more troublesome manner than usual."^c A story like this indicates a general

^a See Alfred's Prologue to his History.

^b Wil. Neub. de Rebus Anglicis, proëm.

^c Girald. Cambr. Itin. Cambriæ. lib. i., c. 5.

impression in Wales against the veracity of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Giraldus elsewhere speaks of the "fabulous history" of Geoffrey.^a

William of Newbury seems to have been perfectly right in his judgment that much of Geoffrey's book was his own invention, for it is far from probable that the *Historia Britonum*, in its entire, can have been translated from any book in the Breton tongue. I cannot dissuade myself that the history of the wanderings of Brutus is a fiction of Geoffrey's founded upon Nennius, and filled with a strange medley of classical names, taken mostly from Virgil. In the opening chapter of this story he has adopted words and phrases from Nennius, whom he must therefore have had before his eyes; and, which is still more singular, in his description of the route of Brutus in his way to the Western ocean, he takes from Nennius nearly verbatim a passage which in the original applies, not to Brutus, but to the eastern colony who according to that account peopled Ireland.^b We are here dealing with Latin words, and the similarity could not have arisen accidentally in a translation from the Breton tongue. In the course of his wanderings Brutus is made to arrive in Aquitaine, where he builds the city of Tours (*civitas Turonorum*), and names it after his nephew, a Trojan named Turonus, who was slain in battle there. Here, for once, Geoffrey adduces a pretended authority, and, of all other authorities that he might have chosen, none would serve his turn but Homer! *quam ut Homerus testatur, ipse postmodum construxit.*^c This surely is an authority which was not likely to have been obtained from a Breton book. Geoffrey's first book ends with the foundation of Brutus's capital, named by him New Troy, but since better known by the name of London. With an affectation of chronological knowledge, which is carried through the work, and seems to have been designed as a trap for the credulity of the reader, Geoffrey informs us that when London was built Heli ruled in Judea, and the Ark of the Testament was taken by the Philistines; the sons of

^a Girald. Cambr. Walliæ Descrip. cap. vii.

^b The passage in Nennius (§ 15) is,—

"At ille per quadraginta et duos annos ambulavit per Affricam [he was coming from Egypt]; et venerunt ad Aras Philistinorum per lacum Salinarum, et venerunt inter Ruscicadam et montes Azariæ, et venerunt per flumen Malvam, et transierunt per maritima [Mauritaniam, in other MSS.] ad Columnas Herculis, et navigaverunt Tyrrenum mare," &c.

Geoffrey, Hist. Brit. lib. i. § 11, 12, says of Brutus and his companions,—

"Et sulcantes aquora, cursu triginta dierum venerunt ad Africam: nescii adhuc quorsum prorsus verterent. Deinde venerunt ad Aras Philenorum, et ad locum (*leg.* lacum) Salinarum; et navigaverunt intra Ruscicadam et montes Azaræ. . . . Porro flumen Malvæ transeuntes, applicuerunt in Mauritaniam; deinde . . . refertis navibus petierunt Columnas Herculis. . . . Utcumque tamen elapsi, venerunt ad Tyrrenum æquor."

^c Galfr. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. i. § 14.

Hector reigned in Troy, after having driven out the descendants of Antenor; and Silvius, the son of Æneas, reigned in Italy. It is not worth the trouble to shew the absurdity of such statements.

The second and third books contain the history of the descendants of Brutus until the period of Cæsar's invasion, which seems to be a mere invention by Geoffrey himself. The names of these personages are chosen such as to give plausible derivations of the names of towns, rivers, &c. Thus the three sons of Brutus, Loerin, Albanact, and Kamber, divide the island among them, and the three divisions are called after their names Loegria, Albania, and Cambria. In their time Humber, king of the Huns, invades the island, but being defeated, he is drowned in the river which thence took his name. Loerin falls in love with his captive Estrild, Humber's daughter, and conceals her from his wife in a subterranean chamber which he built for her within London, sixteen feet under the ground.^a She bears him a daughter Sabren, who with her mother is drowned by Loerin's wife (after the king's death) in the river called after her the Severn (*Sabrina*). Another king, Ebraucus, built York, called from him *Ebrauc*. Geoffrey was here deceived by a corrupt form of the ancient Eboracum. This Ebrauc had in succession twenty wives, who bore him twenty sons and thirty daughters: he sent his daughters to Italy, where they were married to the noblest of the Trojans who had settled there; his sons he sent to conquer Germany. After three generations king Bladud founded Bath, and taught his subjects necromancy. He also invented wings to fly, but they betrayed him, and he fell upon the temple of Apollo in London, and broke his neck. This is the classic story of Dædalus. His son Lear built Leirchester, or Leicester. After several generations came Dunwallo Molmutius, concerning whom our author quotes from Gildas what is not found either in Gildas or Nennius. He was the author of the Molmutine laws, which, Geoffrey says, were still in force among the English in his time. Next we have the extraordinary history of Brennius and Belinus, who are said to have conquered Rome. The latter, on his return, built Billingsgate, and gave his name to it. Then, after a numerous succession of kings, we arrive at Lud, who was contemporary with Cæsar, and who gave his name to Ludgate, which he erected.

Three more books include the history of the Romans in Britain, and that of the Saxon invasion to the time of Arthur. It is a mere romance, built upon the historical facts which were universally known, and reads much better in Anglo-

^a This is about the depth at which the floors of the houses of Roman London would be found. Is it not probable that the origin of Geoffrey's tale about the subterranean chamber was the discovery of the foundations of a Roman house in digging some pit in the city?

Norman poetry than in grave Latin prose. A story is invented to shew how the Roman conquest was effected only by means of domestic treason—it is a kind of first edition of Hengist and Vortigern. The emperor Claudius landed at Porchester, and he, like Cæsar, was defeated by the Britons; his general, Hamo, was slain on the beach at the place since called after him Hampton (Southampton). The British king Arviragus married Genuissa, the daughter of the emperor Claudius, and in honour of the marriage Claudius built Gloucester. According to others it was a son of Claudius, named Gloius, who gave name to this city. After the death of Allectus his colleague Livius Gallus was besieged in London, and the city being taken by assault, Gallus was slain near the stream which passed through the city, and was afterwards called from him *Gallbrook* or *Wallbrook*. When Maximian led all the soldiery from Britain into Gaul, he established a large part of them under Conan in Armorica, called afterwards from them Britany: in order to supply them with wives the eleven thousand virgins were sent from their native land. This appears to be a perversion by Geoffrey of the ecclesiastical legend. Vortigern was an usurper, and when Hengist and a few Saxons were thrown by chance on the British coast, they were brought to him as a race of people who had never been seen or heard of before, and, after cross-examining them, he took them into his service to support him in his usurpation. Hengist obtained his first grant of land by a stratagem: he asked for as much only as he could surround with a leathern thong, which was readily granted, and the artful Saxon took a large bull's hide, and cut it into one very fine and very long thong, with which he marked out as much land as was necessary to build a strong castle, which the Saxons, in memory of the transaction, called Thancaester. This story was of course taken from Virgil; it was the classic legend of the building of Carthage:—

Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernes
Mœnia, surgentemque novæ Carthaginis arcem:
Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.

Æn. I. 365.

The history of the Saxon wars is built upon Gildas and Nennius. The story of the meeting at which the British nobles were treacherously slain, and the subsequent building of Stonehenge to commemorate the tragedy, may have been a local legend. The history of Merlin is, as I have before observed, of eastern origin: it is found in the collection of apologues which, in its European dress, passed under the title of the Seven Sages, and occurs among the early Indian and Persian story-books.^a The

^a See my edition of the Seven Sages, p. 78, and the Introduction, pp. lvi. lvii.

seventh book of Geoffrey's history consists of Merlin's Prophecies, which were very popular in the twelfth century, and are quoted in a late part of the historical work of Ordericus Vitalis.

Geoffrey's eighth book contains the history of Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, and appears to be made up partly in the same way as those we have been considering. In it, however, we have the amours of Uther (taken from the classic story of Jupiter and Alcmena) and the birth of king Arthur, whose history occupies the ninth and tenth books. This part of the work, if any, may have been taken partially from a Breton book, of which Geoffrey speaks again at the commencement of the eleventh book, and there acknowledges that part of his information was taken from the recital of archdeacon Walter, and not from the written document.^a

The eleventh and twelfth books contain the history of the British kings from the death of Arthur to that of Cadwallader, which Geoffrey places in 689. Most of the British kings whose adventures are here narrated were probably made for the occasion, and their history, with the exception of what is interwoven into it from the Anglo-Saxon historians, is about as authentic as the earlier part of the work. It is only necessary to state that the first four kings of Britain who follow King Arthur, are four of the chiefs whom Gildas enumerates as living contemporaneously in different parts of the island, Constantinus, Aurelius Conan, Vortiporius, and Malgo (or, as Gildas calls him, Maglocunus), and that Geoffrey of Monmouth actually misunderstands the figurative language of the older writer, and charges Malgo with a detestable vice of which Gildas does not accuse him.^b We may in this instance also see the manner in which Geoffrey's imagination built long stories upon small foundations, for on the mere expression of Gildas that Maglocunus was *multorum tyrannorum depulsor*, (the word *tyrannus* was applied to any independent chief or noble,) he makes his British king Malgo, at the time when the Britons were

^a Sed ut in Britannico præfato sermone invenit, et a Gualtero Oxinefordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit, vili licet stylo, breviter tamen propalabit. Galf. Monum. Hist. Brit. lib. xi. § 1.

^b Gildas, in his invective against the Britons, § 33, says to Maglocunus,—“Quid tu, enim, insularis draco, multorum tyrannorum depulsor tam regno quam etiam vita, supradictorum, novissime in nostro stylo, prime in malo, major multis potentia simulque malitia, largior in dando, profusior in peccato, robuste armis, sed animæ fortior excidiis, Maglocune, in tam vetusto scelerum atramento, veluti madidus vino de sodomitana vite expresso, stolidè volutaris?”

Geoffrey of Monmouth says of his Malgo (lib. xi. § 7),—“Cui successit Malgo omnium fere Britanniarum pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, et ultra modum probitate præclarus, nisi sodomitana peste volutatus sese Deo invisum exhibuisset.”

rapidly bowing beneath the yoke of the Saxon invaders, not only gain the supremacy at home, but conquer and reduce under his dominion Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orcades, Norway, and Denmark.

This very slight review of the contents of Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History will, I think, be sufficient to show that as a whole it could not be translated from any book in the Breton language. The purely classic names which are introduced in the earlier part of the history, selected from Virgil,—the strange mixture of names in other parts, which could not have been found together, for one or two of his British and Pictish names, such as Rodric (lib. iv. c. 17), Cheulphus (lib. iii. c. 1), are of a German origin,—the ingenuity with which names are invented, so as to seem to have been the origin of names of places and things which we know have quite another derivation, and to work in bits from Latin writers, so as to seem to make an agreement between the British history and that of other nations,—all these betray the manner in which Geoffrey's History was put together. We know that it was a fashion in his time to derive not only names of places, but even names of sciences, &c. from those of men who were supposed to have built or discovered them,^a and little attention was paid to the real meaning of the words. Many of the stories in Geoffrey of Monmouth are invented in this way; and they must have been invented by a man in England who was acquainted with localities, and who had a design to practise upon people's credulity in such derivations. Thus Ludgate, and Billingsgate, and especially Wallbrook, (which we know was so called because it passed under the London wall,) and many others, which are all Saxon, are not likely to have found their derivations in an old Breton book. The story of Lear and his daughters was probably taken from some medieval romance: it was Geoffrey of Monmouth who connected it with Leicester (Leir-caster), and made it a part of British history. The name of the town was in this instance derived from the old name of the river on which it stands. It is too absurd to suppose that any old Breton book should have told us that an early British queen named Marcia (a Roman name long before the period of the Roman invasion) compiled the laws called after her *lex Martiana*, and that king Alfred translated them into Anglo-Saxon, and called them after the original name, *Merena-lage*;^b or, that a still more

^a For instance, the medieval name for Arithmetic was *Algorismus*. Instead of seeking its real source, the writers on the subject tell us gravely that the name was derived from a king named Algor, who first treated of it. *Non inveniunt sed doctrinam traditam de numerorum progressionem ab Algore rege quondam Castellæ suo in Algorismo, &c. Johannis Norfolk in artem progres. summula*, MS. Harl. 3742. *Hæc præsens ars dicitur Algorismus ab Algore rege ejus inventore.* MS. Bibl. Reg. 12 E. I.

^b Galf. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. iii. § 13.

ancient British king, Dunwallo Molmutius, enacted the code of laws called after him the Molmutine laws, which Gildas translated from British into Latin, and king Alfred translated from Latin into English, under which form they became the laws of England, which continued in force in Geoffrey's time.^a What could Breton minstrels know about Anglo-Saxon laws or king Alfred's translations? It is not improbable that some of the stories which Geoffrey has worked up into his book, such as that of Stonehenge erected by supernatural means, may have been English local legends.

The earliest translation of Geoffrey's History, now extant, is Wace's *Roman de Brut*, in Anglo-Norman verse, completed in the year 1155. I have already stated that Wace was intimately acquainted with Breton traditions. He informs us in his other great work, the *Roman de Rou*, that he had visited the forest of Brecheliant to seek the wonders which the Bretons said were to be seen there, and which in fact are celebrated in the romances of the cycle of king Arthur, but his search was vain, and he somewhat naïvely acknowledges his folly.

Là alai-jo merveilles querre,
Vis la forest e vis la terre ;
Merveilles quis, maiz ne 's trovai ;
Fol m'en revins, fol i alai,
Fol i alai, fol m'en revins,
Folie quis, por fol me tins.

Roman de Rou, l. 11534.

Wace's version of the whole of the *Historia Britonum* antecedent to king Arthur, is a close copy of the original, with the mere poetical amplifications in descriptions and reflections that any other rhymers would have made; he evidently knew nothing of the history he was translating independent of the book he was translating from. The concluding portion of Wace's *Brut*, subsequent to the death of Arthur, is also closely translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is in the history of this mythic Romance hero, whose name was cherished by the Bretons of Armorica, that Wace's imagination appears less fettered, and that he seems to be more at home in his subject. And although Wace adds nothing of much importance to Geoffrey's history of Arthur, we learn from him the valuable fact that the romances of the Round Table (which is not mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth) were popular among the Bretons in the middle of the twelfth century, and there is an apparent implication that these romances differed very much from Geoffrey's account of the Breton

^a Galf. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. ii. § 17, and lib. iii. § 5.

hero—in fact, it was the difference between romance taken as romance—and the same romance metamorphosed and moulded into a history.

Fist Artus la Roonde Table,
Dont Breton dient mainte fable :
 Illec seioient li vassal
 Tot chievalment et tot ingal ;
 A la table ingalment seioient
 Et ingalment servi estoient.

Roman de Brut, l. 9998.

It is now quite clear that in the first half of the twelfth century the romances of Arthur were popular in Britany ; and it seems equally certain that English and Norman writers only knew of them as popular in Britany. When we consider Geoffrey of Monmouth's history in itself,—when we examine its artificial structure, and see the manner in which the materials are continually betraying themselves,—when we bear in memory how common a practice it was among romantic and poetical writers in the Middle Ages to call their works translations, when we know that they were not translations, in fact that this was a sort of conventional formula when authors wished to claim a mysterious origin for their productions,—I think we shall have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that Geoffrey deceived his readers as to the character of his book. Perhaps the wish expressed by William of Malmesbury with regard to the fabulous Arthur, *dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces predicarent historiæ*—may have given him the hint : the book which had then become known under the name of Gildas or Nennius offered him a brief outline, which his imagination easily filled up ; and if he did use any Breton book, it was one of those *fabulæ* or romances relating to Arthur which were prevalent in Armorica, and he seems to have altered it and worked it up so that it should be neatly dovetailed into the body of his history.

Geoffrey's book formed a new era in the history of the romances to which I am alluding. They had hitherto been mere popular tales of the country, the amusement of a dreary evening, or chanted by the minstrel in his patron's festive hall. They had now gained a place in literature which was shortly to give them a celebrity in almost every corner of the known world, for they were told in Greek among the poets of the East, and they were not unknown to the Arabs of the South. That involuntary process of localizing legends in countries to which they were really strangers, which was so prevalent in the Middle Ages, was active in several different countries, and soon connected the name of king Arthur with many spots and objects

in various parts of this island. Later on in the twelfth century an old coffin was dug up at Glastonbury, and the monks immediately declared that it was king Arthur's body, and they with equal facility found the body of his frail queen Gwenever. It was said that a Welsh minstrel had declared that king Arthur was buried there, and the place had been further revealed in a dream to king Henry.^a It was chiefly through the encouragement given to literature by this monarch and his court that the Breton romances were at length reduced to writing in a form more accordant with their real character, in the French or Anglo-Norman prose of Robert de Borron and Walter Mapes, who also pretend to translate, but, singularly enough, they talk of Latin originals. The Romances of the Saint Graal, of Merlin, of Lancelot du Lac, and of the Quête du Saint Graal, appear to contain the mass of the stories of the cycle of the Round Table current among the Bretons in the twelfth century; stories, however, which belong to the same cycle, and are not found in these large romances, are alluded to by contemporary writers. A comparison of them with the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth shows that that writer must have used the Breton romances only as the foundation of his narrative of the deeds of king Arthur, which he completed probably from his own inventive genius.

We might pursue the literary history of this cycle of romances, and show how it was gradually enlarged and extended in the different hands through which it passed during another century. The old feeling that it originated in Britany still prevailed. But Geoffrey of Monmouth's History remained as an insulated romance: it received no addition or explanation from the increased knowledge of the romances to which its great hero, Arthur, belonged. No documents or authentic traditions confirmed it; and it seems only to have received some amplification from the English monk Layamon, who worked up into his English version a few more of those local legends (such as that of the destruction of Cirencester by the agency of sparrows) of which Geoffrey himself had already made use.

^a See the account of this discovery in the work of Giraldus Cambrensis de Instructione Principis (lately published by the Anglia Christiana Society), p. 191.

XXVIII.—*On discoveries of Roman Remains at Chesterford, &c. by the Honourable R. C. NEVILLE: communicated to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N. &c., Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, by C. ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read, February 4, 1847.

February 2nd, 1847.

DURING the autumn of 1845 I employed workmen to trench some ground at Chesterford, called the "Borough Field," a great part of which had been previously dug by the parish for gravel, and produced a great variety of Roman remains. The remainder, however, to the extent of half an acre, never having been disturbed, gave good promise of a successful search, which was afterwards amply fulfilled.

I should observe that the spot alluded to is within the walls of the Roman encampment, and not far distant from the foundations of a building called by Stukeley "Templi Umbra," and still visible in a dry summer, when the brick or stone work becomes very prominent.

Circular holes to the depth of 20 or 30 feet abounded here, and these invariably contained fragments of pottery; coins too were scattered over the surface to the surprising number of 350, principally third brass, and not in good preservation; two however of Cunobeline are deserving of particular mention. One of these having on the obverse the legend "Tasc. Fil." was pronounced by Mr. Birch of the British Museum to be very valuable, as deciding a much controverted point relative to the parentage of Cunobeline. Of the silver coinage, specimens were less plentiful.

Traces of fire were very evident on all sides. From the innumerable fragments of ware with which the soil was strewn I succeeded in restoring about twenty vases, some in very good condition. Amongst the latter are a two-handled pitcher-shaped jar, and a very fine amphora containing bones of a bird, perhaps those

of a cock, for sacrificial purposes: remains of boars and stags were abundant, oyster-shells, and limpets, but no vestiges of human skeletons.

By far the most interesting relic discovered at this time, was a terra-cotta vessel, shaped like a font; this has been exhibited to the Archæological Institute, who conjecture it to be a thuribulum used for frankincense, and so strongly resembling the Norman and Saxon fonts as to render it probable that some such heathen prototype served as a model for Christian artists.

Bronze and iron styli, fibulæ, and rings, one of plain silver, two or three bronze bracelets, numbers of bone hair-pins, and amulets, with a few keys, constituted the chief features of this very productive spot.

My next object of research, undertaken during the past autumn, was, as far as I could judge, situated immediately without the old walls; here two early British coins of unpublished type, one beautifully executed, human skeletons and bones in great numbers, vessels, urns, &c. quickly presented themselves, of different shapes and sizes, and all in excellent preservation; twenty were close to each other, including an amphora, poculum, simpulum, &c. These were mostly filled with ashes; several contained the bones of moles, and (one in shape resembling a punch bowl) held a rude, ill-executed, bronze brooch. Another great deposit soon followed, making a total of fifty-five vessels, including five flat dishes in black and in red ware, the former prevailing, but the latter in the best preservation; none of them were marked with a maker's name; two only were ornamented, and those contained bronze fibulæ much injured by fire. All the pottery was very near the surface, so much so that two urns evidently had been broken by the plough-share. No order seems to have been observed in burying the bodies, except that they were principally deposited in a strip in the centre of the field, and also that an urn was generally in the vicinity of a skeleton, amounting to more than thirty.

Of coins, that usually accompanying mark of the habitation of our Roman ancestry, this place furnished but few,—the early British before mentioned, Constantius, Urbs Roma, and a second brass Domitian.

Bones of animals were of frequent occurrence, chiefly those of pigs, mingled with those of horses and cows.

This small portion of earth, in shape a parallelogram, occupies only eighteen poles of land, and runs longitudinally from the London and Cambridge road.

HADSTOCK.

Having received information of the existence of foundations supposed to be part of an ancient temple or villa at Hadstock, I proceeded in July last to examine the spot, which, from its vicinity to the well-known Roman remains at Bartlow and Linton, afforded likelihood of a favourable result. Nor were such expectations disappointed, a large mass of pavement quickly appearing, in a triangular form, about nine feet square, and composed of small diamond-shaped stones, in three colours, red, white, and blue, carefully arranged so as to form a pattern, but not one of a very elaborate nature. Intermixed with it were red tiles of different shapes and sizes, and a quantity of stucco of various colours, in a wonderful state of preservation; the whole was removed with great care and will ultimately be put together, according to its previous arrangement. The field, entirely covered with foundations, produced, besides a few coins of Hadrian, Constantine, and Constantius, a denarius of Severus Alexander, fragments of pottery, a very perfect and elegantly-shaped vessel in black ware, bones of horses, pins, and needles. It is worthy of remark that this place is known by the name of "Sunken Church-field," as though some other building of a later date had existed there; no tradition however relative to such a case is current in the neighbourhood, or any history of the country, but it may probably furnish scope for future investigation.

I am fortunate in possessing a perfect fac-simile of the pavement as it appeared when discovered, very ably executed by Mr. Frye of Saffron Walden; as well as beautifully finished drawings of all the Chesterford pottery, reflecting the greatest credit on the artist, Mr. J. Youngman of the same place.

Exclusive of these excavations, I last year engaged in several of minor importance, attended with less favourable results. On the recently inclosed heath of Triplow, in Cambridgeshire, are scattered a number of tumuli, assigned by tradition to the Anglo-Saxons. Five of these I opened, finding only in the centre of the first (a small one) a skull and bones, a coin of Valentinian the First, a fragment of black pottery, from its marking probably Anglo-Saxon, two jaw-bones of a horse, and a curious skewer-shaped implement of bone. Another, of much larger dimensions, from which, according to report, two swords had been taken at no very distant period, produced only the bottom of a bottle in very thick, coloured glass, and the bones of a cow. The three others were even less

productive, containing only a human skeleton, part of a burnt vessel, a horse's bone, and that of a smaller animal, thus affording little to interest the antiquary, or satisfy his curiosity.

In the Borough Field at Chesterford several fragments of pottery contained the potter's name, such as VICTORI·M,—IULI·M,—SACEROT·M, &c.

List of Roman Coins found at Chesterford.

First Brass :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Vespasian. | 5 Gallienus. |
| 1 Trajan. | 4 Salonina. |
| 6 Hadrian. | 3 Postumus. |
| 1 Lucius Verus. | 5 Victorinus. |
| 1 Antoninus Pius. | 11 Claudius Gothicus. |
| 1 Commodus. | 64 Tetricus, sen. and Tetricus, jun. |
| 1 Maximinus. | 4 Probus. |
| | 9 Carausius. |
| | 6 Allectus. |
| | 3 Licinius. |

Second Brass :—

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 2 Augustus. | 30 Constantine the Great. |
| 1 Tiberius. | 4 Crispus. |
| 2 Titus. | 5 Constantine, junior. |
| 5 Domitian. | 12 Constantius. |
| 3 Trajan. | 16 Urbs Roma. |
| 2 Hadrianus. | 7 Constantinopolis. |
| 4 Antoninus Pius. | 1 Fausta. |
| 1 Lucilla, wife of Verus. | 66 Constans. |
| 1 Maximinus. | 1 Julian the Second. |
| 1 Constantius. | 1 Magnentius. |
| | 13 Valens. |
| | 34 Gratianus. |
| | 12 Valentianus. |
| | 4 Justinian. |

Third Brass :—

- | |
|--------------|
| 1 Vespasian. |
| 1 Maximinus. |

The nine Silver Coins are,—

- 1 Domitian.
- 3 Antoninus Pius.
- 1 Septimius Severus.
- 1 Julia.
- 1 Severus Alexander.
- 1 Postumus.
- 1 Julian.

To these must be added,—

- 2 Cunobeline.
- 1 Adrian, second brass.
- 1 Domitian, second brass.
- 1 Constantius, third brass.
- 1 Urbs Roma, third brass.
- 2 Early British Coins, unpublished.

A very fine Probus, Agrippa, Victorinus, &c. have been found during the past week, and every day increases the collection.

R. C. N.

To C. ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A.

XXIX.—*Letter from C. ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. to Captain W. H. SMYTH, F.R.S. Director, on the British Coins found in 1845 at Chesterford.*

Read 18th February, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,

5, Liverpool-street, City,
February 15, 1847.

IN the paper which was recently communicated by the Honourable R. C. Neville, through me, to the Society, mention was made of some British coins. Casts have since been forwarded to me by Mr. Neville, viz.—

1. Obv. CVNOBEL... Galeated head and bust to the left.
Rev. TASC. FIL. A hog on its haunches, apparently browsing a plant.
2. Obv. CVNOBELINVS REX. Head to the right.
Rev. TAS? The letters A and S apparently united; a bull butting.
3. Obv. Head to the right.
Rev. A hog walking to the right; above, a lunette or part of a circle; below, a pearled star of five points.
4. Obv. ... VER. Head to the left.
Rev. A goat standing, to the left; in the field, stars, and a circle.
5. As Ruding, pl. 5, fig. 34.

Of these coins Nos. 1 and 2 are well known to numismatists. They have gained additional interest from the interpretation given by Mr. Birch^a to the hitherto puzzling word *Tascio* or *Tascia*, which, for a couple of centuries, furnished a theme for discussion and controversy, and brought into the field of literary disputation much learning and research to no satisfactory purpose. It remained for Mr. Birch to apply to the stubborn word the simple test of comparison, when it immediately resolved itself into *Tascioranus*, and the F or FIL. became *Filius*; when these two words were found in conjunction with that of Cunobelinus, the entire legend natu-

^a See communication to the Numismatic Society, April 25th, 1844; published in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 78. The Rev. Beale Poste in an elaborate paper on British Coins published in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. i. p. 232, gives reasons for dissenting from Mr. Birch's interpretation and for proposing a different reading.

rally would be *Cunobelinus Filius Tasciovani*; "Cunobelin the son of Tasciovan:" suggested, no doubt, by the formula "Caesar Divi F." on the coins of Augustus, which, together with the consular coins, in many instances furnished designs for the British currency.

The reverse of No. 1 is not from the same die as that engraved by Mr. Birch from the collection of Mr. Wigan; the inscription is in a different style, and the object before the hog seems to be more like a plant than a snake.

No. 3 appears to be a new type, but the coin is in bad preservation.

No. 4 is altogether new. The letters upon it appear to be VER; but, as the piece of metal has not covered the entire surface of the die, only a portion of the inscription appears. It may belong to the word VERVLAMIVM, often occurring upon the coins of Tasciovanus. The head is apparently that of Hercules, copied from a consular coin; the goat is derived probably from the same source.

I need not dwell upon the importance of these monuments, almost coeval with the earliest historical account of Britain. They are indeed almost the only works of art which we can point to and pronounce exclusively British. Weapons and ornaments, funeral urns, and the mounds which covered them may be disputed, but coins and their inscriptions admit of no doubt of correct appropriation. The new varieties which are constantly occurring (as in the little collection before us) should stimulate us to use every effort to secure those which may be brought to light in excavations, or by other means, for careful examination. Essex, as you are aware, was included in the kingdom of Cunobeline, and consequently in this county we find his coins in the greatest abundance. Some time since, I am informed, a considerable number were dug up in the vicinity of Colchester, and passed into the hands of a London dealer, by whom they were dispersed without any regard to the purposes of scientific inquiry to which they might have been made available.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

C. ROACH SMITH.

Capt. W. H. SMYTH, R.N.
Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

XXX.—*Examination of a Group of Barrows, Five in number, in Cambridgeshire.*
By the Hon. RICHARD CORNWALLIS NEVILLE, F.S.A.

Read April 29th, 1847.

SITUATED at the distance of a mile and a half from Royston, two miles from Melbourne, and three from Barkway, these barrows give a name to the locality,

"Campus ab illis

Dicatur, æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen,"

the spot where they stand being called "Five Hill Field." On an eminence, they form a conspicuous feature throughout the surrounding country, as yet only partially inclosed, and command an extensive view over the adjacent flat. Their exalted position would seem to favour the opinion of Professor Henslow, that they were originally intended for beacons: those however that have come under my notice are by no means to be included in such a classification, as, of the nine I examined, eight were decidedly of a funereal character, and one in the same neighbourhood equally so. Commencing with the tallest of the group, its shape, nearly oval, was longer than appeared altogether proportionate to its circular form, which cannot be better described than by a reference to "Fosbrooke's Antiquities," whose account of the "Long Barrow" and its contents coincides most remarkably with the one now under consideration. Incontestible proof that the mound had never been disturbed was afforded by the regularity of the strata, which continued unbroken alternate black and white all through the structure, though at the present day black soil does not exist nearer than two or three miles, that of the hill being of pulverized chalk: 54 feet in diameter and 10 in height, a small cinerary vase of unbaked clay soon made its appearance, very rude in workmanship, and at the depth of 4 feet from the superior surface; quickly followed by a human skeleton $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and distant 12 from the vase. As far as could be judged from the bones that remained, they would seem to have appertained to a youth, probably between 12 and

16 years of age. Another cinerary vase $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and the skull of an animal, pronounced by Professor Owen to be that of a badger, were next elicited; but the object of greatest interest in the barrow was undoubtedly a much smaller vessel, composed of the same unbaked clay, and of very peculiar shape. It lay in an inverted position, 6 feet deep. Being pierced, I have conjectured it to have been used as an incense burner, though, never having previously encountered anything of the kind, there is no guide for a positive opinion on the subject. This little vase was nearer the exterior surface than any other remain; a human skeleton, very perfect, 2 feet deep, that of a male of 50 or 60 years, charcoal in small patches, the horn of a roebuck, and a small double buckle of the peculiar yellow British bronze, and two minute fragments of light red pottery, concluded the contents of this the largest tumulus, which was formed of 490 loads of earth.

The labourers worked from east to west: none of the human bones bore traces of cremation, nor were they below or even resting upon the virgin soil, which consisted of solid clunch chalk, so firm as to resemble a threshing floor. About 150 yards from this spot, an earthwork or covered way runs in a direction from the south-east towards the north-west; another also exists of nearly the same description two miles distant, extending as far as the eye can reach to the westward; indeed all this country exhibits evident marks of occupation, and that probably by large bodies of men.

The second barrow, to the westward of the first and on the verge of the covered way, is 59 feet in diameter, and 4 feet high. Allowing for a few irregularities in the surface occasioned by the lapse of time, this mound is circular, and probably composed of materials taken from the adjacent earthwork. A mixture of black earth with the original chalky soil was disclosed by the interior; working from north to south, 6 feet from the centre, there appeared an oven-shaped hole a span in diameter; it bore palpable traces of fire, 3 inches below the original soil, and was well nigh filled with burnt fragments, the remains of men and animals, literally baked, and so mingled together as to be nearly unintelligible, combined with pieces of charcoal. The strata of the hole proceeded in a perpendicular direction 3 inches in diameter. A short distance from it I found a very large deer's horn, certainly of superior size to any now extant; this was in the centre, 4 inches deep. Still further south appeared a beautifully preserved coin of Marcus Aurelius in first brass ($1\frac{1}{2}$ foot deep), patina very fine; legend, "Antoninus Aug. Armeniacus," on the obverse: reverse, a winged victory to the right holding a spear, a figure seated on the ground; legend, "Vict. Aug. T R P X VIII. Imp. II. Cos. III.: S. C. in the field. Lastly was found the unbaked bottom of a small vase, blackened probably in the course of cremation.

Barrow No. 3. Nearly circular, 72 feet in diameter and 5 in height. This mound, although covering the largest surface of ground, contained but little in the shape of antiquarian remains; these however still tend to confirm the supposition that barrows of this kind were designed for sepulchral purposes, and afford another illustration of the poverty of their contents.* Worked from east to west, black mould was again perceptible, running through in a perpendicular line.

Barrows 4 and 5 had been nearly levelled previous to my visit, so as to render their examination useless; I am assured however that earthenware vessels were taken from both, and broken by the spade.


The foregoing investigation fully establishes in my mind an idea I have long held with regard to British barrows, that cutting through at once to the centre will in general prove inefficacious, though it may be accidentally successful. From the position of the remains in those we have been considering, it is more than probable that had this plan been adopted the excavators, owing to the magnitude of the mounds, would have missed the articles; and, even had they driven horizontal shafts in different directions from the centre, it is fair to conjecture that the result would have been the same, judging from the distance intervening between each vase, and their diminutiveness, added to the reflection that all were separate, no deposit occurring *en masse* in any one instance.

Annexed is a summary of the articles disinterred from all the barrows, with their dimensions, a correct surgical report of the skeletons, and an ably executed plan of the tumuli, with their relative size and proportions; this last by T. Cracknell, jun. of Saffron Walden.

BARROW NO. 1.

Diameter 54 feet, height 10 feet, circumference 169 feet.

CONTENTS.

First. Small cinerary vase of unbaked clay, shaped like an inverted cone, with a rim having a sloping roof and ornament, apparently produced by a finger nail, thus,  very rude. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, depth 4 inches, diameter at top 5 inches, diameter at base $2\frac{1}{2}$, circumference at top 14 inches, circumference at base 9, depth of sloping roof 1 inch. This vessel contained one piece of charcoal, and was removed with but little injury.

Second. Another small cinerary vase, similar in appearance but rather larger than the preceding. Height 6 inches, depth 5, depth of sloping roof $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, diameter

* Annexed hereafter.

at top $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, diameter at base $1\frac{1}{2}$, circumference at top 18 inches, circumference at base $11\frac{1}{2}$, more injured than the first, but wonderfully well restored by my servant.

Third. Very small cinerary vase, without a detached roof. Height 3 inches, depth $2\frac{1}{2}$, circumference at top 10 inches, circumference at base $8\frac{1}{2}$, diameter at top 3 inches, diameter at base 2, slope 1 inch.

Fourth. A thuribulum, or perhaps a vessel used for charcoal, though none of the burnt wood was near it. Circular in form, it was discovered in an inverted position, resembling in appearance a broad-brimmed hat; it has a bronze horizontal rim, serrated on the external edge, and ornamented with the same pattern as No. 1 cinerary vase, and is pierced at irregular intervals with small holes all round, seven in number and $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch beneath the rim. It is very perfect, and altogether a most singular vessel; none of the kind have ever been figured, as far as I can discover, if any indeed exist. Height nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, depth more than 1 inch, circumference at top interior circle 3 inches, circumference at exterior or ornamented edge $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, diameter at top 2 inches, diameter at base $2\frac{1}{4}$, breadth of projecting rim $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch.

Fifth. Double bronze buckle (British) and two very perfect pieces of dried charcoal.

The human bones found in barrow No. 1 consisted of portions of two skeletons; of the first only two bones were forthcoming when they were examined, though the workmen declared they had dug up others, and that they were carried away. Those which remained were the thigh bone and the right "os innominatum" or bone of the pelvis. From their size and the absence of their "epiphyses" they appear to have belonged to a person between 12 and 16 years of age.

Of the second skeleton all parts were perfect. The size and strength of the bones as well as the shape of the pelvis indicated the remains of a male of mature age. In both cases the bones were extremely brittle, nothing remaining but earthy matter; even the larger and stronger one crumbling on the slightest pressure.

Portions of the skeleton of a horse were also discovered.

This barrow contained none of the calculi mentioned by Professor Henslow.

BARROW NO. 2.

Exhibited, as we have before observed, the bones of men and animals, burnt, and mixed together in a confused mass; charcoal; a very large stag's horn; and the beautiful first-brass coin of Marcus Aurelius described above; as well as the bottom of a small vase, unbaked and black.

Of Barrow No. 3 the contents are as follows :—

First. Nearest the east end, horn of a fallow deer.

Second. One badger's skull and part of the frame of another.

Third. A solitary lump of charcoal, the only one in this mound.

Fourth. Skull of a third badger, very perfect.

Fifth. 33 feet from west end, a human skeleton, nearly entire, lying towards south-west by south; depth $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch.

Sixth. A deposit of snail's shells *en masse*, on virgin soil.

Seventh. Skeletons of five males, all lying, as before, south-west by south. The bones most of them tolerably perfect, with the exception of the skulls, those of two only being discovered, though on a surgical comparison 12 thigh bones appeared, 6 pair corresponding and complete. In the opinion of the anatomist these were all males.

Eighth. A pike-head of iron much corroded, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the northern exterior of the tomb, and 6 from the nearest skeleton, verging towards the western end.

BARROWS No. 4 & 5.

Nearly levelled down without examination.

Dimensions, No. 4. Diameter 46 feet, height 3 feet, circumference 144 feet.

Dimensions, No. 5. Diameter 53 feet, height $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, circumference 166 feet.

R. C. N.

XXXI.—*On some early Latin Stories, imitated at a later period by Chaucer and Shakespeare.* By THOMAS WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Read Dec. 16th, 1847.

THERE are many obscure nooks and corners in the wide field of antiquarian research, which must be carefully explored, if we would make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the history, or the literature and science, or the archæology of the Middle Ages. We shall find facts in the history of science and art among the heavy folios of the scholastic writers, which seem at first sight to forbid all attempt at perusal. Historical events are often cleared up from what has been looked upon as the refuse of manuscript collections, and hardly to be distinguished from the dust in which it has so long lain buried. Manners and customs of private life receive the most interesting illustration from the bills of butlers and cooks, from the parish register, or from the local court book.

This is peculiarly the case with the history of medieval literature; and we sometimes find in documents where it is least expected traces of almost forgotten branches of the popular literature of our forefathers in far distant ages. There is no class of medieval history more interesting, and at the same time more extensive, than the collections of short popular tales, which are found scattered over old, and sometimes in despised, manuscripts in a great variety of different forms. It is in these that we often trace affinity of races widely distant in position, and social intercourse of nations which we are accustomed to consider as having existed in unceasing enmity to each other; while they interest us on the other hand inasmuch as they formed the groundwork of a large portion of European literature at a much more recent period.

The form in which these stories present themselves most prominently in the Middle Ages is that of *fabliaux*, or metrical tales, which, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, it was the particular province of the jongleur, or minstrel, to

recite. This portion of the minstrel's character appears to have been borrowed from the Arabs, with whom we know well how universally popular a character the storyteller has ever been. It is impossible now to form a correct estimate of the immense quantity of metrical fabliaux (chiefly written in French) which existed at the period to which I allude. The reciters appear to have possessed a great facility in putting their stories into rhyme, and it is probable that many were never committed to writing. But in spite of the great number of manuscripts of this class, which have perished in the wreck of so many ages, the quantity still preserved is quite extraordinary. I need hardly say that a considerable number have been printed.

But many of the stories which have perished in the form of metrical fabliaux have been preserved in another shape, where they have attracted less attention than they merit. The medieval preachers had an extraordinary taste for allegories and moralizations, and nothing was too mean, or too vulgar, or even too indelicate, to be dragged in and made to point the moral of a sermon. The jest which raised a laugh at the festive board drew a tear when gravely narrated from the pulpit. The medieval preachers thus made great use of the fabliaux of the minstrels, and of all kinds of popular tales which fell in their way; and, as it might have been embarrassing to trust to their memory for the apt illustration at the moment it was wanting, they made common-place books of such stories as fell within their hearing, that they might have them ready when the occasion presented itself. Such common-place books of stories began to be formed in the twelfth century, and they are very numerous through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They are written in Latin, are sometimes told with interesting details, while in others they are much more briefly related than in the original fabliaux, and they are often mixed up with matters of a very miscellaneous character. Several collections took a more definite shape, and gained a particular celebrity. The earliest of these was made by Odo de Cirington in the twelfth century; among later ones the best known are, the *Summa Predicantium* of John of Bromyard, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and the *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, composed in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Another celebrated collection, put together in a still more formal style, is known by the title of the *Gesta Romanorum*. I may add, that, to judge from the number of manuscripts still preserved, these stories seem to have been more popular in England than in any other country.

A great number of these medieval stories of Western Europe are found with slight variations—often with almost the same details—in the numerous collections of stories current at an early period in India, and among the Persians and Arabs, who derived them from the Hindoos. It becomes, therefore, an interesting question, how

far, and at what period, they were transmitted from the East to the West. That such transmission did take place to a certain extent, there can be no doubt, and we can trace in medieval history an intercourse at certain periods between the Christian minstrels and the Saracenic story-tellers. We find, however, traces of many of these stories—including some which have their exact counterpart in the East—in writers of Western Europe who flourished long before any such intercourse took place; and we must therefore suppose that they belong to that class of national characteristics, like the language and popular proverbs, which in races of cognate origin are found to have existed among each unchanged from the remotest period. This is a question, however, upon which it is not my intention now to enter; my object is merely to call attention to two stories preserved in Latin collections of the class above alluded to, which are early forms of stories found in our two great national poets, Chaucer and Shakespeare, and which I believe have not hitherto been noticed.

I need not repeat here the beautiful story of the Sompnour and the Fiend, which Chaucer has put into the mouth of his "frere." In the recently published second volume of the *Canterbury Tales*, I have stated it as probable that Chaucer translated some old fabliau, now lost or unknown, which had been abridged in a short tale, which I have printed, in a collection of *Latin Stories* published a few years ago by the Percy Society, under the title *De Advocato et Diabolo*. I was not then aware that there existed in a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Cleopatra D. VIII. fol. 110), another version of this same story, which in one or two respects bears a closer resemblance to Chaucer's tale. It shows, however, that there was some common source, which was probably a fabliau still more closely resembling the *Frere's Tale*. In this new version of the story, we are told that there was a wicked seneschal or steward, who was a great oppressor and robber of the poor, and who one day, on his way to the law court in search of strife and lucre, met with a man who asked him whither he was going, and what business he was after. The seneschal replied, "I am on my way in search of gain." The other replied, "My errand is the same, let us go together." On the seneschal giving his consent to this proposal, his companion further inquired, "What is thy gain?" The seneschal told him rather candidly, "The goods of the poor, when they have any, which I obtain by law-suits, contentions, and vexations, either justly or unjustly, as I can;" and added, "now that I have told you my gain, pray tell me yours." The other answered him without hesitation, "I reckon as my gain whatever is given in malediction to the devil." The seneschal laughed at his new companion with a sneer, not knowing that it was to the devil himself he was speaking.

They now proceeded lovingly on their way, and as they passed through a city,

they heard a poor man cursing a calf he was taking to the market, because it would not go straight forward. At the same time they heard a woman uttering maledictions over her boy, as she was beating him. "Here is gain for you, if you like," said the seneschal to his companion; "take the boy and the calf!" The other replied, "I cannot take them, because they did not curse them from the heart."

Soon after they saw the poor people going to the place of judgment, where they expected to be robbed of their goods, and when they saw the seneschal they all began with one voice to curse him. Then the companion of the seneschal said to him, "Do you hear what they say?" "Yes," said the other, "but what care I?" But his companion replied, "These people curse you from the heart, and give you to the devil, and therefore you shall be mine." And he immediately seized hold of him, and they disappeared together.*

The other Latin story to which I would call attention, is a very early and curious version of the incident of the pound of flesh which forms so interesting a part of the plot of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. This story is found in a variety of forms, and occurs in the literature of the East. Shakespeare is generally supposed to have taken it from the English version of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum*. I have printed the original Latin of the story from the *Gesta Romanorum* in my Collection of Latin Stories above alluded to. The version of the story I now bring to light is also found in a collection of Latin Stories for preachers in a manuscript written in England (MS. Harl. No. 7322, fol. 28, v^o.) early in the fourteenth century, and the scene of it is here laid in Denmark.^b

^a *Narratio de quodam senescallo sceleroso.*—Erat vir quidam senescallus et placitator, pauperum calumpniator, et bonorum huiusmodi spoliator, qui die quadam forum iudiciale causa contentions faciendæ et lucrandi adivit. Cui quidam obviavit itinere, dicens ei, "Quo vadis? et quid habes officii?" Respondit primus, "Vado lucrari." Et ait secundus, "Ego tui similis sum; eamus simul." Primo consentiente, dixit secundus ei, "Quid est lucrum tuum?" Et ille, "Emolumentum pauperum, quamdiu aliquid habent, ut per lites, contentiones, et vexationes, sive juste sive injuste. Modo dixi tibi lucrum meum unde est; Dic mihi, quæso, unde est et tuum?" Respondit secundus dicens, "Quicquid sub maledictione traditur diabolo computo mihi pro lucro." Risit primus et derisit secundum, non intelligens quod esset diabolus.

Paulo post cum transirent per civitatem, audierunt quemdam pauperem maledicere cuidam vitulo quem duxit ad vendendum, quia indirecte ibat. Item, audierunt consimilem de muliere fastigante puerum suum. Tunc ait primus ad secundum, "Ecce potes lucrari si vis! tolle puerum et vitulum." Respondit secundus, "Non possum, quia non maledicunt ex corde."

Cum vero paululum processissent, pauperes euntes versus iudicium, videntes illum senescallum, cœperunt omnes unanimiter maledictiones in ipsum ingerere. Et dixit secundus ad primum, "Audis quid isti dicunt?" "Audio," inquit, "sed nihil ad me." Et dixit secundus, "Isti maledicunt ex corde et te tradunt diabolo, et ideo meus eris." Qui statim ipsum arripiens, cum eo disparuit.

^b In Dacia erat quidam homo habens duos filios, quorum senior est maliciosus et parcus, junior autem non

There was, we are told, in Denmark a man who had two sons, of whom the elder was malicious and covetous, while the younger was not only generous but prodigal. Now when the younger had spent all his money in hospitality, it happened that two men came to ask a lodging of him. He no longer possessed anything wherewith to receive them with due respectability, yet he was ashamed to refuse. All he had left, in fact, was a cow, which he killed for meat, and he went to his brother to ask for bread and drink. The brother replied flatly, that he would give him nothing unless he bought and paid for it. The younger brother protested that he was utterly destitute, and had nothing to give in exchange for the necessary articles of life. "Yes," said the elder brother, "you have your flesh, sell me the breadth of my hand of your flesh, in whatever part and when I may choose to take it." The junior thoughtlessly agreed to the bargain, which was made before the necessary witnesses. When the guests of the young man were departed, and the food was all eaten, the elder brother demanded the fulfilment of their agreement, which the younger one refused. The matter was brought for trial before the King, and the younger brother was condemned to be carried to the place of execution, where the elder brother was to cut as much flesh as he had bargained for, either from the head or from the breast. But the populace, having pity on the young man because they knew he was so

tantum liberalis sed prodigus. Cum autem junior hospitalitati omnia quae habuit expendisset, accidit ut duos homines peterent ab eo hospitium. Ille autem, quanquam nihil haberet unde honeste eos reciperet, propter tamen verecundiam eos recepit. Cum autem nihil haberet unde cibaria eis pararet praeter unam vaccam, eam occidit. Deficiente igitur pane et potu, fratrem seniore adivit, subsidium ab eo requirens; qui respondit se sibi nihil penitus daturum, nisi emeret. Contestante autem juniore se nihil habere, respondit senior, "Immo," inquit, "carnem tuam habes, vende mihi ad latitudinem manus meae de carne tua in quibus et in quadruplum ubicunque voluero recipere." Junior parvipendens pepigit cum eo, testibus adhibitis. Modus autem et istius patriae est sic vel alibi sub quavis falsitate scripti vel chirographi ita nisi sub teste licet emere vel vendere. Recedentibus igitur hospitibus et consumptis cibariis, pactum poposcit senior frater. Negat junior, et adductus est coram rege, et sententiatus coram juniore ut ad locum suppliciorum deducatur, et accipiat senior tantum de carne quantum pactum est vel in capite vel circa cor. Misertus autem sui populus eo quod liberalis erat nunciaverunt filio regis quae et quare haec facta fuerant, qui statim misericordia motus, induit se, et palefridum ascendens secutus est miserum illum sic dampnatum; et cum venisset ad locum supplicii, videns eum populus qui ad spectaculum confluerant, cessit sibi. Et alloquens filius regis fratrem illum seniore crudelem, et dixit ei: "Quid juris habes in isto?" Respondit: "Sic," inquit, "pacti sumus, ut pro cibariis tantundem de carne sua mihi daret, et condemnatus est ad solutionem per patrem tuum regem." Cui filius regis, "Nihil," inquit, "aliud petis nisi carnem?" Respondit, "Nihil." Cui filius, "Ergo sanguis suus in carne sua est;" et ait filius isti condemnato, "Da mihi sanguinem tuum," et statim pepigerunt, insuper fecit sibi condemnatus homagium. Tunc dixit filius regis fratri seniori, "Modo cape ubicunque volueris carnem tuam; sed si sanguis meus est, si ex eo minimam guttam effunderis, morieris." Quo viso, recessit senior confusus, et liberatus est junior per regem.

generous, went and told the King's son what the agreement was and why it had been made, who, also moved with pity, dressed himself, mounted his palfrey, and hurried to the place of execution, and the crowd, when they saw him, made way for him to approach. Then the King's son said to the cruel elder brother, "What claim have you upon this man?" He replied, "This was our agreement, that in exchange for victuals he should give me so much of his flesh, and he is condemned to stand by his agreement by your father the King." The King's son then said, "Do you ask nothing but the flesh?" "Nothing." Then said he, "But there is blood in his flesh;" and he said to the condemned man, "Give your blood to me;" which he did with all the due formality of a grant. Then said the King's son to the elder brother, "Now take the flesh wherever you will, but take notice that the blood is mine, and if you shed the least drop of it you shall die." The elder brother, seeing that he was thus caught in his own trap, retreated in confusion, and the young man was liberated.

It cannot be thought totally uninteresting to trace thus how much that is amusing in modern literature is derived from former ages; and to know that we still continue to laugh at the very jests at which so often our forefathers wagged the beard when they were "merry in hall."

XXXII.—*Letter from GEORGE BOWYER, Esq. D.C.L., F.S.A. to ALBERT WAY, Esq. Director S.A., on the History of the Family of Castiglione. Communicated to the Society by the Council of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Read December 11th, 1845.

Sunningwell Rectory, Abingdon, Berks,
Sept. 2nd, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE following particulars regarding the illustrious house of Castillion, formerly seated at Benham Valance in this county, may I think be interesting to the historical section of our association. They were kindly furnished to me by the Rev. Mr. Randolph, grandson of Bishop Randolph, and a lineal descendant from the Castillions of Benham Valance.

One of the documents now before me is an Italian book, entitled "Elogi Historici di alcuni personaggi della famiglia Castiglione," printed at Mantua in the year 1606. In the first leaf I find this quaint entry: "In the yeare of our Lord 1610 I sent a man of purpose with two ferish dogges, both white, large, and fierse, with a letter of mine in Italian, the copy of which letter I have; meaninge once to have made a voyage unto Mantua to visit the courte.—This booke was sent me from Mantua in Italie 1610, from the Counte Baldazar Castillion, with his picture, and a letter of thanks unto me for y^e ferish dogges I sent him for a present to hunt the wulfe. Also he sent me y^e armes of that familie, which is Gules, a lyon rampant argent, a castell or: from a younger of which house we are descended, as may appeare from a pedigree I have.

(Signed)

FRANCIS CASTILLION."

The book is well and learnedly written, and certainly contains an extraordinary display of the best kind of genealogical glory—that which is derived from the great actions and the eminent attainments and virtues of a long line of ancestors. In his preface the author enumerates among the members of the Castillion family a great number of Jerusalemitan knights, many valorous commanders, a multitude of

civilians, philosophers, poets, senators, governors of cities and provinces, ambassadors of kings, a grand master of the order of St. Lazarus, seven bishops, six archbishops, five cardinals, two popes, and, among many persons of exemplary life, a canonized saint.

That saint was no less a personage than St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, who was son of Tesselinus Castiglione, or Chatillon, Lord of Fontaine in Burgundy. Another member of the family joined in the Crusade preached by St. Bernard, namely Rinaldo Castiglione, who, after great exploits in the Holy Land, married Costanza, Princess of Antioch, and niece of Baldwin king of Jerusalem, by whom he was made Prince of Antioch. Rinaldo was made prisoner at the great defeat of the Christians at the battle of Tiberias, where the wood of the Cross was taken by the Infidels, and he was beheaded by Saladin with his own hand.

The two popes of the Castiglione family are Urban the Second, who was beatified, and Celestine the Fourth, whose reign was the shortest known in history. He died eighteen days after his coronation, in the midst of universal regret, for the charity, disinterestedness, and ability which he had displayed in several important ecclesiastical employments rendered him the object of great respect and affection. Both these pontiffs were Milanese, and of the direct line of the Counts Castiglione, as was also the great civilian Christofer Count Castiglione. That learned man received the degree of Doctor in the year 1370, and was the friend of Bartolus, Baldus, Panormitan, and Cardinal Zabarella. He died in the year 1425. It is a remarkable circumstance in his life (as we see in Panzirolus) that his library was burnt three several times, to the great injury of posterity. He however left behind him several commentaries and orations, and an excellent treatise "de Duello," and his reputation was such that the titles of *Monarch of Laws* and *Prince of the Doctors* are given to him by Bartolus, Jason Maynus, and other civilians.

Christofer was not the only great lawyer of his family; for Branda Castiglione, a Judge of the Roman Rota and Cardinal of St. Clement, who died in the year 1443, and John Castiglione sixth Bishop of Vicenza, who died in 1409, were both most eminent doctors and judges in the Civil and in the Canon Laws. Franchino Castiglione, who died in 1462, was also a great civilian; but he was still more remarkable as an orator and a diplomatist, in all which qualifications he resembled his cousin Guarniero Castiglione. I must also not omit to name John Castiglione, Cardinal of Pavia, and George Castiglione, auditor of the Roman Rota, both great civilians and judges.

But none of these great men are so well known in England as Baldassar Cas-

tiglione, author of the "*Cortigiano*." He was born at Mantua in the year 1478, of Christofer Count Castiglione and Aluigia Gonzaga, a very excellent lady of the sovereign house of Mantua. Baltazar was both an elegant poet and an excellent prose writer. His sonnets and epigrams were much admired at the court of Mantua and all over Italy; but his literary reputation chiefly rests upon his "*Cortigiano*," which for purity of style is a model of Italian composition. It consists of a portraiture of a perfect courtier in the best sense of the word, that is to say, of a most complete and accomplished and virtuous gentleman in the household of a sovereign prince; serving his lord with the greatest fidelity, and in a manner consistent with his own honourable character. But it is needless to dwell on a work which is so well known and so deservedly esteemed. Baltazar was not only a distinguished literary man, but a good and brave soldier, and he acquired much military reputation in the war carried on in 1497 between the King of Naples and the French.

Castiglione was highly esteemed by Pope Julius the Second, who procured him to be employed by his nephew the Duke of Urbino, and he was sent by Ubaldo Duke of Urbino as ambassador to King Henry the Eighth. He was received with the greatest distinction by the King, and installed of the Garter for his master. This last fact explains why, in the engraving by Vertue of the picture of Baldassar by Raphael, the arms of the Count are surrounded by a collar of SS, from which a rose and two portcullises are suspended. Probably the King invested him with that ornament, the badge of English knighthood, with those additions which do not properly belong to the collar of SS. The print is mentioned in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

Baltazar was immediately afterwards sent by the Duke of Urbino as ambassador to Louis XII. King of France. It is said that that monarch exhorted him to complete and put together what he had already designed respecting the character of a perfect courtier, and to add to it a short treatise of a court lady. It seems that both these excellent works were for a long time planned by Castiglione before he executed them, and to this we may attribute that copiousness of learned and elegant illustrations with which they abound.

After holding many other high situations and managing a multitude of important affairs of state, this great and good man became an ecclesiastic, was elected Bishop of Avila in Spain, and he would have been created a Cardinal had he not died soon after his election in the year 1529. He was buried with great solemnity and extraordinary honours in the great church of Toledo; but, perhaps, his obsequies were most distinguished by these verses of Tasso:

“ *Lacrime voce e vita a bianchi marmi
Castiglion dar potesti, e vivo esempio
Ai Duci nostri ; onde in te sol contemplo,
Com' nom vinca la morte e la disarmi.
A te dier pregio equal la penna e l' armi
Tuche Roma sottrarsi al fiero scempio
Per te sperava, e dagli arringhi al tempio
Sacrasti al fin a Dio la spada e i carmi
Aureo monile o mitra a tanti pregi
Eran poca mercede o l' auro, o l' ostri,
O lunga vita, che miseria è lunga
Misura che da Batro a Tileaggionga.
Havesti asceto a gli stellati Chiostri
Ove agguagli di gloria Augusti e Regi.*”

Count Baldassar left by his wife Hippolita, daughter of Count Guido Torrello, a son, Count Baldassar, who married Katharine, daughter of the Marquess of Malaspina, and his son Peter Castiglione was father of John Baptist Castillion of Benham Valance, in the county of Berks. It appears by a parchment roll now before me, that John Baptist was in the military service of King Henry VIII. and afterwards of the privy chamber to Queen Elizabeth. He married Margaret, daughter and heir of B. Campayne, who was the mother of the maids of honour of Queen Elizabeth. His eldest son was Sir Francis Castillion, Knt. Douglas Castillion, fifth son of Baptist, was the father of John Castillion, who had one daughter, Mary, who married Herbert Randolph, Esq. Recorder of Canterbury, from whom Bishop Randolph descended.

At the bottom of the roll above mentioned is this memorandum: “ In the troublesome time of Queen Mary, for faithful and most trusty services performed by Baptist Castillion, being then a servant unto the Queen Elizabeth's Grace, and of her privy chamber, as hereafter shall be most plainly declared. For he being out of the Tower of London and very fortunately a very few weeks was employed about her Grace's safety, then a prisoner ; who presently sent unto him her private letters (all of her owne hand) to goe unto King Phillip's confessor and to the French ambassador late in the night, concerning her Grace's greates troubles and wrong imprisonment ; whereof being again committed close prisoner to the Tower, he was there strictly examined about the said employment, and suffered on the racke, being lame thereof, to confess the great trust the which her Grace had secretly committed to him. But upon his examination, being agayne committed close prisoner to the Tower, would make no confession thereof, wherby her Grace might come into any

danger by divulging the same, her Grace being most wonderfully accused about Wyat's rebellion, and for other matters most falsely layde to her charge because of religion, and other matters, both by the Cardinals here and many others in England, by the Pope's most wicked instigation and malicious practises. . . . In memory of which service, Queene Elizabeth coming to the Crowne, he was sent for out of the Tower, then close prisoner, and sworn of her Maties Privy Chamber, and not long after sent unto the heralds, willing and requiring them for this his especiall service to add a canton ermins unto the sinister corner to his owne proper armes, by a pattent under there comon seale ; for an honor to remayne unto him and his posterity. He descended of the noble family the Count Castillion near Mantua in Italy, and lyeth in peace under a monument at Speen, Berks."

With this extract I will conclude my account of the house of Castillion.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours truly,

GEORGE BOWYER.

XXXIII.—*Copy of a short Memoir on the Means considered fit for putting the Forces of England in Order at the time the Invasion from the Spaniards was expected in 1587; preserved in the Harleian MS. 168, fol. 110. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Secretary.*

Read Dec. 18, 1845.

. This little memoir contains numerous comments upon the state of certain points and places where it was supposed the Spaniards might be able to land: the proper dispositions for combating with them: the order of fighting with the enemy if he should land: and the proportion of men to be provided for that purpose, more especially as regarded the border toward Scotland. There are various other points also proposed to be considered, which will be best understood in the detail.

The Letters which various Accounts of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada have constantly referred to as Original Dispatches, were a fabrication by the Authors of the "Athenian Letters," who intended in the first instance to have made this part of English History one of the points of their Lucubrations.

There are many papers of high historical interest preserved in our Manuscript Repositories, which have not yet seen the light of a later day, to explain all the circumstances attending the Formation and Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

AN^o 30 ELIZABETHÆ.

November, 1587.

An advice of suche menes as are considered to be fitte to putt the forces of the Realme of England in order to withstand an invation pretended by the Kinge of Spain, sit downe by thes noble and experiencede Captaines hereafter following.

Arthur Lord Gray.
S^r Francis Knolles.
S^r Thomas Layton.
S^r Walter Rauley.
S^r John Norris.

S^r Richard Grenfeild.
S^r Rich. Bingham.
S^r Roger Williames.
Ralphe Lane, Esquir.

These are the
places most to
be suspected that
the Spaniard in-
tendeth to lande
in.

Milford
Heilford
Falmoth
Plimoth
Torbaye
Portland
Portsmouth
The Isle of Wight
Nesse in Sussexe
The Downes and Marget in Kente
The Rivere of Thamis
Harwiche
Hull and
Scotland.

These are apteste for the Army
of Spaine to lande in.

These are apteste for the Army
of Flaunders.

How many of
thes places may
be putt in de-
fence to hinder
their landinge.

Milford for Wales.
Plimouth for the Weste.
Porteland for the middle of the Weste parts.
The Isle of Wight
Portsmouth and the River of Thames.

Milford.

Although wee doe suppose the barrennes of the country to be such as it is not
lickly to be invaded, yet touching Milford Havene, in respecte of the goodnes of the
same Havene, wee thinke it conveniente that there should be a trayned number of
2,000 footmen, and 500 horse, to be levied and had in redynes; and for the increase
of horsmene yf any lacke, then the gentlemen with their servingmen maye be
comaunded to supply the defaulte of the number afforesayd.

Plimouth.

The reason whie Plimoth is thought to be the moste likly place is for that it is
unlickely that the King of Spaine will ingage his fleete too farre within the sleeve
before hee have mastered some one good harborough, of which Plimouth is the
neereste to Spaine easye to be woonne, speedely to be by them fortifyed, and
scituate conveniente to send succor unto, either out of Spaine or Fraunce.

Portlande.

The reasones whie Porteland is also an apte place to land in, is for that ther is a
greate harborough for all his shippes to ride in, good landinge for men. The Isle
beinge wonne is a stronge place of retreate. The country adjoynde champyon,
where with greate comoditye he may march with his wholle armye.

Downes, Mar-
gat, and the
Thamis.

The reason whie the Downes, Margate, and the Thames, are thought fitt landinge
places is in respecte of the comoditie of landinge and neerenes to the Prince of
Parma, in whose forces the Kinge of Spaine reposeth especiall truste, &c.

In Devone and Cornewall there are of trainede men in the countyes and stanneryes 5,000 men, which are to be assembled for the defence of Plimoth, standinge equall to both countryes, of which we are of oppinione, in place of muster daies, which is very chargeable and in effecte to small purpose, that 2,000 of those should be assembled together at Plimouth, under such a generall as shalbe ordayned to governe that Western Armye, to the intente that they maye knowe their leaders, be acquainted with watch and warde, be thoroughlye instructede to all purposes, that on suddennes ther may be noe amaze nor any confusyone. This shalbe done the one halfe at the charge of her Majestie, the other at the charge of the country, yf the countryes charge doe not surmounte the ordinary trainings.

Howe in these places order may be taken to hinder their landing whether by fortification or assemblie of the people or bothe.

For Plimoth bothe by fortification and assembly of people.

In Dorsett and Wilteshire ther are of trayned men 2,700, which are to be assembled for defence of that place, and that 2,000 of that number should be assembled and rexercised, as before is said, at Plimouth, or in some place of Wilteshire, appointed of the Isle of Wight to take Somerset, in which there are 2,000 foote.

For Portland by assembly of men and fortifying.

In Kent and Sussexe there are of trayned men 4,500, which are to be assembled in these places for defence there, and 2,000 of the said numbere to be assembled at Sandwich, to be governed and exercised as before is sayd for Plimouth.

At Sandwich, and the Downes by assembly of men.

So likewise for Norfolke and Suffolke the like order to be observed. Oure forther meaninge is that these garrysones shall remaine, but for 20 dayes to be throughlie trained and acquainted with incamping, and then everie suche 2,000 men in garrisone, being so acquainted with this discipline, shall give example to a great armye of rawe men, wherby ther shalbe no manner of confusyone one all soddenenes.

Further we are of opinione that to these 2,000 men ther shalbe 20 captaynes appoynted, which 20 captaynes, havinge eche of them 100 trained men, shall receive under their charge, when the army shall assemble, 100 more, so as in effecte ther shalbe 4,000 men in ordere and under marshall discipline. The choyse of which captaines we thinke fitte for the one halfe to be lefte to the choyse of the generall of the army, and the other ten to be of the princepall gentlemen of the country, under whom their may be souldieres appoynted for their leiftenants.

Like ordre is to be observed in every of the other places of garrisone.

For the manner howe to fight with the enemye it muste be lefte to the discretyon of the generall, onely we give this advise, that at his landing he maye be impeached yf convenyently it may be done, and yf he march forward, that the country be driven so as no victuall remaine unto him but suche as they shall carry one their backes, which will be smalle. That he be kepte wakinge with perpetuall allarrames, but in no case that any battaile be adventured untill such tyme as diveres leiftenants be

What order must be taken to fight with the enemy if by force he be landed.

assembled to make a grosse armye, as we have before specefyed, excepte upon spetiall advauntages.

Further it is thought necessary that in these twoe provinces and in all other where many lieftenants be, some one be appointed to be cheife to leade the armye, that amonge many lieftenantes ther may be noe straininge of courtesye, least by such delay and confusione greate inconvenience doe growe to the countrie, and advantage to the enemye, and therefore every lieftenant cominge out of any countrie with his force, his authoritie only to extend to governe his companye as coronell of that regimete, and so to be comaunded by the generall lieftenante; as for example, in Devon and Cornewall ther are 10 lieftenants, wherby it maye be knowne who shall comaunde in either as neede shall require.

What proportion of men must bee prepared to serve to that ende.

Wheresoever the ennemye shall lande, as if at Plimoth for example, then by the computatyon of 6,000 men armed and furneshed in Devon and Cornewall, we conceive that the assistance of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somerset, adjoyninge to the 6,000 of the Weste, will make uppe a suffytiente armye, beinge strengthened by the gentlemen and servingemen and other of the country that shalbe adjoyned, though not so thoroughly armed as the reste; and yf it happen either by resistance or contrarye whether that the enemye passe over Plimouth and land at Portelande, then the armed men and trained souldieres of the Weste shall repaire unto them.

And further, yf the invasione be in Kente, or anye other where to the weste of the rivere of Thames; then those middle shires directed to assiste the Weste maye turne to the Este alonge the coste.

Yf the army of Flaunders land to the easte of the rivere of Thamys, then the same order is to be taken with the sheires adjoyninge as is afforesaid, namlie, Suffolke, Norffolke, Essex, and the Cittie of Londone.

And because ther is a speciall regarde to be had to the savegarde of her Majestie's persone, we think it most necessarye that an armye should be provided to that ende, to be compounded of suche countyes as are appointed and reserved for that purpose, and to joyne with the forces of the cittie of Londone and such other as maye be armede out of her Majesty's store.

Furthermore, generally for the increase of footemen lackinge armore, wee thinke it fitt that there be of the hable men unarmed, wherof choyse maye be made to joine with the trained men armed, one fourth parte more, of the which fourth parte of unarmed men 80 may be pikes and 20 billesmen, for providinge of which pikes and billes ther muste be speedie provision made, beinge wepones that the realme doth furnishe.

Also for the increase of armed pikemen in this tyme of scarcetie of armore, wee

doe thinke it good that all the armed bill men maye be converted to be made armed pikemen, and that able billmen unarmed should be levied and chosen in their places, because the rankes of billmen in order of battaile are alwaies environed and compassed about with pikemen; for the billmen serve specially for executione yf the enemye in battayle shalbe overthrowne. But here is to be noted, that there muste be reserved a fewe armede billmen or armed halbards to guarde the rankes wherein the ensignes and droms, &c. are placed in the order of battaile.

Also, forasmuch as upon any sudden invasione yt would be too late to provid those thinges which should be necessary for defence, yt is thought necessary that befor hand a store of ordinance and munitione be provided, as also powdere, spades, and all other furniture whatsoevere, and to be lefte in these fornamed places in which these garrisons shall remaine.

It is also to be provided that at those generall assemblies for traininge, as well the horsmen as footmen may be exercised; and to that end, that at Plimouth, Porteland, Sandwich, and any other place that shalbe thought fitt to have the like traininge, the horsmen of the nexte adjoininge cuntryes be brought together, as namly; at Plimouth, those of Devone, Cornewall, and Somerset; at Porteland, those of Dorset and Wilts, Hampshire and Barkeshire; at Sandwich, those of Kente, Sussexe, and Surrey, and so foreth. But because it maye fall out that in those places appointed for traininge of the infantry ther may want forage or place fit for horsemen, it may be lefte to the discesion of the lieftenante to chose the fitteste plotte for cavallery, as nere the footmen as conveniently they maye.

Further, as concerninge Scotland, which landinge wee cannot resiste, wee thinke Scotlande. it meete that a stronger proportione be considered of for that parte, namly, 6,000 footmen and 2,000 horse, wherof to be 1,000 launces, armes of farr more defence, and may be furnished as good cheepe as the jacke, and those to be takene out of the presidencie; yf therfor the army of Flaunders should happen to land in Scotland, wherby their forces and strength shalbe so great as the army afforesaid shall not be able to encounter with them, then wee thinke fitte that a good parte of the army prepared to guard her Majesty's persone shall marche to second the Army of the North againste that enemy, and joyne with the trained men of that cuntrye, and the Army of the Weste to be brought to supplye that charge.

It is also moste carefully to be considered that the Kinge of Spaine is not hoplesse of some partie of papistes and mallcontents, all which, yf thes small regiments before spoken of be not in redinesse, it wilbe too late both to assemble for resistance of anye forraine ennemy and to withstand them at home both in one daye, for every man shall stand in feare of the fyinge of his owne howse and distructione of his

owne famelye. Therefore yf any stirre should happen, some severe course of proceeding or executyon towards such offenders would be used by marsheall lawe.

And to conclude, when it shalbe bruited in Spaine that there are at Plimoth and other places such a number of armed souldieres under ensignes and leaderes, the numbere will be reported to be double or treble; so as the Kinge of Spain upon good probabilitie maie conceave that these souldieres and such as are in other places upon the cost in like redines are determyned to land in Portugalle or the Indias. The same oppinione beinge fortifyed by the preparratione of soe manye shippes as are givene in charge to be made redye in those partes by Sir Frauncis Drake.

Wee thinke it also very necessary that thoroughe out all the countyes of the realme this proportion, aswell emongest the armed and trayned as the unarmed pikes and billes, may be observed, that is to saye; that of every hundred there be 80 pikes and 20 billes.

We thinke yt is necessary also that some orders and provision be taken by their lordshipes that her Majesties shippes beinge at Rochester be not entrapped.

Also for the increase of armed pikemen in this tyme of scarsetie of armore, we thinke it good that all the armed bill men should be chosen in the roomes of the unarmed pikes and billes, because the rankes of billmen in order of battaile are alwayes environed and compassed about with pikemen; for the billmen serve especially for execution if the enemy in battaile shalbe overthrowne; but here is to be noted, that there must be reserved a fewe armed billmen or armed halberdiers to garde the rankes wherein the ensignes and drommes, &c. are placed in order of battaile.

The same 2,000 footemen to be devided into 20 companyes of 100 the companye, eiche companye to consiste, for the devision of weapons, of 40 pikes, 10 billes, and 50 shott; also the ordinarie offices belonging to a bande.

To this regiment of 2,000 there is to be appointed one cheefe gentleman from hence, under such tytle as shall seeme good to my lordes of the councell, assisted with a sufficient number of experimented captaines to be in her Majesties paye, as alsoe the said cheefe gentleman, to traine and order the said regiment with marshall discipline.

The said cheefe gentleman to give such orders for the trayneinge and excercisinge of the said regiment, with the assistance of the said experienced captaynes, as shall seeme good unto him, and likewise for the trayninge of the horsemen.

XXXIV.—*Proofs of the Early Use of Gunpowder in the English Army.* By JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

Read March 16th, 1848.

IN the course of the researches which have been instituted at home and abroad into the history of an invention which has had in various ways most extensive influences on the state of society, and in particular on its application to the art of war, reference has been often made to a passage in an old Italian historian, John Villani, in which it is stated that instruments, which can only have been cannon in the ordinary sense of the word, were used by King Edward the Third at the Battle of Cressy. It has not been discovered that the statement receives any support from any of our own historians; and the utmost of the corroboration which it has received from the testimony of our Records amounts only to this, that persons named *gunnarii* occur in an account of the Expenses of the Siege of Calais, which ensued immediately on the Battle of Cressy. This authority was first adduced by Camden (*Remains*, 4to. 1629, p. 204), and is presumed to be the same with that which is more punctually cited by Sir Henry Spelman (*Glossarium*, voce *Bombarda*) as an account of Military and Civil Expenses of King Edward III. from the 21st of April, in the 18th of his reign, 1344, to the 24th of November, in the 21st, 1347, where, under the head "Artificers and Workmen" to whom payments were made, occur—

Mariners	LX.
Armourers	VII.
Artillers	VI.
Gunners	VI.

This is undoubtedly a very strong corroboration of the statement that guns were used, if not at the Battle of Cressy, yet in the expedition of King Edward the Third, of which that battle was the most memorable incident. The artillers might be men who were employed in the use of other warlike machines which went under the general name of artillery; but gunners can hardly be understood, distinguished

as they here are from artillerymen, in any other sense but as persons employed in the management of cannon.

Yet the fact that gunners are found as a class of persons in the English army as early as the year 1346 does not seem to have gained the hold which it deserves on the minds of persons who have made this department of military antiquities the subject of their inquiries, and that by the term gunners we are to understand persons who had the management of instruments of war, the effect of which depended on the explosive quality of the substance called gun-powder : so that I trust I may not be doing an unacceptable service to the inquirers into this subject in bringing before them new and stronger proof from our National Records of the use of gunpowder in the army of King Edward, in the year of the Cressy expedition. We shall see that considerable quantities were made in England for the King's use both before the army left the shores of Britain and while the King lay encamped before Calais.

The dates which require particularly to be observed in reference to this subject are (1), that on July the 1st, in the 20th year of his reign, 1346, the King was at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, waiting for a favourable wind to transport his army to France ; that on the 12th he landed at La Hogue in Normandy ; that, after wandering about in that province, committing great devastation and advancing as near to Paris as Poissy, he returned towards the northern coast, and met with the French army in the Forest of Cressy ; that there the great battle was fought, on Saturday, the 26th of August ; that he then advanced upon Calais, where he arrived on the 4th of September, and was engaged in carrying on the siege for the remaining months of that year, and for several of the succeeding year, 1347.

In the period of which we are now speaking, the Tower of London was, as it now is, the great deposit of the King's weapons of war. They were considered as belonging to one of the King's wardrobes, and the officer who had the charge of them was called the Clerk or the Keeper of the King's Privy Wardrobe at the Tower. The regalia, the menagerie, and many other things pertaining to the royal dignity, were also in charge of this officer. The office was held at the time of which we are speaking by Thomas de Roldeston ; and this is the person whom we shall find to have been employed in making gunpowder for the King's use a little before and during the expedition.

In a book of accounts of money paid out of the King's chamber in the time of Robert de Burton, receiver of the moneys in the said chamber, from December 25, 18 Edward III. 1344, to the 18th of October, 1347, deposited among the records of the Exchequer, are sundry payments to Roldeston for things provided by him for

the King's use, as "huces" for the balistæ, leathern cases for bows and arrows, a tent for the King's own use, and other things connected with affairs of war; and in the midst of them occurs the following pertinent entry.—"Eidem Thomæ super facturam pulveris pro ingeniis, et emendatione diversarum armaturarum—XL. sol."—*Pulvis pro ingeniis*, when instruments of war are the subject, can scarcely be any thing but gunpowder: and when we find among the payments that there was money paid to him for a tent which was intended especially for the King's own use, we can hardly doubt, though the account extends over three years, 1344 to 1347, that these payments to Roldeston were made before the departure of the expedition of 1346, and in contemplation of it.

But in this we are not left to conjecture or inference: for, besides this account of issues from the King's chamber, we have the enrolment of another account, in which payments from another department to the same officer, at the same time, and for the same service, are noted. The accountant in this instance is John Cook, the Clerk of the King's Great Wardrobe (which is to be distinguished from the Privy Wardrobe at the Tower), who renders account of moneys received and expended by him from the 22nd of December, 19 Edw. III. 1345, to the 31st of January, 23 Edw. III. 1349. In this account we find the various issues stated with great particularity, and the dates usually given of the King's writs authorising and commanding the payment. Here we find payment made to Thomas de Roldeston for wax used by him in making the King's tent, which was formed of the material called cloth of Reynolds; and the date of the King's writ is the 4th of May, in the twentieth year, 1346, a few weeks before the King actually sailed. In connection with this entry, as immediately following it in the account, we have the following decisive passage:—"Et eidem Thomæ de Roldeston, per manus Willielmi de Stanes, ad opus ipsius Regis pro gunnis suis, IX^c XII. lib. sal petreæ, et DCCC. III^{xx} VI. lib. sulphur vivi, per breve Regis datum x. die Maii, dicto anno xx^o: per quod Rex mandavit prefato custodi quod computaret cum prefato Willielmo de Stanes de sal petra et sulphur vivo per ipsum provisum et de precepto ipsius Regis prefato Thomæ liberata, ad opus ipsius Regis, allocando eidem rationabile precium percellarum quas idem Willielmus per indenturam prefato Thomæ liberavit, per indenturam ipsius Thomæ receptionem ejusdem sal petreæ et sulphur vivi testificantem, sicut continetur ibidem." "And to the same Thomas de Roldeston, by the hands of William de Stanes, for the King's use for his guns, 912 pounds of saltpetre and 886 pounds of quick sulphur, in pursuance of a writ of the King bearing date the 10th of May, in the twentieth year of his reign [1346], by which the King commanded the said keeper to account with the said William de Stanes for the saltpetre and sulphur provided by him, and by

the King's precept delivered by him to the aforesaid Thomas for the King's use, allowing a reasonable price to the said William for what he delivers to the said Thomas, as is contained in the indenture of Thomas testifying the receipt of the said saltpetre and quick sulphur."

This can leave no doubt in the mind of any one that in the month of May, 1346, a few weeks before the King set out on his expedition to France, and three months before the battle of Cressy, the keeper of the King's armour was employed by the King's command in preparing a powder, of which the principal if not the sole ingredients were saltpetre and sulphur, to be used in the King's guns.

The whole amount of the two ingredients taken jointly (for there is no mention in these accounts of charcoal) is only 1798 pounds : and this appears to have been exhausted before the end of the year ; for in November following, when the King was before Calais, he issued another writ bearing date the 25th of that month, in which he commands that all the saltpetre and sulphur that was anywhere to be sold should be bought and delivered to the said Roldeston for the King's use for his guns. All that was at that time obtained in pursuance of this command was 750 pounds of saltpetre and 310 pounds of quick sulphur. This is collected from the following entry in the same account of Cook, the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe :—
 " Et eidem Thomæ ad opus Regis pro gunnis suis DCC.L. lib. sal petre, et CCC.X. lib. sulphur vivi, per breve Regis datum xxv. die Novembris, per quod Rex mandavit prefato custodi quod provideri faceret ad opus Regis totum salte petre et sulphur vivi quod inveniri poterit vendendum, et illud prefato Thomæ liberari faceret per indenturam ipsius Thomæ receptionem ejusdem sal petre et sulphur vivi testificantem, sicut continetur ibidem." This order to buy up all the saltpetre and sulphur that was anywhere to be found is not less remarkable at this early period than is the smallness of the quantity of each which was procured. We may infer from the issuing such an order that the experiment of this new mode of warfare had been in the King's opinion completely successful.

In September in the 21st year, 1347, the King being still at Calais, there was another payment to William de Stanes for saltpetre and sulphur supplied by him to Thomas de Roldeston :—" Et Willielmo Stanes pro M.M.XXI. lib. de saltpetra et CCCC.LX.VI. lib. sulphur vivi ab eodem Willielmo ad opus Regis per Thomam de Roldeston Clericum Privatae Garderobæ Regis emptis C.LX.VII^l. II^s. II^d., precium cujuslibet libræ sal petre XVIII^d, et sulphur vivi VIII^d." The date of the writ is September 15. Here we obtain the price which the King paid for the ingredients, far beyond, we may believe, the usual price of them.

There is another purchase of saltpetre and sulphur within the period of Cook's

account, 1346, 1347, and 1348, with which it is not necessary to trouble the Society, all the material facts being in proof without it.

No evidence has ever been produced of the use of guns in English warfare before the expedition of 1346 : and neither in accounts, indentures, writs, or inventories of an earlier date which have fallen under my notice do we find any mention of guns or gunpowder, though warlike instruments of various kinds and sometimes with names indicating their formidable and destructive character, are of very frequent occurrence. The campaign of July and August 1346 may therefore be safely assumed to be the time when the explosive force of gunpowder was first brought to bear in the military operations of the English nation. Perhaps it was then also that other nations first became sensible of the power of this new element in the art of war, and began to copy from us. This gives a new interest to that expedition ; and, as it is a point of history to which Englishmen are accustomed to look back, as to a time when the power and grandeur of the nation were signally manifested in the sight of the world, I may be permitted, before proceeding to some other evidence respecting the early use of guns in English warfare, to lay in the briefest manner possible before the Society a journal of the few weeks of the campaign from an unpublished authority. We shall find it more exact and precise than are the accounts of Edward's marches and countermarches in even the most minute of our historians. It is found in the Journal of the King's Kitchen for the period.

The king landed at "Hok," or "Hogges," in Normandy, meaning the port of La Hogue, on Wednesday, the 12th July, and the daily operations of his kitchen proceed at the same place till the Tuesday following, when they are transferred to Valognes. The day's stages of the King's march were now, Saint Come du Mount, Carenton, Pount Herbert, and Saint Lo. He then appears to have changed his purpose, and to have directed his march towards Caen, arriving there on Wednesday the 26th, the intermediate stages having been Sevance, Torteval, and Funtenay Paynel. He remained five days at Caen, and he left the place on the last day of July for Lisieux, at which place he arrived on the second of August, having passed through Treward and Leoperty. He was two days at Lisieux : on the 4th of August he was at Durenville, on the 5th at Limburgh, the 7th at Oil de Boef, and the 8th at Pount Vadreel. The daily stages were now, Longvile, Frenose, Appone, Ferelaguillon, and Poissy, where he arrived on the 13th of August. He was then about 12 miles from Paris. He remained at Poissy till the 16th, on which day he had begun his march northward. The first day's march was to Grisy, the next to Anty, the next to Trussereux, then to Somerreux, Causeamyneux, and Asshen, where he arrived on the 21st of August. He spent the 22nd and 23rd at Asshen.

We then find him in this humble but authentic chronicle :—

Thursday, August 24, " sub foresta de Cressy."

Friday, August 25, " in foresta de Cressy."

Saturday, August 26, " adhuc sub foresta de Cressy."

Sunday, August 27, " in campis sub foresta de Cressy."

The clerk of the kitchen attended to his own department, and renders his account without any allusion to the great events which had occurred in those days.

On Monday the 28th, the King left the field and was at Valoles; on the 29th, at Mauntenay; on the 30th, at Saint Joce in Pountif; on the 31st, and on the 1st of September, at Chateauneuf; on the 2nd and 3rd at Vintvill; and on Monday, the 4th of September, he arrived before Calais.

To return to the more immediate subject of this communication. The advantages of this new mode of warfare were never wholly lost sight of from the time of this expedition, though the bow, of old the favourite instrument in English warfare, continued to be the weapon of offence most in use. In the 34th of Edward III., 1360, there were only four guns of copper, and $16\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of gunpowder in the Privy Wardrobe. One of these guns, with many arrows and bows, was taken by Lionel, Earl of Ulster, when he went to Ireland. This might however be but in consequence of the demand for foreign service, since the department of the gunnery in the Tower became of sufficient importance before the 44th year of the King, 1370, to be detached from the office of the Privy Wardrobe, or at least to have an officer of its own under the Keeper of the Wardrobe. An account rendered by this officer of his receipts and expenses, from the first of March in the 44th year, 1370, to the 31st of March in the 48th year, 1374, is annexed as an appendix to this communication.

Calais was in those times scarcely less than the Tower a depot of military stores. William de Redeness was keeper of the King's stores at Calais in 1369, and the two following years; at which time there were in his charge 15 guns, 106 pounds of saltpetre, 260 pounds of quick sulphur, 3 great guns of brass and one of iron, 200 bullets of lead, 1038 pounds of quick sulphur, and 889 pounds of saltpetre in 6 barrels, 84 pounds of gunpowder, and 24 bullets of lead. There is notice also of 6 pounds of sea-coal in connection with sulphur and saltpetre, as if mineral-coal might then be used for charcoal.

In 1379 the Keepers of the Castle of Carisbrook report the purchase of 100 pounds of saltpetre at 15*d.* the pound, and 50 pounds of sulphur at 6*d.* the pound. They bought also a certain quantity of gunpowder, and 2 brass cannons, which cost 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This was early in the reign of Richard the Second, into which reign it is not proposed further to extend this communication.

It being now established on sufficient evidence that in the year 1346 the explosive property of gunpowder was applied in England for the purposes of war, it becomes a question of some curiosity whether this idea originated in the English mind, or whether we but availed ourselves of a practice which other nations before us had adopted. On this question, having nothing to add to what has been so diligently collected by many other writers, I shall content myself with observing that the traces of any earlier use of the gun by other nations are faint and perhaps uncertain. Munster assigns the first use of gunpowder in war to the year 1350, when it was used in the Danish seas; and all seem to agree that it was not till the wars between the Venetians and the Genoese, about 1380, that the invention became famous among the Italian states. The strongest evidence for an earlier date than 1346 seems to be the passage cited by Du Cange from an account of the Treasurer at War in France of the year 1338. This occurs under the word *Bombarda*, "Illius ab ann. 1338 in Gallia usum fuisse docet Computum Bartholomæi du Drach Thesaurarii guerrarum istius anni: *A Henri de Faumechon pour avoir poudres et autres choses necessaires aux canons, qui estoient devant Puy Guillaume.*" This is eight years earlier than the battle of Cressy. What was the popular and general opinion on the subject at the beginning of the sixteenth century we may collect from the Epitome of the Chronicles by Achilles Pirminius, 12mo. 1538, who says, under the year 1392, *Tormenta bombardarum, hac tempestate à monacho quodam Germanico, inventa primum sunt.* The whole question will no doubt undergo a complete investigation in the work on which Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte is engaged, entitled, *Etudes sur le passe et l'avenir de l'Artillerie*, Paris, 4to. 1846. The first volume only has yet appeared, but in it we find a table of contents for the whole work, which leads us to expect in the third volume a critical inquiry into the history of the invention of gunpowder, and its application to purposes of war. I am indebted for my knowledge of this valuable work to Sir Henry Ellis, who possesses one of the very few copies which have yet reached England.

Whether it would be an honour or a dishonour to England to have led the way in the use of these instruments of destruction will probably long continue a point on which different opinions will be held. Honourable it would however be to the inventive genius of our countrymen, and evidence of advanced civilization in England in the 14th century, and we ought not to say peremptorily that it would be dishonourable, when looked at in the aspect in which humanity would place it. The poets and divines seem indeed to have conspired with one accord to represent it as the invention of the demons or men of demoniacal disposition, and

also as the resort of cowardice. Petrarch leads the way. Melancthon refers the invention "Diabolo architecto," and regards guns but as invented "in generis humani perniciem." Then at home we have Spenser, Drayton, and Milton all referring the invention to the detested spirits. Yet there is a higher and perhaps a juster view of the subject, taken by two men not to be named in this society without reverence, Camden and Spelman. Camden defends the invention thus:—"Some there are which think that thereby hath been the saving of many lives, for that sieges, before the common use of them, continued longer, to the greater loss of people, and more fields were fought with slaughter of greater multitudes." But Sir Henry Spelman is bolder: and, referring perhaps to that passage of Melancthon, he describes the gun as "*Machina ad stabilienda Humana Imperia, potius quam ad delendum humanum genus (ut nonnulli queruntur) enata:*" and more boldly still,—"*Execrantur pacis invidi hanc machinam: mihi autem semper visa est non sine Dei opt. max. providentia revelata. Utpote quæ novæ universalis monarchiæ spem omnem in futuro tolleret, pacemque tandem universalem orbi induceret.*" This result, however, is rather to be hoped and wished for than expected; but if it must needs be that war and contention shall come, whatever the inventive genius of man can contrive which shall on the whole shorten the duration of the calamity, or mitigate its evils, however on a first view it may appear to bear the stamp of savageness and cruelty, is really a great triumph for humanity.

Particule compoti Johannis de Derby de omnibus receptis expen. et custag. per ipsum fact. pro gunner. R. a primo die Martij anno xliiij^o. usque ultimum diem eiusdem mens. anno xlvij^o.

Rec. denar.	{	Idem reddet compotum de xxiiij. li. xij. s. v. d. recept. de Johanne de Sleaford clerico private Garderobe Reg. infra Turrim London. per divers. vic. per temp. huius comp.
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Summa xxiiij. li. xij. s. v. d.

Empt. divers.
rerum.

{	Idem computat in bagg. de coreo oll. et patell. terr. fagot. salic. talwod. et al. necessar. divers. offic. gunner. tangent. empt. et expend. super factur. pullveris et pil. plumb. pro gunner. necnon cariag. portag. et batell. plumb. barell. cum sulfur et salpetr. et al. rerum predict. de diversis locis usque Turrim London. Quenesburgh. et alibi una cum vadiis divers. operar. operanc. et laboranc. circa pulveres et pil. plumb. predict. faciend. et fundend. infra tempus huius compoti cxvj. s. vj. d. Et in ij. mort. eneis iij. pestell. ferr. xij. coclear. ferr. pro pil. plumb. fundend. x. form. de laton. pro eisdem pil. faciend. j. par. balanc. xxx. barell. parv. cum garnett. hasp. et stapul. pro pil. plumb. inponend. et cus-
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todiend. viij. al. barell. maioribus pro pulv. xxx. cerur. parv. pendent. pro predict. xxx. barell. ccxx. lb. salpetr. ij. sars. et xvij. belowes empt. ad diversa precia infra dictum tempus xix. li. viij. s. ij. d.

Summa xxv. li. iij. s. viij. d. Et habet superplus. xij. s. iij. d.

Rec. divers.
rerum.

Idem r. de ij. mort. eneis. iij. pestell. ferr. xij. coclear. ferr. x. form. de Laton. j. par. balanc. xxx. barell. parv. cum apparatu viij. al. barell. maioribus xxx. cerur. parv. pendent. ccxx. lb. salpetr. ij. sars. et xvij. belowes de emptione ut supra. Et de j. cista flandr. xxix. gunn. ferr. vj. martell. ferr. xxvij. drivels ferr. xxvij. firingyrens ferr. xij. patell. ferr. x. par. forcipum ferr. pro form. predict. j. carr. vj. wag. plumb. j. pipa et ij. barell. salpetr. pond. pur. m. liiij. lb. recept. de Johanne de Sleaford. Et de j. wag. et vj. clav. plumb. rec. de Willielmo de Sleaford. clerico operac. R. apud Westm. Et de j. barell. de sal. geīe cc. lb. salpetr. xij. gunner. de laton. et ij. barell. de sulfur. vyf. pond. Dlxvj. lb. rec. de Helmingo Leget.

De quibus

Devastatio
expen. et li-
berac. divers.
rerum.

Idem computat in devastatione et casual. perditione circa operac. pulver. et pil. plumb. et diversis viag. R. infra tempus predict. v. colear. ferr. j. par. balanc. vij. barell. parv. cum apparatu viij. barell. maiora xxx. cerur. j. sars. xj. belowes ccxij. lb. salpetr. ciiij^{xx}. lb. sulfur. iij. gunner. ferr. j. gunner. de laton. ij. martell. ferr. xv. drivels ferr. xj. firingyrens iij. wag. vj. clav. plumb. Et in expens. iij^{xx}. lb. salpetr. et cvij. lb. sulfur. vyf. fact. in pulver. et expend. in predict. viag. et vj. wag. et xxj. clav. plumb. in pil. expen. in eisdem viag.

Et idem computat liberasse predict. Johanni de Sleaford ij. mort. enea iij. pestell. ferr. vij. coclear. ferr. x. form. de laton. cum x. par. forcipum ferr. xxij. barell. parv. cum garnett. et al. apparatu ferr. j. sars. vij. belowes. j. cistam flandr. xxvj. gunner. ferr. iij. martell. ferr. xij. drivels ferr. xvij. firingyrens xij. patell. ferr. j. carr. et xj. clav. plumb. in pil. fact. et ij. parvis peciis plumbi viij^{xx}. lb. salpetr. pur. ij^{xx}. lb. sulfur. pur. cxxxv. lb. salpetr. et xlix. lb. sulfur. in pulv. fact. et xj. gunner. de laton. et j. barell. de sal. geīe.

A P P E N D I X.

VOL. XXXII.

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AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

A P P E N D I X.

Monumental Brasses for persons of the Family of Mantell.

18th Dec. 1845. GIDEON ALGERNON MANTELL, Esq. LL.D., F.R.S., communicated in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis the following Notice of two Tombs in the chancel of Lower Heyford Church in Northamptonshire, accompanied by a rubbing of the brass Effigies and Inscription, upon one of them, for Sir Walter Mauntell and his wife, A.D. 1487.

"The name of Mantell, with its present orthography, occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey. The family were resident and held lands in Northamptonshire from temp. Henry I. to Henry VIII. Turston Mantell had lands in Rode, temp. Henry I.; and Robert Mauntell was lord of Rode in 1315.

"In Lower Heyford church, in the north wall of the chancel, are two altar Tombs of Purbeck marble, with blank shields within quatrefoils of the same: these tombs are surmounted by an obtuse arch. They are in excellent preservation, and traces of the original colour of the arms are distinguishable.

"On the thick slab of marble covering the first tomb is a small brass plate between two shields: 1. Mauntell, Argent, a cross engrailed between four martlets sable. 2. Heyford, Gules, a maunch argent. The inscription is as follows:

'Johñ Mauntell gist icy.	} Amen.'
Elizabeth sa femme ausi	
De lor almes dieu eit m̃cy.	

The date of this tomb must be 1446-7.

"The other tomb is also covered with a fine slab of Purbeck marble, on which are the effigies in brass of Sir Walter Mauntell and his lady, their right hands joined, their left hands placed on the breast. These figures are thus described by Mr. Baker in his History of Northamptonshire. Sir Walter 'is in a handsome suit of plate armour with pass-guards on his shoulders, ornamented elbow gussets and genouailles, cuissarts to his tassets, and broad square-toed shoes. His cerveliere and apron are of mail, as are his insteps, for the convenience of bending the foot. At his right side is a dagger, and at his left a long sword, and on his left hand a gauntlet. His head is uncovered, his hair long and strait. The lady is habited in a low boddice fitted to the shape, with tight sleeves, having open ermine cuffs turned back at the wrist. The drapery falls in perpendicular folds, and is ornamented with a studded girdle loosely buckled at the waist, and reaching to the ground. Her cap, the head of which resembles the crown of a hat, flows behind her shoulders, and is faced with ermine fastened in front by a large jewel or brooch. No hair is visible. On a shield between their heads, *Mantell* quartering on a bend four lozenges: impaling a chevron between three inkhorns, for *Abbot*. At the corners are four other shields.'

The inscription round the ledge, beginning at the head, is as follows :

" Orate pro animabus Walteri Mauntell militis & Elizabeth uxoris ejus uni' filiar' & hered' Joh'nis Abbot A'migeri qui quidem Walterus felicit' obiit xiiij die mensis Junii, Anno D'ni Mill'mo CCCCLXXXVII, quor' a'f'abus p'pitietur Deus. Amen."

Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodpurty in Oxfordshire.

18th December, 1845. The Central Committee of the ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE communicated a notice of various Antiquities discovered at Woodpurty in Oxfordshire, by the Rev. John Wilson, F.S.A. accompanied by the exhibition of a number of objects of curiosity, fragments of the red ware usually termed Samian, and implements of bronze and iron; some of the latter were of Roman workmanship, whilst others appeared to belong to the early British period.

The neighbourhood of Woodpurty abounds in Roman remains. The line of the great Roman road between Eboracum and Clausentum ran at the distance of about half a mile; no Roman remains, however, had been discovered at Woodpurty, until this search was commenced with the view of ascertaining the site of a church and village, supposed to have existed there, and to have been destroyed by fire. The foundations of the church and numerous buildings were in consequence brought to light, amongst which were found many evidences of Roman occupation, and remains of Roman construction, which had been worked up as materials for buildings of a later period.

The tradition of the existence of a Town at this place is noticed by Hearne in one of his Diaries, dated 1732, and he states that a Vase had been found there, in which was a silver piece, supposed by him to have been a denarius. An abundant variety of fragments of pottery has been subsequently disinterred, but scarcely any perfect specimens: and at a distance of a mile from the site some similar remains were found by the late Sir Alexander Croke, in a wood called the New Wood. Coins of Domitian, Hadrian, Maximianus, Constantine, and Claudius Gothicus, have been found at Woodpurty; numerous remains of Hypocausts have been noticed, and the slag refuse of an Iron foundry is of frequent occurrence. This kind of slag may also be observed at Drunshill, near Woodeaton, in the neighbourhood.

Ancient Portraits at Hedingham Castle in Essex.

8th Jan. 1846. JOHN ADEY REPTON, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited nine Portraits on panel, the property of Ashurst Majendie, Esq. of Castle Hedingham in Essex. They were apparently copies executed toward the close of the sixteenth century from authentic originals.

The names painted upon them were :

1. Mâmilien D'Austrice Emperuer des Romains.
2. D. Margueret de Male epouse a Phê le Hardi.
3. Philippe 2 Roy d'Espanie.

4. Lowis d'Male Conte de Flādre.
5. Margār de Bourbon, uxor Johan Ducis Bourgoñ.
6. Albertus Archidux Austria.
7. Phil. di Valois dict le Hardi Duc de Bouř.
8. Johanna filia Ferdinandi Aragō uxor Philipp le Bel.
9. Jehan sans Poer Duc de Burgonie.

Silver Medal supposed to be the blundered imitation of a Roman Coin.

15th Jan. 1846. WILLIAM DEBONNAIRE HAGGARD, Esq., F.S.A. exhibited a Silver Medal of the sixteenth century, very rude in its device and legend, but supposed by Thomas Burgon, Esq. of the British Museum to be a blundered copy from a coin of the Emperor Hadrian.

The Inscription on the Obverse was

NAON IANVΣ AVC CO ΣHIPP

which Mr. Burgon proposed to read

HADR IANVS AVG CO SHIPP, that is, *Hadrianus Augustus Consul tertium, Pater patriæ*: the latter words usually written COS. III PP.

The Inscription on the Reverse was so utterly barbarous as to render all endeavour to decipher it ineffectual.

Inscription from Llanvair Waterdine.

15th Jan. 1846. The Very Rev. the DEAN of HEREFORD, F.S.A. presented to the Society a Cast from the Inscription carved on a piece of oak, formerly part of the Rood-Screen in the Parish Church of Llanvair Waterdine in Radnorshire; which, as he observed, had excited considerable interest, and had not been satisfactorily deciphered. The late character of the Mouldings as shewn by this Cast gave a notion that the Inscription is not more ancient than the fifteenth century.

22nd Jan. 1846. LORD ALBERT CONYNGHAM exhibited the original inscribed Rail of Oak from the Church of Llanvair Waterdine, near Knighton, of which a cast had been presented to the Society at the previous meeting by the Dean of Hereford. He referred to the supposition of Sir Samuel Meyrick, that the characters belong to a system of musical notation, as stated in a Paper formerly communicated to the Society.

Ancient Spear-head found in the Fulham Road.

22nd Jan. 1846. GEORGE GODWIN, Esq. jun., F.S.A. exhibited an ancient Spear-head of

bronze, found recently, in excavating in front of some houses building in the Fulham Road, nearly opposite to the Gate of the West London Cemetery. It was of unusually large dimensions, measuring in length sixteen inches. The width of the blade in the broadest part, two inches. The central rib was hollow throughout nearly the whole length of the blade. It was found about four feet and a half beneath the surface, imbedded in the solid clay.

Mexican Antiquities.

29th Jan. 1846. LORD ALBERT CONYNGBAM exhibited to the Society a double Mask, hollow, of terra cotta filled with clay pellets, supposed to have been used as a child's rattle; a Whistle, terminating in a grotesque head; a four-footed cinerary Vase or Urn, ornamented with Masks, also of terra cotta; and a Vessel of red terra cotta, like a lengthened jug, in the form of a toad: all recently brought from South America. Their forms were of singularly grotesque character.

Pommel of a Sword found at Breteuil.

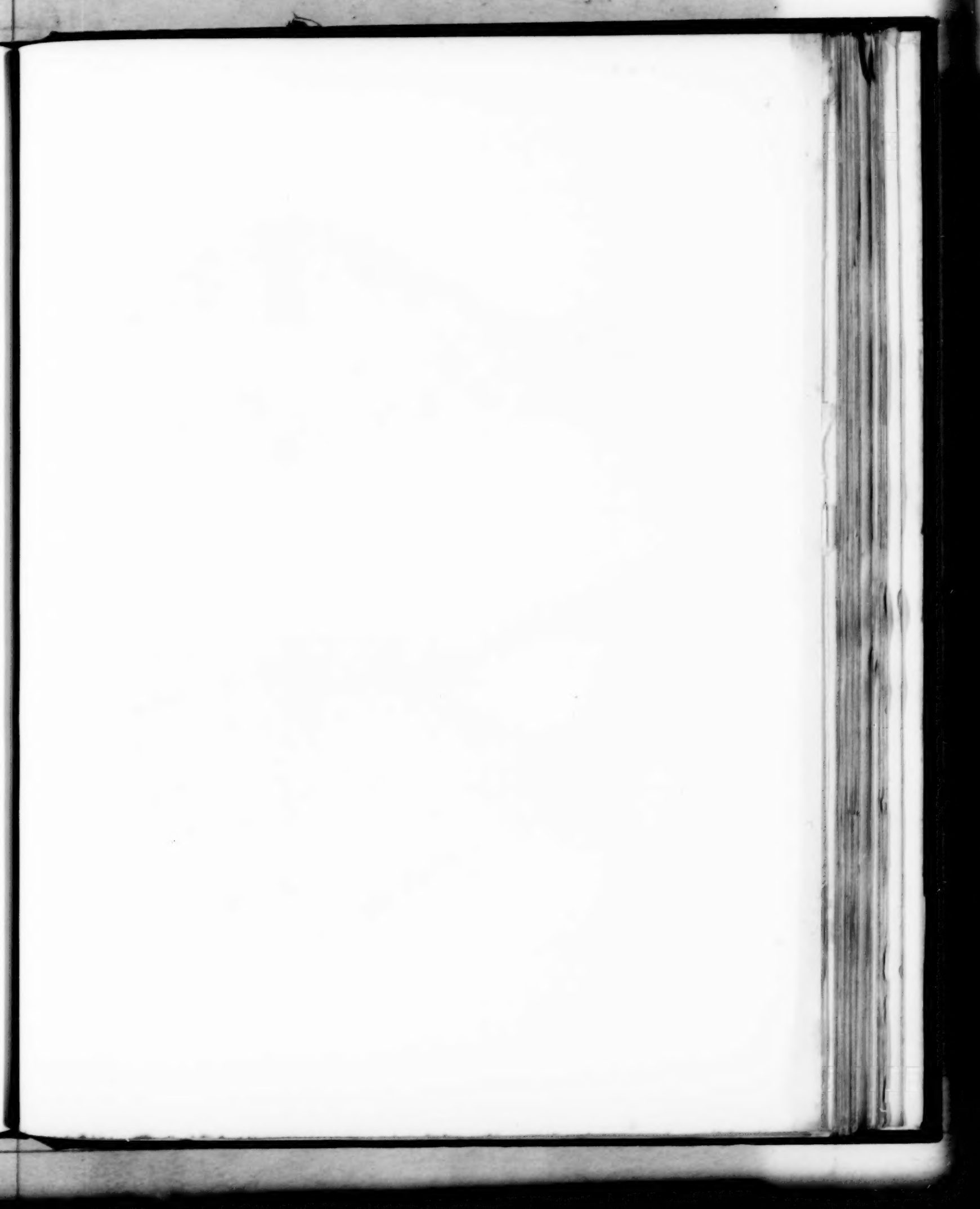
29th Jan. 1846. WILLIAM WHINCOPP, Esq. of Woodbridge, Suffolk, exhibited a remarkable object, supposed to be of Roman workmanship, discovered in the neighbourhood of the Roman remains at Breteuil, near Beauvais, and subsequently in the collection of M. Mansard of that place. It was a circular piece of red jasper, measuring in diameter two inches and three eighths, in form precisely similar to the flat pommel of a medieval sword, with bevelled edges, and perforated as if for adjustment to the upper end of the blade of such a weapon. On one side was cut a laureated imperial Head, apparently antique, and around the edge of the stone, the legend ANTOOINVS AVS PIVS PP TR P COS III, which seemed to be a more modern addition. A similar pommel, found near Athens, but without any ornament, is in Lord Strangford's possession; and a third exists among Mr. Payne Knight's collections in the British Museum.

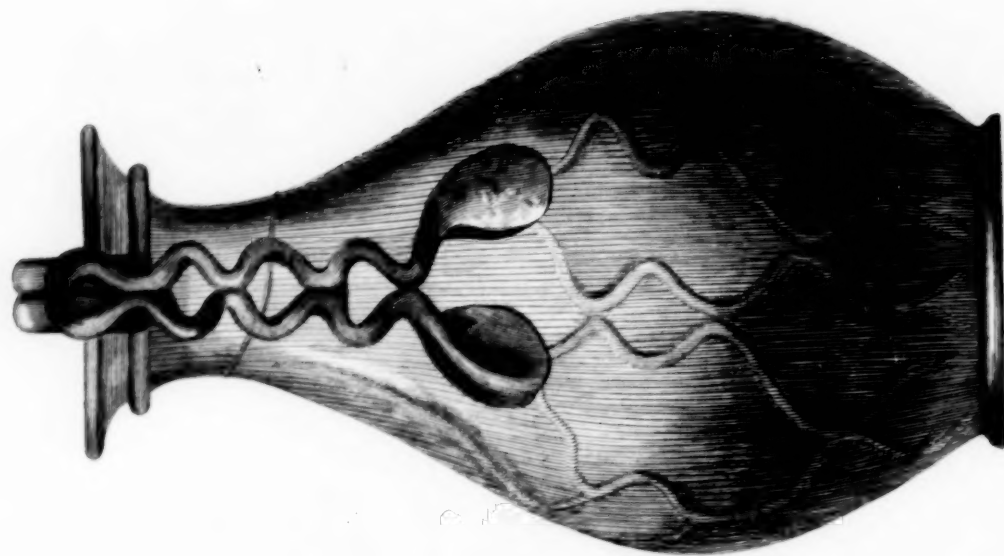
Mr. Whincopp also exhibited a Stone Maul or battle axe, of unusual form and size, found at Shropham, in Norfolk.

Further Particulars relating to Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury.

29th Jan. 1846. EDWARD HAILSTONE, Esq. F.S.A. communicated some Supplementary Remarks on Mr. Pearsall's account of the Sepulchral Memorial of Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury, published in the 30th Volume of the *Archaeologia*, with a plate representing the Monumental Brass still to be seen in Constance Cathedral.

Mr. Pearsall had cited the relation given in a work entitled "*Concilium von Costnitz*," 1483, and noticed as a singular circumstance that no offering was made in the Cathedral at the funeral





Glass Roman Vessel dug up at Colchester now in the Collection of G. A. Montbell M.D.

of the Bishop. Mr. Hailstone, however, on comparing the account thus quoted with that given in an edition of the same *History of the Proceedings at the Council of Constance*, printed at Augsburg by Heinrich Steyner, in 1536, and entitled "*Das Concilium zu Constantz*," remarked certain circumstances which had escaped the notice of Mr. Pearsall. It appeared that the usual custom of making an Offering had not been wholly omitted, but had been deferred on occasion of the interment of the Bishop, which took place on September 5th, being the day after his decease; on September 13th, however, the offering and funeral obsequies were celebrated with suitable state, and all the princes and dignitaries, temporal and spiritual, were present on the occasion. A detailed recital of the circumstances attending this ceremony is found in the Augsburg edition, consulted by Mr. Hailstone. A full account is also given of the Arrival of Bishop Hallum at the Council; of his suite; and of the discourse delivered by him in the Cathedral on some solemn occasion, when he selected as his text, Luke i. 15. The armorial bearings of the Prelate, which had been wholly defaced on his sepulchral brass, occur twice among the curious wood cuts which illustrate the volume. The bearing is an engrailed cross, ermines, with a crescent in the dexter chief. The escutcheon is surmounted by a mitre, placed between a cross-staff and a crozier, the former being probably in allusion to his dignity of Cardinal.^a

Ornaments found in Suffolk.

5th Feb. 1846. WILLIAM WHINCOPP, Esq. exhibited a gold Ornament, supposed to have been an Ear-ring, discovered in Suffolk, and a silver Ear-ring found in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's, both supposed to be of Saxon workmanship. The gold ring was formed with several round wires curiously twisted, like a rope, tapering toward the extremities, which were united together, forming a sort of loop, to which a smaller ring or hook might be adjusted, for suspension to the ear. The weight of this ornament however, viz. 12 dwt. 14 gr. appeared too great to have allowed of its being thus worn. This curious ornament presents some analogy in its character to that of the Torques discovered with a quantity of the coins of Canute on Halton Moor, in Lancashire.^b

Mr. Whincopp exhibited at the same time a number of Drawings representing various Antiquities in his possession, chiefly discovered in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, and consisting of stone Celts and Hammers, earthen vessels of various periods, ornaments of bronze and other metals.

Gold Ear-ring found near Falmer, Sussex.

5th Feb. 1846. GIDEON ALGERNON MANTELL, Esq., LL.D., exhibited another gold Ornament, similar in its general fashion to the Ear-ring found in Suffolk, but formed of two massive square wires twisted together, and decreasing gradually in size toward the extremities.

^a See Ciacon. II., col. 803.

^b See the *Archaeologia*, vol. XVIII. pl. 18.

which were connected together so as to form a ring, measuring in diameter about an inch and a quarter. It was ploughed up on the Sussex downs, near Falmer, and was presented to Dr. Mantell by the late Earl of Chichester.

Drawings of Ancient Seals.

26th Feb. 1846. The Rev. GEORGE H. DASHWOOD submitted to the inspection of the Society a series of Drawings, representing ancient Seals attached to documents preserved in the muniment room of Sir Thomas Hare, Bart., at Stow Hall, Norfolk, and relating chiefly to lands in the parishes of Fincham, Shouldham, Stow, Wimbotsham, &c. in the hundred of Clackclose. These Seals are mostly those of private persons, from the reign of Henry III. downwards, with some few Abbey seals. Mr. Dashwood noticed, especially, as an early instance of impalement, the seal used by Gilbert de Ethol, Rector of Westbrigge 3 Edward III., and, as an example of dimidiation, the seal of Katharine de Essex, in the same reign. The seal of Bartholomew Elys, of Great Yarmouth, 17 Richard II., is remarkable as giving the family arms, with the substitution of his merchant's mark, in place of the cinquefoil, in base. Amongst numerous seals of the Bardolphs, that of John Bardolph of Frettenham, t. Edw. III., is singular, as exhibiting five cinquefoils, whereas the bearing of that family usually displays only three.

Bronze Casket.

26th Feb. 1846. EDWARD TYRRELL ARTIS, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a small bronze Casket, described as having been found inclosed in an earthen vase, and containing various Roman coins, of early and late periods. It was brought to light in the course of excavations for the line of railway between Northampton and Peterborough; but the exact site had not been ascertained. It is now in the possession of the Earl Fitzwilliam.

Sepulchral Memorials, commemorative of Robert de Roos of Hamlake, in the Church of Bottesford, and of Lord Grey of Codnor, in Eton College Chapel.

5th March, 1846. WILLIAM BROMET, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., exhibited Rubbings from an incised memorial in Bottesford Church, originally at Belvoir Priory, in Leicestershire, and a sepulchral Brass in the chapel of Eton College.

The first is a Slab, commemorative of Robert de Roos, of Hamlake, who died 1285, and Isabella de Albini, his wife, heiress of Belvoir, who died 1301. It was removed to Bottesford at the dissolution of the neighbouring Priory. The inscription, into the text of which three armorial escutcheons are introduced in a singular manner, records the interment of the heart of De Roos. The heraldic peculiarities exhibited by these escutcheons are remarkable; the bearings are—1, de Roos impaling de Albini; 2, de Albini dimidiated with de Roos; 3, de Roos quartering Badlesmere, with a blank impalement. Robert de Roos left a son, William, who had

livery of his father's lands, but, as Dr. Bromet was disposed to conclude, did not become possessed of the honours and lands of Belvoir until the death of his mother. He was succeeded, in 1316, by his son William, who received immediate livery of the whole inheritance, and married Margery, sister and co-heir of Giles de Badlesmere. Dr. Bromet supposed that their great-grandson, John de Roos, who succeeded in 1384 and died in 1393 without issue, caused this memorial to his ancestors to be placed in the church of Belvoir. He noticed the singular marshalling of the bearing of Isabella, on the dexter side of the second escutcheon, which may have arisen from her having retained possession of the honours of her parental barony of Belvoir, after the decease of her husband, as shewn by various documents cited by Dr. Bromet. That barony was also much more important than that of de Roos, and the bearing may on this account have been placed on the more honourable side of the escutcheon. The third escutcheon with the blank impalement may possibly be regarded as a shield of expectation (according to the term used in Spain), and attributed to John de Roos, who does not appear to have been married; it is obviously to be assigned to a date later than the demise of Margery de Badlesmere, in 1363, as until that event her arms could not with propriety have been quartered with those of de Roos.

The sepulchral brass at Eton presents the figure of a young man in armour, with this inscription beneath,

"Here lyeth buried Richard Grey, Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn, and on of the heys apparant to Richard Erll of Kent, sone of Edmond Lord Grey, broder and heyre to George Lord Grey and Thomas Lord Grey, and hencheman to our soverain Lord King Henry the VIII. The which Richard decessyd the xxviii. day of October in the year of our Lord M.VCXXI."

Dr. Bromet noticed this memorial as shewing the union of these titles, which are generally supposed to have been separate long previous to that date.

Custom of wearing a Leek upon St. David's day.

5th March, 1846. WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, Esq., F.S.A., communicated some Observations on the custom of wearing a Leek on St. David's day, in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

It is singular, he observed, that in Brand's Popular Antiquities, although the antiquity of this practice is strenuously insisted upon, not a single authority is there quoted of an earlier date than the seventeenth century, if we except the allusion to it in Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth, and agree with Mr. Collier in believing that Play to have been produced in the Summer of 1599. Nor is it less curious that the whole body of Commentators on Shakespeare and his writings appear to have passed over without note or observation Fluellen's allusion "to an ancient tradition begun upon an honourable respect, and worn as a memorable trophy of predeceased valour."

Under these circumstances, Mr. Thoms doubted whether the custom is so thoroughly national, or rather, whether as a national observance it is of such very great antiquity among our Welsh friends as many writers pretend: and, as some justification for venturing to give an

opinion on a question which can, perhaps, only be satisfactorily investigated by one skilled in the language and literature of the Principality, quoted from Brand the following remarkable extract from Owen's Cambrian Biography: "In consequence of the Romances of the Middle Ages which created the Seven Champions of Christendom, St. David has been dignified with the title of the *Patron Saint of Wales*; but this rank however is hardly known among the people of the Principality, being a title diffused among them from England in modern times." Then, he says, follows the passage to which I beg to draw attention: "*The writer of this Account never heard of such a Patron Saint nor of the Leek as his symbol until he became acquainted therewith in London.*"

"As it must therefore, I think, be admitted, (Mr. Thoms added,) that the origin of this custom yet remains to be discovered, I would suggest that it was probably derived from Scandinavia, and, though now existing among the descendants of the ancient Britons, was probably introduced into this island by the Saxon and Danish invaders.

"In corroboration of this view, I beg to submit for consideration two passages, one from the poetic Edda of Sæmund the Wise, the other from the Volsunga-Saga; in the former of which, speaking of the birth of Helga and the return of Sigmund his father from the battle, it is said:

Sialfr gæck visi or vigthrymo
Ungom föra itslauk gramí.

The chief himself went out from the battle to bear to the young chief a noble present—*onion or leek*.
and in the latter,

Sigmundr var þá kominn frá ovrostu ok gekk með einum lauk imót syni sínum, ok hermed gefr hann honum Helga nafn.

Sigmund was then come from battle, and went with an onion to meet his son, and herewith he gave him the name of Helga.

"The learned Grimm, to whose German Mythology I am indebted for these quotations, states, that it is not clear whether the King bore this *leek* or *onion* as a returning conqueror, or because it was a custom to wear it at a name-giving; nor has he discovered any other passage to clear up this difficulty. He tells us indeed that the *leek* or *lauk* (which is a generic name for the tribe of plants to which the leek, onion, &c. belong,) was regarded in some measure as a sacred plant, inasmuch as the Edda speaks of its being thrown into the consecrated goblets, and quotes Pliny to show how such plants were esteemed among the Egyptians,—*allium cæpasque inter Deos in jurejurando habet Ægyptus.*"

Mr. Thoms concluded: "Though I do not hope that the production of these passages will carry conviction of the accuracy of this view of the question to the minds of my Celtic friends, I think they must admit that I have produced earlier evidence of the existence of a cognate practice among the northern nations than any which has yet been brought forward on the part of the Principality."

The Editor of the present volume begs to add to Mr. Thoms's communication the following memoranda of the Leek from the margin of his copy of Brand:

"In the 'Prymer of Salysburye Use,' 1533, 24th, printed by Thielman Kerver at Paris, are these lines in the Calendar, under Marche:

Da . uyd . of . Wales . lo . ueth . well . lekes .
 That . wyll . make . gre . go . ry . lene . chekes .
 Yf . ed . warde . do . eate . some . with . them .
 Mary . sende . hym . to . bed . lem . '

That wearing the Leek upon St. David's day was at one time practised at Court, may be gathered from a newspaper. The Flying Post, Feb. 28 to March 2, 1699, says, "Yesterday, being St. David's day, the King according to custom wore a Leek, in honour of the ancient Britons, the same being presented to him by the Serj^t Porter, whose place it is, and for which he claims the cloaths which his Majesty wore that day. The courtiers, in imitation of his Majesty, wore leeks likewise."

Correspondence relating to the death of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire.

12th March, 1846. ALFRED J. KEMPE, Esq. communicated transcripts of several original letters, existing in her Majesty's State Paper Office, relating to the death of the celebrated Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, at Padua, in the year 1556. After the attainder and execution of his father the Marquess of Exeter, he had been imprisoned in the Tower, and was liberated by Queen Mary, at the instance of Philip her husband. Courtenay resolved to travel in order to avert all suspicion that he was meddling with political intrigues. King Philip gave him an introduction to his father, Charles the Fifth, whose court was then at Brussels. Courtenay was graciously received by the Emperor; on quitting Brussels he proceeded to Venice, where he took up his residence: and the English ambassador, Mr. Peter Vannes, appears to have had instructions to watch his movements, and report to the Queen with great particularity. Vannes, however, soon had to relate to Mary the circumstances of the death of this unfortunate nobleman. He had gone to take the diversion of hawking on the island of Lio, about six miles from Venice, where he was surprised by a storm, and, in consequence of exposure to the rain, was seized with a burning ague. He repaired to Padua, in a "certain uneasy kind of waggon called a coche," and there died, according to Mr. Vannes' report, on September 18, 1556. Dugdale erroneously states that his death occurred in October. The Earl was interred in the church of St. Anthony, at Padua, where his monument still exists. A suspicion that he was poisoned had been entertained, which seems to be altogether removed by the correspondence now produced by Mr. Kempe, which affords an interesting illustration of the manners of the times in which Courtenay lived, and minutely records the circumstances of the close of his unfortunate life.

Gold Gorget.

19th March, 1846. SAMUEL SOLLY, Esq. exhibited a golden Gorget, found on the estates of the Drapers' Company, in the county of Derry. These curious ornaments have been found

almost exclusively in Ireland, and representations of several, varying slightly in form or ornament, may be found in *Archæologia*, Vol. II. pl. ii. Vol. XXX. pl. xii.; Gough's *Camden*, vol. IV. pl. x: a specimen also, discovered near Penzance, is represented in the Messrs. Lysons's *History of Cornwall*.

Monumental Inscription for Richard Lord Grey de Wilton.

19th March, 1846. THOMAS W. KING, Esq. F.S.A., communicated some observations on the monumental inscription to the memory of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, in Eton College Chapel, accompanied by a pedigree, in illustration of the fac-simile exhibited by Dr. Bromet on March 5. Richard Grey died in 1521, a minor and without issue; it is not easy to explain why he should be styled "one of the heys apparant to Richard Erll of Kent;" both were descended from John Lord Grey de Wilton, who died 17 Edward II., but the Earl had a brother living in 1521, who succeeded him. It is equally inexplicable why Richard Grey should be styled "Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn," as these baronies never merged in one individual. The barony of Grey de Codnor fell into abeyance in 1496, among the aunts of Henry, the last lord; and, had it been a barony limited to heirs male of the first baron, the Greys of Barton, a family existing at the time of Richard's death, would have had a prior claim. As regards the style of Ruthyn, Mr. King remarked that Richard's grandfather married the daughter of Edmund Lord Grey de Ruthyn; but his descent, thus deduced from that family, could in no wise have entitled him to the designation of that barony. Richard Earl of Kent died within three years after the decease of Richard Lord Grey de Wilton, and it seems probable, from the expression, "one of the heys apparant," that the monument at Eton was erected soon after; the insertion of the style "Lord Grey Cotenore, Wylton, Ruthyn," may possibly have been intended merely to indicate his connexion with the other ennobled branches of his ancient family.

Ancient Celts discovered in France.

2nd April, 1846. WILLIAM BROMET, Esq. M.D., F.S.A., exhibited representations of two Celts preserved in the Museum at Douai in France; one of them, formed of gneiss, was found at Cantin, near Douai; deeply engraved with rude lines, portraying a human head with a conical cap, from each side of which hangs a broad label. The other, of a striated green jasper, was found at Izel-les-Equerchin, near Arras, and bears a representation of a human head with a conical cap sculptured in relief.

Bronze Bowl, found in Locher Moss, Dumfries-shire.

7th May, 1846. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE exhibited a bronze bowl, and a collar of the same metal, which had been deposited in the bowl, discovered

in cutting turf in Locher Moss, Dumfries-shire. It had been placed upon three square hewn stones. This moss at a remote period appears to have been a forest, and the trunks of large trees are frequently found in the peat: it is only a few feet above the level of the Solway Firth, and from time to time numerous coins, seals, and antiquities of various kinds have been discovered; remains supposed to be those of Roman works are to be seen on the neighbouring hills. Stone axes, arrow heads, and a canoe of rude construction have also been brought to light. The Collar is similar in character, although different in ornamental design, to two which have been recently exhibited to the Society, and of which representations have been given in the *Archæologia*.^a Another similar ornament is in the possession of James Dearden, Esq. F.S.A. of Rochdale.

Portrait of Christine of Pisa.

7th May, 1846. BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a copy of the portrait of Christine de Pise, existing in a MS. preserved in the King's library at Paris, which, as Monsieur Paulin Paris supposes, was written by her own hand. This curious limning supplies evidence, that John Castet, son of Christine, was not, as several French writers have erroneously stated, a monk; most probably confounding him with another person of the same name, who was Abbot of St. Maur. The son of Christine, portrayed in the MS. at Paris, passed three years in England, in the suite of the Earl of Salisbury, the devoted adherent of Richard II.

Vases of Greek fabrication discovered at Bengázi.

7th May, 1846. ALBERT WAY, Esq. Director, communicated a Note relating to some remarkable antique Vases, which had been sent by John Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A. for the inspection of the Society, at the previous Meeting. They were of Greek fabrication, and were discovered, with various ancient remains, at Bengázi, in Barbary, on the sea shore, at the entrance of the Greater Syrtis, in the dominions of the Pasha of Tripoli. Bengázi is supposed to occupy the site of the Berenice of the Ptolemies, and Hesperis of more ancient times. One of the vases exhibited by Mr. Bidwell bears the potter's name inscribed upon the neck, ΑΠΙΤΑΡΧΟ ΑΠΙΤΩΝΟΣ, Aristarchus the son of Aristo. These interesting relics were collected, about the year 1838, by Mr. Wood, British Consul at Bengázi, and presented by him to Mr. Bidwell.

Earthen Vase from Mexico.

7th May, 1846. DR. BROMET exhibited an earthen Vase, found amongst the ruins of an ancient Mexican Temple, communicated, for the inspection of the Society, by Mr. Dillman

^a See vol. XXX. p. 554; XXXI. p. 517.

Engleheart. It was of most grotesque form, representing some monstrous animal, and fabricated without the aid of a lathe. It consisted of two portions, moulded separately, and afterwards vertically joined together.

Shield recently purchased by the Board of Ordnance.

14th May, 1846. ROBERT PORRETT, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a beautiful Shield, recently purchased by the Board of Ordnance, for the Armouries at the Tower. The subject represented upon it appeared to be a procession of knights on their way to a tournament; the ornaments were of engraved work, and their character seemed to fix the time of Edward VI. as the date of the shield.

Ancient Vessels of Earthenware.

14th May, 1846. NATHANIEL GOULD, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited three ancient Vessels of earthenware, all bearing considerable resemblance in fashion to the South American vase exhibited by Dr. Bromet at the previous meeting. One of them, supposed to be Roman, had been found by the excavators on the Eastern Counties Railway in the year 1843, at a depth of about nine feet, near the "Five Kings' Brook," in Essex; it was nearly filled with reddish sand. The second was dug up at Cusco, the ancient capital of Peru; and it exhibited in its form a fair representation of the puma, or South American Lion. It appeared to have been used for heating liquids, and for drinking, in the Spanish manner, by pouring a continuous stream into the throat, the ears being contrived so as to afford facility in holding the vessel. Near the spot where this vessel was found, various similar remains had been disinterred, with whistles, and several human skulls, which had been presented to the Museum at Leeds. The third vase was brought from an ancient place of sepulture in Chili, and represented two fruits, resembling lemons, united together by a handle; on one appeared a short, long-necked bird, from the other arose a long tube, and by blowing thereinto a shrill whistle was produced. This grotesque specimen of the ancient unbaked pottery of America was of a pale yellow colour, ornamented with red stripes.

Mythologic Paintings from China.

28th May, 1846. JOHN NICHOLL, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited two Paintings, brought to this country from the port of Shanghai, in China, by Captain Heaton, of the ship *Carib*, to whom they had been presented by a merchant of that place; they were described as having been painted in the interior of the country, and as of an uncommon description. They appeared to represent subjects of Oriental Mythology.

Roman remains from the bed of the Thames, at Kingston.

11th June, 1846. WILLIAM ROOTS, Esq. M.D. F.S.A. communicated for inspection two iron spear-heads, and a short sword or dagger, found in the bed of the Thames, at Kingston; they were considered by him to be Roman, and noticed as helping to substantiate his supposition that Cæsar crossed the Thames at that place. Sir Samuel Meyrick considered these remains as more appertaining to the Roman period than the bronze weapons found at Kingston, exhibited on previous occasions by Dr. Roots.

Roman remains near Blechingly in Surrey.

11th June, 1846. ALFRED J. KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A. communicated a notice of Roman remains, near Blechingly in Surrey. The district occupied by the Regni, in West Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, presents many vestiges of Roman occupation. The researches made at Holwood Hill, in 1828, had tended to confirm the opinion that the Noviomagus of Ptolemy, the chief station of the Regni, was there situated. Seven miles southward is found the elevated range of downs forming the northern boundary of the valley of Holmesdale, upon which numerous fortresses are to be found, probably of Roman origin; and similar strongholds appear on the Kentish hills, eastward, towards Ightham and Wrotham. It would be easy to shew that the Holmesdale, throughout its extent, was guarded by a continuous chain of ancient forts, amongst which Blechingly and Ryegate castles, subsequently occupied by the Saxons and Normans, may be included. On a bold eminence, called White Hill, near the former place, on the estate of J. Perkins, Esq. of Pendhill, Mr. Kempe had recently noticed indications of a Roman building, on the north side of a bye-road, leading to Merstham. The spot is protected by the downs to the northward, in accordance with the usual care of the Romans in the selection of sheltered sites for their villas. The building may now be traced by a hollow in the surface, about 40 feet in length, and 24 feet in breadth; the northern end appears to have been circular, and there are remains of a party wall; numerous fragments of roofing and flue tiles, and other Roman materials, are scattered over the surface of the ground. The country people consider these to be the remains of a bath, which might have been readily supplied by the numerous springs arising in the adjacent hills. A crop of wheat growing in the field was an obstacle to the prosecution of any detailed examination at the present time.

The President stated that he could fully corroborate the statement made by Mr. Kempe, in regard to the existence of ancient earth-works, towards the eastern extremity of the Holmesdale; having had frequent occasion to notice such evidences of ancient occupation in the neighbourhood of his paternal estates, at Chevening.

Ancient Coffin.

11th June, 1846. THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON exhibited a small coffin, or forcer, of wood, beautifully carved, purchased by him at Constance. It was of German workmanship, some portions of the ornament being of architectural character, and presenting features of the style termed *flamboyant*. Its date appeared to be the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Covenant of the Scottish Parliament.

WILLIAM DOWNING BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited a remarkable original document, being the Covenant of the Scottish Parliament, in renunciation of Popery, dated August, 1641, and bearing the autographs of the peers and representatives. It was found in the charter-chest of Major Richard Leslie Bruce Dundas, of Blair Castle, county of Perth.

Seal of Talley Abbey.

19th Nov. 1846. DAWSON TURNER, Esq., F.S.A., presented two Impressions from the Seal of the Abbey of St. Mary of Talley in Caermarthenshire, from a round matrix found at Wymondham in Norfolk, at present in the possession of Mr. W. Kent of Norwich. In the area the small half-length figure of an Abbot, mitred, bearing his Crozier, is represented within a gothic arch, the words *Ave maria* over his head; and above, of larger size, the figure of the lamb and banner. A plant in a flower-pot stands on each side of the gothic arch. The circumscription, in black letter, * *S' Abb'tis & Convent' b'e marie de talley*.

Charter and Seal of Margaret de Roos.

26th Nov. 1846. WILLIAM DOWNING BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited an original Charter and Seal, dated 1281, of Margaret de Ros daughter and coheirress of the last Peter de Brus Lord of Skelton, Yorkshire, relating to certain lands in the Barony of Kendal, Westmoreland.

Roman Glass Vessel found at Colchester.

3rd Dec. 1846. ALGERNON GIDEON MANTELL, Esq., LL.D. F.R.S., communicated an Account of a Roman Glass Vessel in his possession, in the following Letter to Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N.

"MY DEAR SIR,

19, Chester Square, Pimlico.

"The Glass Vessel of which I had the honour to transmit drawings to the Society of

Antiquaries, (Pl. XVIII.) was discovered in digging the foundation of the Hospital at Colchester, at the depth of ten or twelve feet beneath the surface.

"It was obtained immediately upon its disinterment by Mr. Thorby (formerly of Brighton), who presented it to me many years since. There were two or three other small glass vessels, and fragments of larger urns, dug up at the same time, but I do not know into whose hands they fell. There were likewise found many portions of red Samian pottery, and several brass fibulæ, one of which has in relief the figures of a dog pursuing a hare or rabbit. As the drawings are by Mr. Joseph Dinhel of Munich, and of the size of the original, I scarcely need remark that they so faithfully represent the vessel as to render description unnecessary. I will therefore merely add, that the glass is of the usual pale green tint, with a few patches of iridescent colours, produced by partial decomposition of the surface.

"The vessel is very thin; its weight is five ounces and a quarter. As the Marquis of Northampton and other eminent antiquaries informed me that the pattern was different from any they had previously seen, I thought it probable that the learned Society of which you are the Director might deem the representation of so fragile a relic of the Anglo-Roman period worth preserving in their archaeological archives of Great Britain.

"I am, my dear Sir, with great respect and regard, your faithful servant,

"GIDEON ALGERNON MANTELL.

"To Capt. Smyth, Dir. S.A."

Elevations, Plans, Sections, and Details of Norwich Cathedral.

10th Dec. 1846. The President and Council exhibited to the Society, at the request of John Adey Repton, Esq., F.S.A., a Collection of Drawings from their portfolios, ten in number, consisting of Elevations, Plans, Sections, and Details of Norwich Cathedral. They were purchased by the Society in 1806 of William Wilkins, Esq. senior, of Norwich, for the sum of £150, for whom they had been previously made by Mr. Repton. The following short Communication from Mr. Repton to Sir Henry Ellis was at the same time read, explanatory of the changes which the fabric of the Cathedral had undergone since the Drawings were made.

"MY DEAR SIR,

Springfield near Chelmsford, Dec. 6, 1846.

"As some alterations have been made in the Cathedral of Norwich since the Drawings were taken, about forty years ago, it may be necessary to point out the particulars of what has been done.

"We have to thank the Dean and Chapter for the good taste which has restored the old dark oak in the stalls of the choir, which was before covered with white paint.

"The beautiful bronze Pelican has been rescued from the lumber room and replaced in the choir as a reading desk, but the nest is missing.

"The beautiful oak door which had been taken away from the rood loft is again restored to its place.

"The Monument of Dame Elizabeth Calthorpe, which formerly stood between the rood loft and the choir, has been taken away.

"Lofty stone spires have been added to the turrets at the west end of the nave, instead of the modern ogee-shaped domes, which were by no means in character with Bishop Alnwyk's work. The lofty spires agree more with the date of the great spire of the Cathedral than with the Norman turrets underneath.

"Great alterations have been made in the South Transept by destroying an old Norman passage, and a Norman door is inserted to serve as an entrance into the South Transept.

"In the Cloisters many of the carved bosses were repaired (not by the present Dean and Chapter) and several heads were restored in composition; among them is that of St. Denys, who, according to the old legend, has his head in his hands, but the modern improver has placed another on his shoulders, perhaps wishing to verify the old proverb that 'two heads is better than one.'

"I find that the iron bars which used to be placed over the columns in the Cloisters are entirely gone. I well remember some of those bars had grooves to receive glass, while the lower parts between the columns were always open to the weather.

"Perhaps it is not generally known that the earth on the north side of the Nave is at least five feet above the pavement within; this is evidently the case, as one of the bases of the columns was discovered, which proves that the original surface was much lower when the Cathedral was erected. In consequence of this accumulation of the soil, the Norman Arcade inside of the nave appears much injured from the damp.

"In the upper part of the Nave, the windows, which were of the date of Henry VII. (and, of course, out of character with the Norman work) have been replaced by Norman arches, but made wider than the original ones.

"By closely examining the east side of the Great Tower, it will be found that the upper windows were originally the same as the Nave, before they were altered by Bishop Goldwell.

"The old organ has been altered, or rather gothicized to accord with the stalls of the choir, but, from the appearance of the number of horizontal string-courses, is too evidently of a bad school of modern Gothic. The same observation may be made on the new Cross (which has been substituted for the old one) over the great West Window. It has a prettiness about it to suit the taste of the present times.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, yours truly,

"JOHN ADEY REPTON.

"Sir Henry Ellis,
&c. &c. &c."

Drawings of Cowdray House.

17th Dec. 1846. FREDERICK NASH, Esq. of Montpelier Road, Brighton, exhibited to the Society a Series of finished Drawings recently made by him of Cowdray House in Sussex, seventeen in number. They were

1. A View of the House before the Fire of 1793.
2. The Fountain, as it stood in the Fountain Court, previous to the Fire.

The remainder of the Drawings exhibited the Plan of the Buildings and the Ruins in different views, as they stand at present, viz.

3. Ground Plan of Cowdray House, the dark parts shewing the existing walls.
4. Distant View of Cowdray.
5. South-West View.
6. South-West View.
7. North-West View.
8. Interior of South-West Wing.
9. The Bridge leading to Cowdray House.
10. Remains of the Drawing Room.
11. Remains of the West Front.
12. The Banqueting Hall.
13. The Chapel.
14. The Fountain Court.
15. The Porch.
16. Gateway from the South-East.
17. The Octagon Building.

Ancient Shields.

7th Jan. 1847. ROBERT PORRETT, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited to the Society four curious Shields, recently purchased from a dealer by the Board of Ordnance for the Armories in the Tower. No particulars respecting them were obtainable from the seller, but a general description was supplied by Mr. Porrett.

"The largest of the Shields represents, on the boss, St. George and the Dragon; on three of the compartments the subjects relate to the Siege of Troy; and the fourth compartment represents two Knights tilting against each other. This Shield appears to be of about the time of Henry the Eighth.

"The Shield next in size is of very elaborate workmanship; the conical boss and the border are divided into ten compartments, all of them representing subjects from the Old Testament: Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; the entrance into the Ark; the sacrifice of Isaac; Moses striking the rock, &c. &c. From the style of ornament, I conclude that this Shield is of the time of James the First.

"The next in point of size is a Scotch Shield, representing six armed horsemen in outline, formed by indentations effected by a punch; they are very well designed, and I presume not older than the time of Charles the First.

"The last Shield is a beautiful specimen of Italian work, representing Scottish Kings and Chiefs in eight compartments, and belonged probably to some noble family of that country."

Seals of Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans.

14th Jan. 1847. SIR HENRY ELLIS, by the kindness of Mr. John Doubleday, laid before the Society Casts from two Seals of Richard Earl of Cornwall, the brother of Henry the Third. One of them his Seal as Earl of Cornwall and Poitou: the other, of more enlarged dimensions, his Seal as King of the Romans.

Of the former Seal a very mutilated Impression was engraved on wood for the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, but an Impression so perfect as the present has not been before noticed by our Antiquaries.

On one side is a Shield of Arms representing a Lion rampant crowned, within a bordure charged with roundels; circumscribed SIGILLVM RICARDI COMITIS CORNVBIE. On the other, the Earl in mail armour, with surcoat; his left arm bearing his shield in front, on horseback: the right hand and arm extended, carrying a sword. The inscription, SIGILLVM RICARDI COMITIS PICTAVIE.

The second Seal was a fragment, the centre of an obverse only; of the size of Henry the Third's Great Seal, the style of which it seems to imitate. All that remains upon it is the Earl's figure as King of the Romans. The beautiful execution of this Seal leads one to regret that so small a portion of it should be all that now remains.

The Cast of the first of these Seals is from an original lately in the possession of Richard Farmer Dukes, Esq. The Seal as King of the Romans is from the Additional Charter No. 1051 in the British Museum.

Richard youngest son of King John was made Earl of Cornwall in 1226: elected King of the Romans in 1257: and died in 1272.

Tomb of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de Gruthuyse.

14th Jan. 1847. G. STEINMAN STEINMAN, Esq. F.S.A., presented to the Society a sketch of the Tomb erected in the Collegiate and Parochial Church of Nôtre Dame at Bruges, to the memory of the celebrated Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester; and of Mary de Borssele his wife; which interesting memorial was destroyed by the French Revolutionists in 1797. The sketch was copied from an original drawing in Indian ink, discovered by Mr. Steinman in a very valuable manuscript volume preserved in the Bibliothèque Publique of Bruges; in this book are described all the funereal memorials of that city from 1698 to 1707, and then from 1789 up to the present time. Other works have also treated of this tomb, but more or less imperfectly. M. Van Praet, in his "*Recherches sur Louis de Bruges Seigneur de Gruthuyse*," printed in 1831, says that it was nine feet in length, of black marble, and adorned with figures of bronze. In his letter to Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. Steinman also communicates notices of several other remarkable tombs, from the same volume, some of them of especial interest to English family history.

Ancient Helmets found at Mattrey.

28th Jan. 1847. WILLIAM BROMET, M.D. F.S.A., communicated an account of several bronze Helmets and Celts discovered about two years ago, in forming a new road at Mattrey, the ancient Mattrejum, between Innsbruck and Brixen. Twelve of these helmets are in the Imperial Cabinet of Medals at Vienna; and near the margin of one of them is an inscription in what are commonly called Phœnician characters, but which Dr. Bromet thinks more like Archaic Greek. Another of these is preserved at Salzburg, of which a drawing accompanied this communication; it had cheek-pieces, but no vizor, whilst its horned crest and rude style of ornament appeared to Dr. Bromet to be Celtic, resembling some in the bronze room in the British Museum. The design, consisting principally of small indentations, or dots, would indicate an Etruscan origin; and, according to Pliny, the ancient inhabitants of Brixen came from Etruria. "I must venture to suppose," says Dr. Bromet, "that the ancient Brixenses improved on their Etruscan form of helmet; unless indeed—from the circumstance of finding several instruments called celts with these helmets—we may conclude that the inhabitants of Mattrejum belonged to some Celtic-Etrurian tribe, of whom we have only a slight record; and that, from the number and good condition in which these celts and helmets were found, they had never previously issued from the spot where they had been manufactured; the village of Mattrey being in a district naturally abounding with metal, still daily worked by its present inhabitants."

Ancient Figure of God the Father found in the Thames.

28th Jan. 1847. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A., at the request of another member, Henry Stothard, Esq. presented to the Society a plaister cast by Mr. Samuel Nixon of a Figure



in wood discovered in the bed of the Thames during the progress of operations connected with the building of New London Bridge.

Mr. Smith, in a letter to the Director, stated that he was not aware of the precise period when this image was brought to light, nor of the exact spot where it was found, but that during the building of the Bridge an immense quantity of Works of Art had been discovered.

This figure represents God the Father personified as a Pope: at his feet the Globe:—From a comparison with similar works there can be no doubt that the hands formerly held in front a representation of our Saviour on the Cross; probably surmounted by the Dove. Such personifications of the Trinity in unity were common enough in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

Mr. Smith thought that this figure probably came from the Chapel built upon Old London Bridge, built by Peter de Colchirch, dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket.

Orders of Queen Elizabeth as to Corn and Scarcity in 1586 and 1594.

4th February, 1847. RICHARD ALMACK, Esq. F.S.A. communicated a contemporary manuscript copy of

The Renewinge of certaine Orders devised by the speciall commâdement of the Queenes Maistie for the reliefe and staye of the *present Dearth of Graine* within the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1586.

Nowe to bee againe executed this present yeare 1594, upon lycke occasions as were seene the former yeare, wth an addition of some other particular orders for reformation of the great abuses in ale-houses and suche licke.

Imprinted at London by the depities of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1594.

The Renewinge of certeine Orders devised by the Queenes Maiestie for the reliefe and staye of the present dearthe of graine wthin the realme.

That the justices shall devide them selves into sundry partes to execut these orders.

That the shiriffe and justices of the peace shall immediatlye uppon the receipte of these orders assemble them selves to gether wth as much speede as they possible may. And havinge conferred amongst them selves uppon the contents herof, shall firste for the better execution of the same divid them selves into sundrye companies, and take amongst them into their charge by severall divisions all the hundreds, rapes, or wapentakes of the said countie.

To appoynt sundry justices to enquire of thinges herafter followinge.

Item, every companie so allotted out shall forthewith derecte thire precepts unto the shiriffe to warne the high constables, under constables, and other the most honest and substanciall inhabitantes wthin the same hundred, rape, or wapentake, to the number of xxxvi. psons, moe or fewer, as the quantitie of the hundred, rape, or wapentake shall require, to appeare before them at a certaine place, and within as short time aftere the receipte herof as they conveniently maye, and uppon the apparance of the said persons, they shall devide them into so many juries as they shall thinke meete, gevinge instruction to the said shiriffe to returne as *fewe* of suche as

be knowne *greate farmours* for corne or that *have store of graine to sell* as he can; and suche of the persons so warned as shall not appeare, but make default beinge summoned, and not havinge any just or reasonable excuse allowable by the justices, to be punished therfore at the good discretions of the justices, both by imprisonment and fine, before whome they ar to appeare.

Item, they shall first declare to the parties appearinge the cause why they are sent for, and there withe earnestlye charge them in the feare of God to applie them selves to the service whereunto they shalbe nowe called withe all duetifullnes and diligence, and wth out anye partialitye to any persone; and then they shall geve them the othe followinge.

The Juries Othe.

You shall sweare, &c. That youe shall enquire and make true and due searche and triall, what number of psons every householder that bathe corne in their barnes, stackes, or other where, as well justices of the peace as others whatsoever wthin y^e parishe of have in their houses feedinge, lyinge, and uprisinge, or otherwise to be fed; what numbere of acres they have certainlye to be sowne this yeare wthany manner of graine; what bargaines they have made wth any psons for anye kynde of grayne to be solde by or to them; to whome and by whome, and uppon what prices, they have made the same; and what quantitie of any manner of graine they or any other have in their barnes, garners, loftes, cellers, or floores, or otherwise to be delived unto them upon any bargain.

The othe of the jurors whiche wheare to enquire what number of psons be in the houses of them that have store of corne.

Item, what number of badgers, kydders, broggers, or carriers of corne inhabite within the saide parishe, and whether they doe use to carie their corne whiche theye doe buy, and wheare they doe usuallye buy the same, and what their names be, and howe longe they have used that trade, and by whose licence, and to see the same licences of what tenor they are of.

For badgers, broggers, and carriers of corne.

Item, what number of maulte makers, bakers, comen brewers, or tiplers dwell within the said parishe, and whoe they are by name, and howe longe theye have used that trad, and howe muche they bake or brewe in the weeke, and what other trade they have wherbye otherwise to live.

Malt makers, bakers, and brewers.

Item, whoe withine the said parishe be the great buiers of corne, or doe use to buy or have bought any corne or graine to sell againe, or have solde it againe since midsomer last.

Buyers of corne to sell agayne.

Item, whoe wthine the same parishe buieth or have bought or sold any graine uppon the ground, of whom and to whome hathe the same bene bought or sold, and at what price, and to certyfye unto us of the premisses and of every parte thereof, on the day of nowe next comynge, and to every part of these articles youe shall bringe answer from poynt to poynt.

Buyers of corne upon the grownd.

And yf any shall refuse to declare the truth of or concerninge the premyssies, or of any part therof, to any the jurors aforesaid, requeringe the same for thire better information, the jurors shalbe enformed that suche person upon the information of the said jurors shalbe convented beffore the justices of the peace of the saide divisione, or any towne of them, and sharplye rebuked, or yf nedd be punished for his contempt; and yf the partie so called in question shall not declare the full truthe therof to the said justices hee shalbe committed by the said justices to the comen gaylle as a person bound for his good behavioure, and so to bee continued wthout baile, untill he shall conforme hime selfe therine, or otherwise at the discretions of the said justices he shalbe bound in a good sūme of money to make apparante before the Lordes of Her

Against suche as shall refuse to declare the truthe of the matters inquirable.

Parties offend-
ing to appeare
before the
councell.

A considera-
tion of all per-
sons that have
come to deter-
mine howe they
shall serve the
markettes wth
such portions
as they may
spare.

The form of
the recogni-
zance to be
freely taken.

Orders to be
observed by
such as shalbe
appointed to
serve the mar-
kets wth corne
for the reliefe
of the poore
people firste.

To whome
corne shall be
sold after that
the poore are
served.

Maiesties Privye Councell to answere unto his contempt in that behalffe, for further punnishment and fine, for example of all suche disobedient persons.

That the said justices of the peace, havinge received into their hands the verdite of the said injuries answeringe to evy poynt of thire charge, shall call at certaine dayes by them to be assigned suche persons before them of evye parishe as uppon the presentment so made shall appeare to have come to spare; and uppon due consideration of the number of persons whiche every persone hathe in his house accordinge to their qualities, and of the quantitie of graine that the partie hathe toward the findinge of the same, or otherwisse to be spent in his howse and sowinge of the grounde, allowinge to everye house houlder for his expenses in his house, for evye persone therof accordinge to their qualitie, sufficient corne for bread and drinke betwene this and next harvest, and for their seed after the rate of the sowinge of that countrey uppon an acre, and then they shall bind all suche as shall appeare to have more of any kind of graine then shall serve to the uses above mencioned, as well justices of the peace as others, by recognizance, in some good resonable sume of money to observe the orders ensuinge, viz. :—

Ye doe knowledge youre selff to owe unto oure Sovereigne Ladie the Queenes Maiestie,
&c. the sume of

The condicion therof shalbe, that yf ye shall well and trulie wthout fraude, covine, or collusion, and wthout any maner decept or craft, fulfill, observe and kepe all and everye suche orders, appoyntmente, and derektions, as shall at this present be by us on her Maiesties behalffe prescribed and enjoyned unto youe to be by youe done and fulfilled, then this recognizance to be voyde, or els to stand in force.

The orders to be observed are these, viz. :—

Youe shall bringe, or cause to be brought, weekly soe manye quarters or bushels of corne, as wheat, rye, barley, malt, peazon, beanes, or other graine, or so muche therof as shall not be directlie sould to the poore artificers or day laborars of the parishe wthin whiche youe dwell, by order of the justices of the peace of the division wthin which youe dwell, or towe of them, to the market of, there to be by youe, or at youre assignement, solde unto the Queenes subjectes in open market by halfe quarters, two bushells, one bushell, or lesse, as the buyer shall requiere of youe, and not in greater quantity, except it be to a badger or carriere of corne admitted accordinge to the statute, or to a common knowne brewer or baker, havinge testimonie under the hand and seale of such twoe justices of the peace at the leaste of the division, or of a maiore or other head officer of the cittie, towne, or boroughe corporate where he dwellethe that he is common brewer or baker wthin the same, or to suche other persons as shall make provision for any lord spirituall or temporall, knight, or any other gentlemen, that hathe no provision of corne, so as the same person have and shewe unto suche person as shall have the over sight of the market in that behalf testimonie under the hand and seale of the partie for whome he commethe to the market to make that provision, declaringe that it is for the provision of his house, and contayninge the quantities and kinde of graine to be provided : and youe shall not willingly leave any part of youre corne so brought to that market unsolde, yf money be offered to you for the same, by any that are permitted to buy the same, after the usuall price of the market their that day, as long as the market shall last.

Neither shall youe from the beginninge of the market to the full end thereof keepe or cause to be kept any of youre said corne out of the open sight of the market: neither shall youe carry away from the market towne any kynde of graine that was brought thither whiche you have not theire solde, but shall leve the same thire in the market towne in some place knowne, so as it may be brought into the opene market the next market daye att the first oppening of the market, theire to be sold as afore was lymitted. And yet, neverthelesse, youe shall bringe to the market such othere quantitie of graine as shalbe lymitted, and to continue at every market daye the bringinge into the open market the quantitie of corne that shall be lymitted.

No corne brought to the markett un-
solde to be
carried out of
the towne.

Also youe shall not buy any manner of suche graine as wee shall appoynt you to sell from this daye forwards, but upon verye especiall and necessarye cause to be allowed by us, untill suche tyme as all and everye suche manner graines as we at this tyme shall appointe youe to sell be accordinge to oure appointment and order by youe solde. And yf youe shall not sowe so muche this yeare as the jurie hathe presented that ye intend to sowe, or yf youe nowe have or shall have knowledge, or shall gesse hereafter at any tyme, ether by threshinge of the mowe or shocks, or otherwise, that ye have more store of any manner of graine then the jurie hathe presented unto us, that then ye shall forthwth uppon such knowledge therof had make true relation therof unto us, or unto two of us, both what portion of your seede corne shall be left unsowne, or what further quantitie youe shall perceve youe have then was at the first presented.

None to buy
such kynd of
corne as they
shall bringe to
sell, but by
warrant uppon
reasonable
cause.

That so soone as youe perceive youe spend not afterr of so muche corne as wee have lymitted unto youe for the findinge of youre house, ye shall make true report unto us or two of us howe muche lesse ye spend.

Ye shall buy no corne to sell it againe; nether shall youe by any coloure directly or indirectlye appoynt any youre servants or any other person to be a badger of youre corne, other then to carie youre corne to the market, there to be solde as your owne, without chaunginge of any propertye.

No corne to be
bought for to
sell againe.

Ye shall neither buy nor sell any manner of corne but in the open market, unlesse the same be to some poore handicraftesmen, or daye labourers wthin the parishe wherein youe doe dwell, that cane not convenientlye come to the market townes, by reason of distance of place, accordinge to suche direction as shalbe geven unto youe in that behalfe by us the justices of the peace of the division within whiche youe doe dwell, or towe of us, and to none of these above one bushell at one time; and therof youe shall keepe or cause to be kepte a particulare note in wrytinge to whome youe shall so sell weeklye, and at what prices, so as the same maye appeare to the justices to be done wthout fraude or abuse.

No corne to be
bought but in
open markett.

That the justices of the peace within theire severall divisions have spetiall regarde that ingrossers of corne be carefullye scene unto, and inquisitions to be made for knowledge of them, so as they may be severely punished accordinge to the lawe; and wheare suche ar founde to make certificates of theire names and dwellinges, and of the proofes, to the Queenes Maisties attorneye generall for the tyme beinge, who is diredted speedily to enforme againste them for the same, and to see that non be permitted to buy any corn to sell agayne but by speciall licence; and that of all maner of licences by justices of the peace, or by any other authoritye, the parties that shall have such licences shall cause an entrie to be made in the booke of y^e

Inquire to be
made against
engrossers.

An order for all
licences from
the justices of
the peace to
be kepte in a
recorde.

peace remayninge wth the custos rotulorum, or the clarcke of the peace, for enterye wherof the party shall not paye above twoe pence; and therof the custos rotulorum, or the clarke, shall kepe a good register, to be shewed to the justices whensoever they shall requiere the sight therof.

*Regard to the
bakers for
kepinge of the
size of breade.*

That they take order withe the common bakers for the bakinge of rye, barlye, pease, and beanes for the use of the poore, and that they appoint speciall and fitt persons dilligentlie to see the people well dealt witheall by the commone bakers and brewers, in all townes and places in their weightes and assizes; havinge also regarde that the deputies of the clerke of the market do not abuse themselves in unlawfull exactions for weight and measure, and effectuallye to

*Bread faulty in
any excessse to
be sold towards
the relief of the
poore.*

enquire for and searche out the default therein, and therupon to geve order for punishment of the offender severely, according to the lawe; and where any notable excessive offence shall be in the bakers, to cause the bread to bee sold to the poorer sort under the ordinarie prices, as in

*No badger to
buy corne but
in open markett
and wth suffi-
cient licence in
writing.*

part of punishment of baker. That no badgers of corne, bakers, or brewers, buy any graine, or commue or bargaine for the same, but in the tyme of open markets, and that but by licence under the handes of the justices of the division where they doe dwell, or three of them; and that they weeklye bringe their licence with them to the market where they doe either buy or sell, or els not to be suffered to buy any; and that the licence containe howe muche graine, of what kinde, and for what place they are licenced to buy and cary; that there be set downe upon the licence in writinge the daye, place, quantitie, and price at whiche the corne is bought; that they take but measurable for the cariage, bakinge, and brewing therof; that they shewe thire booke weeklye to suche as the justices of the division wherein they dwell shall appoynt for that purpose, beinge no bakers or badgers of corne; and that those wthine everie xiiij. dayes make report to the justices of the division wherein they dwell howe the people are dealt wth all by the badgers, bakers, and brewers; and that suche as have sufficient to live on, or that are knowne to be of any common evill behavioure be not permitted to be badgers of corne, of which sort comenlie the report is that there are too many, and therefore the same would be remedied and forseene. Also, that no badgers be permitted but suche as the statute doeth limit; and that no servant of any be licenced to be a badger except sixe of the justices at the least shall in open sessions for some necessarye cause allowe any suche; and that non at all be allowed a badger except he be allowed in open sessions; and not to be, as yt is in many places, abused for gaine of the clarke of the peace, or a justice's clerke, granted wthout allowance of the rest of the justices in their open sessions; and, furthermore, that non be permitted to buy or provid corne in the market in grosse as badgers, bakers, brewers, or purveyours and suche lyke, upon paine of imprisonment, untill one houre or mor after the full markett begune, that the poore may be first served.

*The badgers to
shewe weeklye
their booke of
buyinge.*

*No justices
servant to be a
badger, nor non
other but such
as shalbe licen-
ced in open
sessions.*

*No badgers,
brewers, or
purveyours, to
buy graine un-
till an houre
after the full
marketta be-
gine.*

*Some justices
to be p^{re}sente in
the market to
see the poore
relieved upon
reasonable
prices.*

That the said justices, or twoo or one of them at the leaste in everie division, shall be personallie present at everie market wthin their sevall divisions duringe the whole time of the market, to see the orders to be taken by the authoritie herof to be well observed, and the poore people provided of necessarye corne, and that withe as muche favour in the prices as by their earneste pswasion of the justices cane be obtained. By this it is not ment to charge any lorde of P^{ar}liament, beinge a justice of peace, to attende upon anye such service in any market otherwyse

then yt shall be withe his owne good will; but in all other causes tendenge to the execution of these orders y^t is hoped that every pson of any estate will redelie geve advise and assistance.

If there shall be any hundred, rape, or wapentake wthin the said countie, wthin the which or neare thereunto no sufficient number of the said justices of the peace do dwell or inhabitt, the said sheriffe and foure justices of the peace of that county shall in that cause appoynt some other honest gentlemen, or y^e highe constable, constables, under constables, or such others, grave, honest, and substanciall persons, not beinge corne maisters, dwellinge wthin the said hondred, rape, or wapentake, as they shall by theire discretions thincke convenient to have the charge, doinge, and execution of these orders theire, whom they shall also instructe howe to execute the same diligentlie and uprightly. That all good meanes and perswasions bee used by the justices in their severall divisions, and by admonitions and exhortations in sermons in the churches, by the preachers and ministers of the word, that the poore may be served of corne at convenient and charitable prices; and, to the furtherance therof, that the richer sort be earnestlye mooved, bye christian charitie, to cause thire graine to be sold under the comen prices of the market to the poorer sort; a deed of mercie that will doubtlesse bee rewarded of Almightye God.

Where justices are wantinge in any hundred for to appoynt some riche p^{rs}ons to supply the want.

That ministers and preachers exhorte the richer sort to be liberal to healepe the poore wth money or victuell needfull.

That there be no buyinge or bargaininge of any kynde of corne but in open market: and that the justices in theire severall divisions restraine common maulsters of makinge barley malt, in those countries and places where theire be oates sufficient to make malt of for the use of the people, and to restraine as well the brewinge of barlie mault by or for ale houses or common tiplers in those countries and places, as also the excessive use of any kynde of mault by all common brewers, maulsters, and common tiplers, accordinge to the true meaninge of the article; and that the unnecessary number of ale houses and common tiplers be forewith suppressed in all places, and that direction bee given to all tiplinge houses, taverns, and ale houses, not to suffer any persons to repaire thethere to eat and drinke at unreasonable tymes, or to continue in suche houses longer then to satisfie their necessitie of eatinge and drinkinge.

To make maulte of otes in countreys where theire hathe bene use therof.

That the justices use all other good meanes possible that are not mentioned in these orders that the marketes may be well served, and the poore relived in their pvisions duringe this time of dearthe, and that no expense of anye graine meete for breade to feede men be wasted uppon feedinge of dogges or other beastes; neither that anye be spent in makinge stuffe called starche, as of late theire hathe bene discovered great quantitie expended in that vaine matter, beinge in no sort to be suffered to continue, the rather also for that there are other thinges not helpfull to the foode of mane that maye serve for suche purposes, yf suche purposes at least were requisite.

No wast of bread corne superfluously, nor any expence therof but for feeding of people.

Non suffere to make starche of any graine.

That the justices be straightly commanded to see by all good meanes that the able people be sett on worke in houses of correction provided and furnished, and theire idle vagabonnds be punished.

Able poore people to be set to worke.

That the justices doe theire best to have convenient stockes of money or wares to be provided in everie division, or other places, accordinge to the statute, for settinge the poore on worke; and the justices to use all other good politique meanes wthin theire severall divisions to continue and maintayne the poore people in worke wthin the parishe, or at the furthest within

Stocke of money for p^{vi}sion of worke for poore people.

Clothiers to
continue their
worke folkes.

the hundred or division, and namelye in clothinge countreyes to charge the clothiers that have in former tymes gained by that trade not now in this time of dearthe to leve of this trade, whereby the poore may be sett on worke.

Souldiers, hurt
and impotent
people to be
relived in their
dwelling
places

That the maymed and hurt souldiours, and all other impotent psons, bee carefullie seene unto to be relived wthine thire sevall parisshe, hundreds, or divisions, accordinge to the lawe therine provided; and that, wheare the provisions formerly made and passed uppon the householders in evye parishe be not sufficient, it may be nowe for this tyme of dearthe charitably encreased; and where any parishe is not able to geve sufficient reliefe to suche theire poore, that parishe to have the supply of suche other parishes neere adjoynynge as have fewer poore, and ar bettere able to geve reliefe; and no vagabond or sturdiye begger, or any that may otherwise get their livinge by their labours, be suffered to wander abroad under coloure of begginge in any towne, field, or highe waye; and that the justices doe presently give order that their be able persons appointed and sufficiently weaponed to assist the constables of every towne to attache such vagabounds bothe in their townes, fildes, and highe wayes, and to commit them to prison, without baile of any sutch but as two of y^e justices of the peace wthin that division shall order. And yf any towneshipe shall not observe this order for the attaching and punishinge of the saide vagaboundes, then the justices shall see due punishment by fine upon the whole townshipe, or upon such parties in the towne as shall be found in fault.

That no millers
be suffered to
be common
buiers of corne,
nor to sell
meale, but to
attend to the
true grindinge
of the cornes
brought, and
to use mesur-
able tolle these
deare seasons.

Where in some partes of the realme divers millers, whoe ought only to serve for grindinge of corne that shall be brought to their milles, have begune lately a very corrupt trade, to be common byers of corne, both in marktete and out of marktete, and the same doe grinde into meale, and doe use as badgers, or otherwise, to sell the same at marktete and in other places, seekinge therby an inordinate gaine, besyde the misusinge of other menes corne brought thither to be gronde, by delaye of grindinge, or, that worse is, by chaunginge and alteringe of their good corne to the worst, it is thought very necessarye that the justices of the peace who are not owners of any title of any milles, nor maisters or landlords to any millers, shall first inhibit all millers, upon payne bothe of imprisonment and fine, to use any such trade of buyinge of any graine to be sold, either in corne or meale, but to charge them to continue the orderly use of grindinge of all maner of corne that shalbe brought to them in reasonable good sort and uppon reasonable tolle; and for better performance herof some of y^e justices not affectioned to the millers shall some time personallie them selves resort to the millers to oversee the doinges of the said millers, and compell them to doe their dueties. And where none of the justices can, as neede shall be, weekelye to attend thereto, and to enforme them selves of the poorer sort howe they are used in this tyme of dearthe for their grindinge and their tolle, and present the defaulters to the justices, to bee speedily reformed with all due severetie.

Conference to
be had betwixt
the justices of
peace in the
shires, and the
principall offi-
cers of cities
and townes
corporat, for
p^rvisions of

Item, where there are within the circuite of any shire, or thereto adjoynynge, any citties that are incorporated as townes within themselves, or any other townes incorporate that have by good auctoritie justices of peace of there owne inhabitantes, for that commonlye suche cities and townes have their greateste number of housholders that are noe owners of graine, but have common bakers and brewers, must of necessitie buy and provide their corne or meale at the marketes neere therto, to serve all other the inhabitants and resiants within the said cities and

townes; for the provision of all suche cities and townes it shalbe necessarie that the justices of the peace of the shires next to the same cities and townes shall have a meetinge and conference withe the heade officers of the said cities and townes howe and in what good manner the bakers and brewers, and other housholders that shall also have neede to provide corne or meale for the necessarie use of the private housholders, may be provided at the markets neere to the same. And after due conference had herof, there shalbe by the justices of peace, and the afforsaid heade officers, some good orders sett downe, suche as bothe may serve for the needefull use of the same townes and citties, and also maye not by abuse give cause of raisinge of prices in the markets and countries adjoyninge; and where there shall be adjoyninge to the same cities and townes, or not fare distant, divers shires, (as in many places suche is the citionation of them,) theire some of the justices of every shire so adjoyninge, or not farre distant, shall use suche conference, and take suche orders wth the said officers, as afore is mentioned. And in suche cases the justices of every such shire shall be enformed mutuallie, from the one shire unto the other, of the needefull provisions to be made from tyme to tyme for the saide cities and townes, so as every shire may proportionatlye yeld resonable succour and reliefe out of theire marketes, to the purveiors, or to the bakers and brewers, as shall be requisite, wthout burtheninge of the one more then the other may reasonable beare. And yf neede shall requier, the aforesaid principall officers shall not refuse to acquaint the justices from whence the provision shall be brought and provided, howe muche pvisions so had and bought in markete ar spent, that by coloure of suche provisions no abuse be committed to encrease the prices, and so to leave the poore unable to be relived.

If there bee any speciall part within any shire that hathe as a libertie by speciall commissions any justices of the peace withe in the same, the shirife of the shire shall send unto the principall owner or officer of suche libertie notice of these orders, and shall charge them that the justices of the peace within suche libertie do theire duties for execution of all these orders, as farre foorth as shallbe requisite, and therein also to use by conference the advise of some other justices next adjoyninge.

That in all countie maritime where portes or creeks ar, by whiche any corne may be carried out of the realme, though also theire ar commissioners appointed under the greates seale of Englande to take care that no corne be shipped or laden in any vessell to passe out of the realme, yett neverthesse the justices of the peace that are not placed in that commission, yf they be no owners of corne to sell, shall also use theire diligence to stay suche ladinge of corne, either in portes or creekes, or upon any ryvers leadinge to the same. And yf the aforesaid commissioners shall not doe theire duties therein, by authoritie of theire commission, then any other justice, by authoritie of these orders, shall make staye of all suche transportation; and in his soe doinge shall be allowed and maintaned. And this is thought neede to be in this sort directed, for that it may bee dowbted that amongst so many as are appointed in the forsaid commission against transportation some maye be mistaken, beinge themselves eithere transportators or friends or favourers to transporters, or negligent in the execution of the charge committed to them.

graine for the
inhabitanes
in citties and
corporat
townes.

Order for
places exempt-
ed from the
jurisdiction of
the justices of
peace in the
bodies of the
shires.

Regard to stay
all transport-
ac'on of graine
out of the
realme.

Certificate to be made of the executiō of these orders monethly to the shirife, and he to certifie the same to the privie cōncell w^{ch} in every forty dayes.

To certifie what justices be absent from the service, that suche as wthout just excuse shall not attend may be displaced, and their roomes, yf there be need, supplied.

That the justices of the peace doe once every monethe certifie their doings and proceedings, by force of these instructions, unto the sheriffe of the said countie, in whiche certificate they shall also make certificate of such justices as shall be absent from any of these services, and the true cause of their absence, and shall also certifie the usuall prices of all kyndes of graine in their market for that moneth paste. Of all whiche the same shirife shall certifie to the privie counsell without any delaye, so as he do certifie once in evy fourtye dayes at the furthest, and so as alsoe the default in any justice that shall bee absent without necessary cause may be duly considered and reformed by authoritie of her Ma^{ties} counsell as reason shall require; wherby suche persons as are placed as justices for their credit may not continue in those roomes wherein they shall be found not disposed to attend suche necessarie and godly services as this is, but that others of better disposition may supplie those roomes, yf there shall be neede of any suche number, as in most places it is thoughte not verry needefull, the number of lat years beinge in comon opinion mor hurtfull then profitable to justice.

And yf any shall offend against the true meaninge of these instructions, or of any part therof, or shall use anye sinister meane to the defraudinge therof, that suche be severely punished accordinge to the lawes, and for suche obstinate persons as shall not conforme themselves, the justices shall, at their pleasure, bind them to appeare before the Queenes Maiesties privie cōncell by a daye certaine, there to be further dealt wth by severe punishment, for the better example of all others.

Articles annexed to the former orders to be executed by the justices of peace, in places where they shall thinke convenient. 1594.

1. First, to take viewe of all the numb^r of ale houses, vittalinge houses, and tiplinge houses in evy towne, parishe, village, and hamlet, within thire jurisdictions; and, uppon viewe had, to consider what number of them are necessarie and fitte for every towne, parishe, village, and hamlet, to continue; and thereupon to discharge the superfluous number, and suche as are unmete to keppe the same, and to allowe a convenient number, and no more.

2. The whiche shall be allowed to be of honest conversacōn, and that have no other meanes to live by, and to geve newe bande to her Maiesties use to performe the orders followinge, and suche of them as refuse so to be bound not to be permitted to continue to kepe any ale house, vitailinge, or tiplinge house.

3. To take strait order wth the brewers that they serve no beere or ale to any ale house keper, victualler, or tipler, but at suche rate and price as by the justices of peace shalbe set downe, and appointed by authoritie of the statute of 23 H. cap. 4., and yet the same to be well sodden, and well brewed of wholesome graines, as it ought to be, uppon paine, &c. to be imposed by the justices.

4. That no vitailers, tiplers, and ale house kepers have in their houses, or doe permitte to be brought to their houses, any cards, dice, or tables, nor to suffer any to play in there houses, y^{ar}des, or baksides, at any cardes, tables, dice, or other unlawfull games.

5. That no vitailer, tipler, or ale house kepper shall dresse, or suffer to be dressed and eaten, within his house, any fleshe, upon any forbidden daye, savinge for hime self and his servant, in

cases of necessitie, accordinge to the statute in that behalfe provided, and this to be parcell of the condition of there boundes.

6. That no vitailer, tipler, or ale house keeper shall permit and suffer any person or persons to lodge in his house above a day and a night but suche as he will answere for, as the statutes yet in force doe require.

7. To geve straight order and charge to everye constable or other superioure officers to whome it maye appertaine that evye of them shall everie fiftine dayes searche and enquire of the said and other lyke disorders, as by the lawes and statutes of this realme they ar commanded and required; and yf it shall seeme to the justices that the pety constable bee ether a vitailer, or one that shall faviour the vitailers in their faulte, some other meeter persone to be appointed to make the said inquisition and certificate.

8. That inquisition be made in what places mault is commonly made to be solde by suche as are called maulsters, and who they be, and to take order that by buyinge and engrossinge of barlye to make malt they doe not thereby store upe greater quantitie of mault then they usuallye bringe to markete, therbye towards the end of the yeare to encrease the price therof excessively, of whiche abuse the justices are to take care to refourme the same.

Ruins of a City submerged in the Sea on the Coast of Pomerania.

11th Feb. 1847. The following Letter, addressed to the President by SIR HENRY ELLIS, was read, giving a short account of a lost City near the coast of Pomerania, believed to have been overwhelmed by the sea in or about the eleventh century.

MY LORD,

British Museum, Feb. 11th, 1847.

Among the foreign letters addressed to the late Sir Joseph Banks, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum, I have found one from a Mr. Churchman, the larger portion of which scarcely belongs to the objects of the Society of Antiquaries, but which in one or two of its paragraphs calls attention to a curious fact, for the most part long since forgotten, and but slightly recorded in history; namely, the actual existence of the ruins of a city near the coast of Pomerania, once of great size, but submerged by an encroachment of the sea in the eleventh century, if not earlier.

The following is the Letter, dated April 25th, 1804:—

John Churchman to Sir Joseph Banks.

[Addit. MS. 8099, fol. 336, Orig.]

“ Right Honourable Sir,

April 25th, 1804.

“ In the empire of Russia, it appears manifest that the sea has been retreating for ages past:

according to the documents in possession of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, a boat made of oak timber, together with several human skeletons, was found some years ago in digging a small canal at Strelna, the seat of the Grand Duke Constantine.

"By Dallin's History, the Ocean formerly retreated in Sweden, and I believe the celebrated Linnæus was of the same opinion.

"In the course of the last year was published a short account of a vessel laden with marble being lately found in the dominions of his Prussian Majesty, not far from the Baltic. As this vessel was said to be covered with earth, it is concluded this was occasioned by the sediment apt to settle at the bottom when any ground is covered with standing water; and this no doubt was the case there, since the Goths and Vandals had but little taste for marble. At present the sea seems to gain gradually on the land on the shores of the Baltic. In most of the charts of that sea the ruins of the famous city of Vineta are represented under water. Antiquaries believe its name to be derived from the nation called the Vineti. These ruins lie between the Danish island of Bornholm and the island of Rugen, opposite to Swedish Pomerania. It seems the streets have been laid out, like Babylon, at right angles. According to Lubeccens, alderman of Tripton, this ruined city, situate on level ground, was visited by travellers with attention about the year 1564; among other visitors was the then Duke of Brunswick and his chaplain. About this time, a vessel had come from Gothland, and took away all the marble and metal then to be found. Among other things were a pair of very large city-gates made of metal, concerning which there existed a popular song.

"President Keffenbrink tells that on the 14th of August, 1771, two Dutch vessels were shipwrecked on the ruins of this city. There were then standing several pillars of white marble or alabastre; the counsellor, M. Jordan, went thither with Commodore Baarts from Swinemund, who endeavoured to save the vessels; as the weather was fine, the company went on board, and inspected the pillars, one of which by the shock was brought from its vertical position. Some old men declared that they formerly had seen these white pillars above water. A certain master of a vessel at Swinemund said that eleven years before that time an English ship was lost on the ruins of Vineta, and on that occasion went thither to assist the vessel in distress. He said he had discerned two walls of brick, which he supposed were about four feet thick, and sixty or seventy feet distant from each other, but only some parts of it reached so high as the water's edge. I made diligent enquiry of such as were most likely to give accurate information; and some suppose it was called "*Civitas Vineta*." Perhaps it is no more strange to observe the ocean to rise here by slow degrees than for Captain Cook to perceive that the contrary effect took place at Cape Denbigh, which is on a meridian nearly opposite. According to the observations made on the voyage of Captain Vancouver, the ocean was evidently encroaching very rapidly upon the land at Cook's Inlet, Port Chalmers, Prince William's Sound, and Gray's Harbour. Now, seeing the meridian opposite to St. Petersburg is at Cook River, it seemed natural to suppose that when the ocean begins to fall there (which is hardly to be expected quite so soon) it would probably begin to rise at St. Petersburg; and it is remarkable that during a strong westerly breeze in 1782 and 1783 the streets of that city were so full of water that they were navigated by boats, whereas such an accident had not happened for twenty-five years

before, although the wind had oftentimes been as strong; but, having left that city before the last mentioned inundation took place, I obtained this intelligence by information.

"Upon inquiry concerning the daily observations on the rising of the waters at St. Petersburg, they had been discontinued there before my arrival, on account of the very slow change which appeared to take place.

"Having written to the French Academy on this subject, before the death of the King in 1792, M. Monge, at that time Minister of the Marine, was very politely requested to make, or cause to be made, Observations at Brest four times a day for one whole year; these will shew the state of the case on the coast of France. The prize questions lately proposed by the Zealand Academy of Sciences, at Flushing, seem to prove the gradual encroachment of the ocean in Holland, and perhaps one whole year's observations would go high to establish the truth in England. And it would give me the greatest pleasure were these carried on under the direction of the Royal Society, for which, with their president, I have the highest consideration.

"JOHN CHURCHMAN.

"Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B., F.A.S.,
President of the Royal Society, one of His Majesty's Privy Council,"

&c. &c. &c.

The oldest Maps I have myself found in which the site of Wineta or Vineta is laid down are, first, in the great Atlas of the sixteenth Century, *Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis*, the first edition of which was published at Antwerp in 1573; the compilation having been completed in 1570: secondly in *C. de Iode's Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, fol. Antw. 1593, entitled "*Pomeraniæ utriusque Continentis præter Wolgastensem seu Barthiensem, Stetinensemque Ducatus Rugiam Insulam, provincias ex Vandalico solo captus typus Geographicus.*"

It is likewise shewn in a map bearing the title "*Nova illustrissimi Ducatus Pomeraniæ Tabula antea Viro cl. DD. Eilpardo Lubino edita, nunc iterum correctæ per Frid. Palbitske, apud I. Ianssonium,*" Amst. [1650] and on the face of which it is thus distinguished, "*Wineta emporium olim celeberrimum Aquarum æstu absorptum.*" Its site is also shewn in a map of Rugen, entitled "*Rugiæ Insula ac Ducatus accuratissime descripta ab E. Lubino, per F. de Wit.*" Amst. [1680.]

Zedler in his *Lexicon* gives the following Account of Wineta:—

"Wineta, (*Lat. Vineta*), the principal and most ancient town on the Isle of Usedom, in Pomerania, belonging to the principality of Rugen. It probably derives its name from the Vendes (*Wenden*) who were long in possession of this district; though *Marperger* is of opinion that it was originally a Phœnician colony. About the year 470 it was one of the largest cities of Europe, or at least the largest in Pomerania. Its inhabitants were of a Slavonic race, intermixed with others. Its situation is said to have been on the sea, seven (German) miles westward from the present town of Wollin, or two miles from Wolgast, at the entrance of the river Peene into the sea. Also the Saxons were permitted to live there, and they were allowed to engage in trades

and traffic, provided they did not meddle with the religion or rather superstition of the natives, who were heathen Slavonians, and sworn enemies to Christianity, so that the lives of those were endangered who only conversed on the subject. In other respects the citizens of Vineta were of most irreproachable character, and famous for their hospitality and proper conduct. Also the Greek or rather Reussian and other foreign merchants were in constant intercourse with them: by which means their city accumulated immense riches, so that gates are said to have been made of brass and bell metal, while silver had become so common that it had been applied to the vilest uses.

"The Greeks and the Reussians, as well as the Jews, had their own streets there.

"This great city, according to Cranzius, became at last involved in great civil broils; for, being inhabited by Vendes, Vandals, and Saxons, each of these strove for mastery, so that, at the time of Charlemagne, the Vandals called in the assistance of Harald, King of Sweden, and of Hemming, King of Denmark, against the Vendes. By them the beautiful city of Vineta is said to have been destroyed in 796. The greatest destruction, however, appears to have been effected by the sea, which has swamped a great portion of the Pomeranian country, and with it also Vineta, which it has converted into a small island. The place at the present time belongs to the king of Prussia. Hübner, in his Political History, vol. vi. p. 533, says, that this city had been destroyed in the year 830, by the Swedish King Hardung; that it had been rebuilt afterwards; but that ultimately, in Conrad II.'s time (therefore in the beginning of the 11th century) it had been swallowed up either by the sea or by an earthquake. Other authors, however, with greater plausibility, affirm that as early as 796 it had met with its sudden catastrophe. If the latter be admitted, King Harald cannot of course have destroyed it. Engelhusius (Chron. ad ann. 888) makes mention of this city and its destruction under King Annolphus, as follows: "*Danorum rex inter alia destruxit civitatem Slavorum nobilissimam, Winetam nomine, in finibus Slaviæ, Teutonicæ Wentland, ubi nunc Saxones sunt stagnales. Hæc civitas nihil non habuit jucundi ac rari. Maxima fuit civitatum Europæ, cujus hospitalitate moribusque nulla gens benignior aut honestior potuit inveniri. Ibi fuit templum plurimum deorum quorum idolum principale dicebatur Redegast. Istorum terram nunc possident Saxones, slavici in villis adhuc manentibus.*"

From other quarters we hear that even to this day, about two miles (German) from Daverow, at the distance of half a mile from the sea shore, may be seen, during calm and fine weather, the remains of such a city, with its streets disposed in perfect order, at the bottom of the sea; and that these remains alone occupied more space than the city of Lubeck. It is even said that Philip I. Duke of Pomerania, who died in 1560, caused this subterraneous city to be measured, when it was found to be half a (German) mile in length and nearly three quarters of a mile in width.

Also Micælius states, on the testimony of seafaring men, that, where now is the Great Haff, terra firma formerly existed.—Micæli. Antiquit. Pomeran. ii. p. 97; Helmold, Chron. Saxon. c. 2; Krantz Vand. cap. 19, 20; Schneider's Beschr. des Oderstroms, p. 317; Lider's Beschr. des X. Kreise, p. 460; Abel's Deutsche n. Sachs. Alterth. ii. p. 305; Altes n. neues Rügen, p. 14; Hübner's Geogr. iii. p. 823; Corvin's Fons. Latin. ii. p. 526; Uhsen's Geogr. Lex. ii. p. 539.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

Silver Ring found near Bifrons.

11th February, 1847, JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a silver Ring found in the neighbourhood of Bifrons, near Canterbury, and presented to him by the Dowager Marchioness of Conyngham. It is, he observes in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, of the Anglo-Saxon period, and, doubtless, as late as the last half of the tenth century. It bears a cluster of globes in the form of a cross, and resembles one found in a barrow at Sibertswold in 1772, which is engraved in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, Plate XXII. No. 4. Mr. Akerman also exhibited, at the request of Mr. Diamond, a gold ecclesiastical Ring set with an uncut sapphire, found, a few years since, in the Castle dike at Norwich.

Flint and Metal Celts.

11th February, 1847. WILLIAM DOWNING BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited a quantity of flint and metal celts discovered at various times in the neighbourhood of Fornham All Saints, Suffolk.

Ancient Chasuble from Cologne.

11th February, 1847. CHARLES BAILEY, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited, through the Director, part of a priest's embroidered Chasuble of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, which he procured at Cologne, and forwarded as illustrative of the views expressed by Mr. C. R. Smith respecting the symbolical representations of the Trinity. In the upper part of the cross is a seated figure of God the Father as a Pope, beneath is the Dove, and in the lower part is the crucified Saviour.

Summary of the Old Laws respecting Swans.

11th Feb. 1847. GEORGE BOWYER, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A., in the following Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, gave a summary of the Old Laws respecting Swans.

DEAR SIR,—I send you herewith a parchment roll, entitled "*The Standard of all the Gamesters of the Game of Swanes uppon the River Colney, with the Members thereof, in the Counties of Hertford, Midd. and Buck. with their several Markes, Anno Dom. 1629.*" It may perhaps not be uninteresting to the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries; and I think they will not be sorry to have the following summary (though imperfectly drawn up) of the chief points of the old English law respecting Swans.

You are aware that the Common Law agrees with the Civil Law in holding that creatures that are *feræ naturæ* belong to no one, and are acquired by whoever obtains possession of them.

The swan, however, was regarded by the common law as a peculiar and privileged creature. This we shall see by referring to the *Case of Swans* in the 7th Book of Coke's Reports.

The cause was between the Queen and Lady Joan Young (widow of Sir John Young knight) and Thomas Saunger defendants. It appears that an inquisition of office was held in the 23d year of Queen Elizabeth, before Sir Matthew Arundel and others, by commission under the great seal, within the county of Dorset; and an office was found that in an estuary from Abbotsbury to the sea, near the Isle of Portland, there were 500 swans, whereof 410 were white, and 90 cignets, all in the possession of J. Young and Thomas Saunger, and that some of them were of the value of 2s. 6d. and that the greater part of them were not marked.

The office so found was certified into the Exchequer, and a writ was issued to the sheriff to seize all the swans not marked, in obedience to which he returned that he had seized 400 white swans.

The persons claiming the swans, *i. e.* J. Young and Thos. Saunger, afterwards pleaded to the office found, shewing that they derived their title to the estuary where the swans lived from the abbot of Abbotsbury. They also pleaded that at the time of the inquisition, and time out of mind, *fuit et adhuc est quidam volatum cignorum et cignettorum ferorum, vocal'* a game of wild swans, *in estuaria, &c. illa nidificantes, gignentes, et frequentantes, Anglice* haunting." The plea also alleged that the abbots of Abbotsbury had always had and enjoyed the swans without using any mark, excepting that they cut off the pinion of one wing of such swans as they intended to use from time to time "for their kitchen and hospitality." To this plea the Crown demurred, that is to say, admitted the facts, and denied the alleged right of the defendants in point of law.

Judgment was given in favour of the Crown. The court held that if the defendants had pleaded a prescriptive right to take to their use some of the game of wild swans, it would have been good, but that swans unmarked in a public river are the King's. The following points of law appear in Lord Coke's Report of the *Case of Swans*.

The swan is a royal fowl, and therefore all those the property of which is not known belong to the King by his prerogative, as is the case with whales and sturgeons, which are royal fish. And Coke mentions the office of the King's *Swanheard*, or *Magister deductus Cignorum*, as an ancient office of the King. He also mentions the King's *Swanheard* in his Fourth Institute, chap. LXVI.

In Scotland it seems (though Lord Stair held the contrary) that the law is different, and swans were never accounted *inter regalia*. *Ersk.* 2, 6, 13.

The prerogative right of the King does not extend to swans (though unmarked) in private waters, and if they escape out of such private waters, the owner may bring them back. This agrees with Bracton, lib. 2, c. 1, fol. 9. But the King may seize them in open and common rivers after they have regained their natural liberty. The reason of this is, that when the property of a swan is not known, which it cannot be if unmarked in public waters and without pursuit, it belongs to the Crown, being in its nature a royal fowl.

It follows from these rules that the subject cannot in general have a game of swans in public waters, unless they be marked. But it is laid down in the Year Book, 7th Henry IV. 9. that no one can have a swan mark, which is called in Latin *cigninota*, unless it be by grant of the King.

And if he hath a lawful swan mark, and hath swans swimming in open and common rivers lawfully marked therewith, they belong to him *ratione privilegii*. But none can, by statute 22 Ed. IV. c. 6, have a swan mark or a game of swans unless he has lands or tenements of an estate of freehold of the yearly value of five marks, above all charges, and this on pain of forfeiture of his swans.

He who has the privilege of a swan mark may grant it over; and Lord Coke gives an instance where Sir John Steward, Knight, in the reign of Henry VI. granted his swan mark, being a ragged staff, to his eldest son and his heirs, on condition of giving on certain days in the year a cignet to the grantor or his assigns, properly marked. The deed is expressed to be sealed, at the request of his wife Matilda, with his secret seal, *Christi crucifixa*.

You are aware that the common law does not in general hold the taking unlawfully of any animal to be theft unless the animal be fit to eat, and that to take animals *feræ naturæ* is not theft at common law. But stealing swans marked or pinioned, or swans unmarked if kept in private waters, is said by Lord Hale, in his treatise of Pleas of the Crown, page 68, to be felony.

Lord Coke also mentions that "it hath been said of old time, that he who steals a swan in an open and common river lawfully marked, the same swan (if it may be) or another swan shall be hung in a house by the beak, and he who stole it shall, in recompense thereof, be obliged to give to the owner so much wheat that may cover all the swan, by putting and turning the wheat on the head of the swan, until the head of the swan be covered with the wheat." You will remember, that in the old Saxon laws a similar punishment is provided for the offence of killing a cat, *custos horrei Regis*.

By stat. 11 Henry VII. ch. 17, he who stole the eggs of swans out of the nest was punishable by imprisonment for a year and a day, and a fine at the will of the King, one half to the King, and the other to the owner of the land where the eggs were taken. But these provisions were superseded by stat. 1 James I. ch. 27. sec. 2, providing a different punishment for the offence—that is to say, three months' imprisonment, or 20s. fine for the use of the poor.

There is another remarkable peculiarity in the law regarding swans. The rule *partus sequitur ventrem* applies to other animals, that is to say, the young belong to the owner of the mother, and so it is in the civil law. But it is otherwise with swans by the common law of England. Lord Coke informs us that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Lord Strange had certain swans that were cocks, and Sir John Charlton certain swans that were hens, and they had cignets between them; and it was held that the cignets belonged to Lord Strange and Sir John Charlton in common equally, and should be divided between them.

For this Lord Coke gives a quaint reason, as follows: "And the law thereof is founded on a reason in nature; for the cock swan is an emblem or representation of an affectionate and true husband to his wife above all other fowls: for the cock swan holdeth himself to one female only; and for this cause nature hath conferred on him a gift beyond all others; that is, to die so joyfully that he sings sweetly when he dies; upon which the poet saith—

"Dulcia defecta modulatur carmina lingua
Cantator cygnus funeris ipse sui," &c.

"and therefore this case of the swan doth differ from the case of kine or other brute beasts."

It is remarkable that the Chief Justice attributes fidelity only to the cock, and not to the hen; so that he does not make out his case. Altogether this seems to be as strange a conceit as his famous comparison, in his Fourth Institute, of a good Member of Parliament to an elephant.

I send you, with the Roll of Swan Marks, a curious and rare pamphlet, containing the ancient laws and customs of England regarding offences against the swan laws. At p. 2, you will find mention made of *the Upping daies*; and at p. 3, this expression, *the swanherds of the Duchy of Lancaster shall v^e no swanne, &c.* Thence may be derived the term *swan hopping*.

By way of authenticating the Roll, I ought to mention that it came from Denham Court, in co. Bucks, and on the river Colne, formerly the property of my father, Sir George Bowyer, and an old seat of the family.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE BOWYER.

The Order for Swannes, both by the Statutes, and by the auncient Orders and Customes vsed within the Realme of England.

FIRST. Yee shall enquire, if there be any person, that doth possesse any Swanne, and hath not compounded with the Kings Maiestie for his Mark (that is to say) sixe shillings eight pence, for his Marke, during his life: If you know any such, you shall present them, that all such Swannes and Cignets may be seized for the King.

2. Also, you shall enquire, if any person doth possesse any Swan, or Cignet, that may not dispend the cleare yearly value of five Markes of Free-hold, except Heire apparant to the crowne: then you shall present him. 22 Edward 4.

3. Also, If any person, or persons, doe driue away any Swanne, or Swannes, breeding, or providing to breede: be it vpon his own ground, or any other mans ground: he or they so offending shall suffer one yeeres imprisonment, and fine at the Kings pleasure, thirteene shillings four pence. 11 Henry 7.

4. If there be found any Weares vpon the Rivers not hauing any Grates before them, it is lawfull for euery owner, Swanne-maisters, or Swanne-herdes, to pull vp or cut downe the Birth-net or Gynne of the said Weare or Weares.

5. If any person, or persons, be found carrying any Swan-hooke, and the same person being no Swan-herd, nor accompanied with two Swan-herds: euery such person shall pay to the King thirteene shillings foure pence (that is to say), three shillings foure pence to him that will informe, and the rest to the King.

6. The auncient custome of this realme hath and doth allow to euery owner of such ground where any such Swan shall heire, to take one Land-bird: and for the same the Kings Maiestie must haue of him that hath the Land-bird twelue pence, be it vpon his own ground or any other.

7. It is ordained, that if any person or persons do conuey away or steale away the Egge or Egges of any Swannes, and the same being duely proued by two sufficient witnesses, that then euery such offender shall pay to the King thirteene shillings foure pence for euery Egge so taken out of the nest of any Swanne.

8. It is ordained, that euery owner that hath any Swannes shall pay euery yeare yearly for euery Swan-marke foure pence to the Maister of the Game for his fee, and his dinner and supper free on the Upping daies: and if the said Maister of the Game faile of the foure pence, then he shal distraine the game of euery such owner that so doth faile of payment.

9. If there be any person or persons that hath Swannes that doe heire vpon any of their seuerall waters, and after come to the common Riuer, they shall pay a Land-bird to the King, and bee obedient to all Swanne Lawes; for diuers such persons doe vse collusion, to defraud the King of his right.

10. It is ordained, that euery person hauing any Swans shall begin yearely to marke vpon the first of August, and no person before; but after, as conueniently may be, so that the Maister of the Kings Game, or his deputy, be present. And if any take vpon him, or them, to marke any Swanne or Cignet in other manner, to forfeite to the Kings Maiestie for euery Swanne so marked fortie shillings.

11. It is ordained, that no person or persons, being Owners or Deputies, or Seruants to them, or other, shall goe on marking without the Maister of the Game or his Deputie be present, with other Swan-herds next adioyning, vpon paine to forfeit to the Kings Maiesty fortie shillings.

12. It is ordained, that no person shall hunt any Duckes, or any other Chase in the water, or nere the haunt of Swannes in Fence-time, with any Dogge or Spaniels, viz. from the Feast of Easter to Lammas, vpon paine for euery time so found in hunting to forfeite six shillings eight pence.

13. It is ordained, that if any person doth set any snares, or any manner of Nets, Lime, or Engines, to take Bittorns or Swans, from the Feast of Easter to the Sunday after Lammas-day, hee, or they, to forfeit to the Kings Maiestie for euery time so setting six shillings eight pence.

14. It is ordained, that no person take vp any Cignet vnmarked, or make any sale of them, but that the Kings Swan-herd or his Deputie be present, with other Swan-herds next adioyning, or haue knowledge of the same, vpon paine to forfeit to the Kings Maiestie forty shillings.

15. It is ordained, that the Swan-herdes of the duchie of Lancaster shall vp no Swanne, or make any sale of them, without the Maister of the Swannes or his Deputy bee present, vpon paine to forfeite to the Kings Maiestie fortie shillings.

16. And, in like manner, the Kings Swan-herd shall not enter into the Libertie of the Duchie without the Duchies Swan-herd bee there present, vpon the like paine to forfeite forty shillings.

17. It is ordained, that if any Swannes or Cignets bee found double marked, they shall be seized to the Kings use, till it be proued to whom the same Swannes or Cignets doe belong; and if it cannot be proued to whom they doe belong, that then they be seized for the King, and his Grace to be answered to the value of them.

18. It is ordained, that no person make sale of any white Swans, nor make deliury of them, without the Maister of the Game be present, or his Deputy, with other Swan-herdes adioyning, vpon paine to forfeit forty shillings, whereof six shillings eight pence to him that will informe, and the rest to the Kings Maiestie.

19. It is ordained, that no person shall lay Leapes, set any Nets, or Dragge, within the common Streames or Riuers vpon the day time, from the Feast of the Invention of the Crosse vnto the Feast of Lammas, vpon paine so oft as they be found so offending to forfeit twenty shillings.

20. It is ordained, that if the Maister of the Swannes, or his Deputy, do seaze or take vp any Swannes, as strayes, for the Kings Maiestie, that he shall keepe them in a Pit within 20 foote of the Kings streame, or within 20 foote of the common High-way, that the Kings subiects may haue a sight of the said Swannes so seazed, vpon paine of fortie shillings.

21. It is ordained, that if any person doe raze out, counterfeit, or alter the Marke of any Swanne, to the hindering or losse of any mans Game, and any such offender duely proued before the Kings Maiesties Commissioners of Swannes, shall suffer one yeares imprisonment, and pay three pound sixe shillings eight pence to the King.

22. It is ordained, that the commons (that is to say), Dinner and Supper, shall not exceede aboue twelue pence a man at the most. If there be any Game found where the dinner or supper is holden vpon that Riuer,

the owner being absent, and none there for him, the Maister of the Game is to lay out eight pence for him, and hee is to distraine the Game of him that faileth the paiment of it.

23. It is ordained, that there shall bee no forfeiture of any white Swanne or Cignet but onely to the Kings Grace, as well within the Franchise and Liberties as without; and if any doe deliuer the Swanne or Cignet so seized to any person but onely to the Maister of the Kings Game, or to his Deputie, to the Kings vse, he is to forfeit sixe shillings eight pence, and the Swannes to bee restored vnto the Maister of the Game.

24. It is ordained, that no person shall take any gray Swannes or Cignets, or white Swannes flying, but that he shal, within foure dayes next after, deliuer it, or them, to the Maister of the Kings Game, and the taker to haue for his paines eight pence; and if hee faile, and bring him not, he forfeits forty shillings to the King.

25. It is ordained, that no person hauing any Game of his own shall bee Swan-herd for himselfe, nor keeper of any other mans Swannes, vpon paine to forfeit to the Kings Maisties forty shillings.

26. It is ordained, that no Swan-herd, fisher, or fowler, shall vex any other Swan-herd, fisher, or fowler, by way of action, but onely before the Kings Maisties Iustices of Sessions of Swannes, vpon paine of forfeiting to the Kings Grace fortie shillings.

27. The Maister of the Kings Game shall not take away any vnmaked Swan coupled with any other mans Swan, for breaking of the brood; and when they doe heirie, the one part of the Cignets to the King, and the other to the owner of the marked Swan.

28. Also, any man, whatsoever hee be, that killeth any Swanne with Dogge or Spaniels shall forfeite to the King forty shillings; the owner of the Dogge to pay it, whether he be there or no. Also, the Maister of the Swannes is to haue for euery white Swanne and gray vpping a penny, and for euery Cignet two pence.

29. It is ordained, that if any heirie be leyd with one Swan, the Swan and the Cignets shall bee seized for the King, till due prooffe be had whose they are, and whose was the Swanne that is away, be it cobbe or pen.

30. Lastly, If there bee any other misdemeanour or offence committed or done by any owner of any Game, Swan-herd, or other person whatsoever, contrary to any law, ancient custome, or vsage heretofore vsed and allowed, and not before herein particularly mentioned or expressed, you shall present the same offence, that reformation may be had, and the offenders punished, according to the quantitie and qualitie of the seuerall offences. Finis. God saue the King.

Letters from George Bowyer, Esq. D.C.L. F.S.A. on the Degrees of Serjeant-at-Law and Doctor of Civil Laws.

18th and 25th Feb. 1847. The following Letters from GEORGE BOWYER, Esq. D.C.L. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis were read.

18th Feb. 1847. DEAR SIR HENRY ELLIS,—I am desirous of calling the attention of our Society to a curious part of legal antiquities: I mean the history of the first and highest degree in the English common law and in the common law of the Continent, that is to say, the civil law. I refer to the degree of Serjeant-at-Law, and that of Doctor of Laws. The history of those degrees will, I believe, furnish matter by no means uninteresting to the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

I must admit that the degree of Serjeant is in all probability the most ancient, and yet I feel in duty bound to begin with the civil law degree.

Great disputes have prevailed among the learned as to the origin of the Doctor's degree, but

Savigny has at least shown that it began in the 12th century. In the first years of the school of Bologna the titles of *doctor*, *magister*, and *dominus* were given to Irnerius and his successors, but those expressions meant *professor of law*. I can give a still more ancient example of the use of the word *doctor*. The Emperor Julian in the law 7 of the code, title *De professoribus*, speaks of *magistros studiorum doctoresque*. Irnerius is also sometimes designated as *judex* and *causidicus*.

About the middle of the 12th century, however, when the school of Bologna was fully established, the doctorship was first conferred *as a degree*; and Savigny conjectures that the jurisdiction granted by the Emperor Frederic I. to the professors of the school of law contributed to bring about this change.

At the end of the 12th century we find doctors of canon law, *decretorum*, but they did not for some time enjoy the same privileges as the civilians.

In the 13th century there began to be doctors of medicine (*fisicæ*), of grammar, of philosophy, and of other arts, and even of the notarial art. But the civilians never called these by any other title than that of *magistri*, and regarded that of *doctor* as their own exclusive privilege.

The exact nature of the degree of doctor of civil law in the 12th century is difficult to determine, but we will endeavour as far as possible to obtain a general notion of it.

Savigny gives the following account of the way in which it was granted. After the examination of the candidate, the doctors gave him the degree of *licentiatus*. He then became qualified to proceed to the next and highest degree. For this purpose a solemn assembly called *conventus* was held in the Cathedral church, to which the University proceeded with great ceremony. The licentiate then pronounced a discourse and read a thesis of law, against which the students were at liberty to argue. The archdeacon or a doctor appointed by him declared the promotion of the candidate; and the doctors who had presented him invested him with the insignia of his new dignity; that is to say, the book, the ring, and the cap, and invited him to be seated in the *cathedra*. Afterwards the whole body of the University left the church with the same state with which they had proceeded thither.^a

Panzirolus also mentions the robe^b and furred hood. He does not, however, tell us when the scarlet robe first came into use; but it was probably derived from the Church. The Roman cardinals first began to use scarlet in the time of Innocent IV: about the year 1244; but it was granted by that Pope only to those who held the office of governors of provinces, and it was afterwards extended by usage to the others.^c The doctors of law therefore probably did not obtain this privilege till long afterwards.

This custom seems to have been lost early in France, for, in the celebrated *Dialogue des Advocats du Parlement de Paris*, Pasquier the chief interlocutor (speaking in 1602) mentions one Raul Spifame, an advocate, whom he remembered wearing a scarlet gown like that which was to be seen in the ancient portraits of advocates in churches. As for the ring, Panzirolus traces its origin from the ring of the Roman knights. He also says that the robes were derived from

^a See Savigny, tom. iii. ch. xxi.

^b Panzirol. de Clar. Leg. Interpret. lib. ii. cap. 12.

^c Van Espen. tom. i. p. 430. tit. de Congreg. Cardin.

the ecclesiastical habit, and particularly mentions the wide sleeves, the furred hood, and the scarlet cap.

The public solemnities with which the degree was granted, and the name of *judex*, so often confounded with that of *doctor*, as well as the jurisdiction vested in them by the Emperors, are indications that it was held in the light of a kind of magistracy as well as of a dignity.

Of this there is an illustration in the story by Giovanni Fiorentino, from whence Shakespeare took his *Merchant of Venice*. In the Italian tale, Ansaldo became bound to a Jew in order to raise money to enable his son Giannetto to try again the adventure of the lady who had defeated him before, and the penalty of the bond was, that if the money was not paid by the Feast of St. John then ensuing, the Jew should take a pound of flesh from the body of the father.

The adventure succeeded. Giannetto overcame the lady and married her. The time passed so delightfully and so rapidly in her company, that Giannetto forgot the approach of the fatal day. But an accident reminded him. One morning he was at the window of the palace with his lady, when he saw a number of people go by with lighted candles in their hands. He asked her what this meant, and was told that those were artizans going to make an offering in the Church of St. John, that being the day of St. John's Feast. Then he remembered his father's peril, and in an agony told the lady how the matter stood. She immediately sent him off to Venice with the required sum to satisfy the Jew.

In the mean time, the Jew had seized Ansaldo, and called loudly for the stipulated penalty. Ansaldo with difficulty obtained a delay, that he might, if possible, see his son for the last time. In the midst of this suspense, Giannetto arrived and offered payment of the debt; but the Jew refused it, alleging that the penalty was due, and, the time being expired, he was entitled to his pound of flesh. Large sums were offered to him, but in vain. He would not depart from the letter of his bond.

Matters being in this critical state, the lady arrived at Venice dressed like a judge, and landed at an inn. The host inquired of one of her servants, "Who is this gentleman?" Says the servant, "This is a gentleman who is a judge: he has finished his studies at Bologna, and is now returning home." The host then told the story of Ansaldo and the Jew to the new doctor, begging him to decide the question. Thereupon the judge caused proclamation to be made that he was from Bologna, and ready to decide any question that might be submitted to him, and the proclamation soon brought the Jew, Ansaldo, and Giannetto before the disguised lady.

The case was stated and argued on both sides; and the judge held the Jew entitled to the pound of flesh; but, after strenuous endeavours to make a compromise, sent for the executioner, and told the Jew that he should have immediate judgment to die if he spilt a drop of blood, as there was no mention of bloodshed in the bond. The Jew now begged for his money; but, finding that he was held to the letter of the bond, he tore it up in a rage, and Ansaldo was set free.

This curious old romance seems to me an interesting illustration of the supposed judicial character inherent in the doctors of law of ancient times in Italy. Ser Giovanni Fiorentino wrote about 1150; but he, no doubt, refers to the manners of an earlier date. Shakespeare introduces the Duke or Doge of Venice, but in the real story we find the doctor exercising jurisdiction by himself after issuing a proclamation. Probably Ser Giovanni exaggerates the

habits of the time of which he writes to suit his fiction, but still the *Novella* shews that a doctor was considered as a sort of judge.

A remarkable point in the early history of the civil law degree is, that its origin is essentially academical, whereas we shall see that the serjeant's degree was created by the prerogative.

I draw this distinction because the schools of law in the middle ages were not erected by charters or established by founders. They were voluntary associations or assemblies, created by the revival of legal studies (for the story of the Pandects of Amalphi is now quite exploded), to which privileges were afterwards granted. Thus the predecessors of the doctors were the professors of law, who owed their importance to their success and reputation, and around whom flocked the ambitious youth of Italy, and then of all Europe. The regularization of these bodies under a recognized constitution naturally led to the granting of degrees, with the sanction and authority both of the Church and of the civil magistrate. A doctor's degree then became an indispensable qualification of almost all judicial offices. Of this, many examples are to be found in the ancient Italian statutes.

I will now conclude, hoping to pursue the subject of the ancient Doctors and Serjeants in another letter.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEO. BOWYER.

25th Feb. 1847. DEAR SIR HENRY ELLIS,—I have already admitted that the degree of Serjeant is more ancient than that of Doctor of civil law, but I cannot give you any accurate notion of the time when it first began.

Coke, in the preface to his 10th Report, says, "Concerning the antiquity of Serjeants-at-law, it is evident by the book of the Mirror of Justices, lib. 2, cap. *des Loiers*, which treateth of the laws of this realm and the ministers thereof long before the Conquest, that serjeants-at-law were of antient times called *narratores*, *countors*, or *countours*, because of the count or declaration which is one in effect with that which in civil law is called *libellus*." The Mirror, however, was not written till the reign of Edw. I or II. and it would scarcely be safe to take that book as conclusive evidence that serjeants-at-law were before the Conquest. I say this because of the great want of antiquarian knowledge and criticism which our ancient legal writers display in matters of history. Coke's implied opinion to the same effect does not corroborate the proposition in question, for I need hardly remind you that he believed the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum* to be of the time of Edward the Confessor.

We had better adopt the cautious language of the learned Serjeant Wynne in his celebrated "*Observations*," where he says, "The order is supposed to be introduced about the time of the Conquest; for after King William the Conqueror had possessed the kingdom, great numbers of the inferior clergy, both regular and secular, who were skilled in the Norman laws followed the King hither, and were called by writ to this degree." (p. 14.)

He adds, that from the beginning there seem to have been serjeants of two sorts, *servientes ad legem* and *servientes Regis ad legem*, the latter being sworn officers of the Crown. And Bracton

ton, who wrote in the reign of Henry III. says, that the King had his serjeants-at-law in every county to prosecute pleas of the Crown in his name. And the King's Serjeant sat with the sheriff in the county or hundred court.^a

In the Statute of Westminster, I. ch. 29, temp. Edw. I. we find serjeants mentioned as an established order, by the name of Serjeant Countor.

As for the name of *Serjeant-at-law* its origin is as clear as that of *Serjeant-at-arms*. It meant a servant of the Crown and commonwealth in the law, and so it is explained by all the authorities.

The great peculiarity of this degree is its creation by writ, the ancient form of which is thus given by Dugdale in his *Origines Juridic.* p. 136.

"Rex, &c. N. N. salutem: Quia de advisamento Consilii nostri ordinavimus vos ad statum et gradum servientis ad legem . . . die mensis proximo futuro suscepturos: Vobis mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod vos ad statum et gradum predictum ad diem et locum in formâ predictâ suscipiendum ordinetis et præparetis, et hoc sub penâ mille librarum nullatenus omittatis. Teste, &c."

From this writ Lord Coke (Pref. Tenth Rept.) deduces four arguments, magnifying the degree of serjeant. "1. He is called by the King by the advice of his Council in that behalf. 2. By the King's writ. 3. The writ is directed to him in the plural number *vobis*, a special mark of dignity. 4. That he is called *ad statum et gradum servientis ad legem*. And in the Act of Parliament of 8 Edw. VI. cap. 10, of the serjeant it is said, *when he taketh the same state upon him*. And in the Act of Parliament of 8 Edw. IV. ch. 2, *At creation des serjeants del ley, &c.* And creation is ever applied to dignity." (And see Brooke, Abridg. *Nosme* 5.)

And so Waterhouse, in his Comment on Fortescue, p. 137, says, "Serjeant-at-law is a state and dignity of great respect, so that it is counted next degree to Knight."

We must conclude that serjeant-at-law is a dignity as well as a degree, in which it resembles the degree of doctor of law, for Barbosa tells us (*Repertor.* p. 96) *Doctoratus est dignitas*. It follows (by the well known rule of law) that if a serjeant be made a peer he remains a serjeant; and thus Lord Hardwick, Chief Justice of England, addressed the serjeants at the call in 9 Geo. II. as *brethren*, and peers who are serjeants do the like to the present day.

Serjeant Wynne mentions no earlier account of the ceremonial of making serjeants than that in Fortescue, who was Chief Justice of England in Henry the Sixth's reign, and we should have a faint idea of a serjeant of the earlier centuries but for the famous description by Chaucer in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

Although it is so well known, I dare say you will not dislike my rehearsing it, with certain comments illustrative of the subject in hand.

"A Serjeant at the Lawe ware and wise,
That often hadde yben at the parvise,
Ther was also full rich of excellence."

Fortescue says, "*Sed placitantes tunc se divertunt ad pervisum et alibi consultantes cum servientibus ad legem.*" And Serjeant Wynne (p. 185) says that both at St. Paul's and West-

^a Wynne, *Observ.* p. 15.

minster Abbey there was a *parvis* or atrium at which the serjeants took their walks and saw their clients.

The Lord Commissioner Whitelock, however, in his speech to the new serjeants, 18 November, 1648, repudiates this supposition by implication, for he says that the form of serjeants choosing their pillar at St. Paul's originated in their being brought to a pillar on their creation for their private devotions, and he says that St. Paul's was far from Westminster Hall.

However, Chaucer clearly refers to a frequenting of the parvise, by the word *often*, and, though St. Paul's was far from Westminster Hall, it is near Serjeants' Inn. Thus Reeves in his *History of the English Law* (vol. ii. p. 360) says, "An ancient custom is vouched to support a belief that some Inn of Court was in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's church. It is said that the serjeants each at his pillar used to hear his client's case, and take notes thereof upon his knee, a custom which was remembered by a solemnity observed in the time of Charles the First upon the making of serjeants, for it was then a custom for them to go there in their formalities, and *choose their pillar*."

Chaucer's Serjeant was a graver person than some serjeants of our days, for the poet continues:

"Discreet he was and of gret reverence,
He seemed swiche, his wordes were so wise."

The next two lines perhaps show that he was a King's Serjeant-at-Law:

"Justice he was ful often in Assize,
By patent and by plene commissioun."

By statute 14 Edw. III. c. 16, assizes may be taken before any justice of the one bench or the other, or the *King's Serjeant sworn*. But Lord Coke, commenting in his *Second Institute* (p. 422) on the Statutes of Westminster, adds, "Which is intended of any Serjeant-at-Law, for every serjeant is sworn and albeit the King make choice of some serjeants to be his counsel and fee, yet in a general sense all be called King's Serjeants, because they be all called by the King's writ." We are therefore left in doubt whether he was or was not a King's Serjeant in the strict acceptation of the words.

As for the second line, "By patent and by plene commissioun," Serjeant Manning observes, that Chaucer here anticipates the decision that a justice of assize can only be created by letters patent or commission under the great seal. That decision is in the case of the *Earl of Shrewsbury v. Countess of Shrewsbury and Lord Lisle*, in 1465, which is to be found in that part of the year books called the *Long Quint*.

The next lines refer to the number of fees and *robes*, that is to say, retainers, that our Serjeant had.

"For his science and for his high renoun,
Of fees and robes had he many on."

We are next told of the judicious manner in which he disposed of his professional gains, namely, by purchasing land.

"So great a pourchasour was no wher none,
All was fee simple to him in effect,
His pourchasing might not ben in suspect."

It seems that his desire for land did not lead him to accept doubtful titles. He however was not above some ostentation of business, which we sometimes observe in lawyers of our days.

"No where so busy a man there n'as,
And yet he seemed busier than he was."

His knowledge of cases or precedents is next set forth.

"In termes had he cas and domes alle,
That fro the time of King Will were afalle."

These lines are curious, as shewing that the decisions of the courts from the time of William the Conqueror were noted and remembered as precedents.

We are then told of his skill in pleading.

"Thereto he coude endite and make a thing,
Ther coude no wight pinche at his writing."

In this respect Coke (in his preface to his Commentary on Littleton) compares that great lawyer to our Serjeant. His pleadings were so correctly drawn that none could pinch at them.

We come now to a qualification in which it would not be easy for modern lawyers to rival the Serjeant.

"And every statute coude he plane by rote."

In those days Parliament did not sit for six months in the year, nor pass a yearly volume of statutes occupying on an average nine hundred pages; and now, if it were not for text books and indexes, a great part of the statute law would be absolutely forgotten and lost.

The poet finishes his portrait of the Serjeant by shewing that he was not a fine gentleman nor ostentatious, but modest and unassuming in his outward appearance, though rich and successful.

"He rode but homely in a medlee cote,
Gert with a seint of silk with barres small;
Of his array tell I no longer tale."

Altogether Chaucer's Serjeant is undoubtedly a dignified and gentlemanlike person, and a very honourable member of society.

He was frequently employed in very high judicial functions, and thus we see that, if the Serjeant had not quite the same *quasi* judicial character as the doctor, his degree was held to be a qualification for receiving the commission of assize. And I need hardly remind you that no one from very ancient times to the present day could be made a judge of the courts at Westminster without first being raised to the degree of serjeant.

Perhaps the diversity in this respect between the two degrees, is, that there was nothing in our law corresponding to the *Responsa prudentium* in the Roman law, which probably contributed not a little to increase the authority of the doctors.

It is to be regretted that we have not any very ancient account of the forms and ceremonial used at the creation of serjeants; but that contained in Fortescue's treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* is so interesting that I must transcribe it here.

“The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by and with the advice and consent of all the judges, is wont to pitch upon, as often as he sees fitting, seven or eight of the discreter persons, such as have made the greatest proficiency in the general study of the laws, and whom they judge best qualified. The manner is, to deliver in their names in writing to the Lord High Chancellor of England, who in virtue of the King's writ shall forthwith command every one of the persons so pitched upon, that he be before the King at a day certain, to take upon him the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law, under a great penalty in every one of the said writs specified and limited.

“At which day, the parties summoned and appearing, each of them shall be sworn upon the holy gospels, that he will be ready at a further day and place to be appointed to take upon him the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law, and that he shall at the same time give *gold*, as according to the custom of the realm has in such cases been used and accustomed to be done. How each is to behave and demean himself, the particulars of the ceremony and manner, how their estates and degrees are to be conferred and received, I forbear to insert; it will take up a larger description than consists with such a succinct discourse: besides, at other times I have talked it over to you in our common conversation. I desire that you should know that at the time and place appointed, those who are so chosen hold a sumptuous feast like that at a coronation, which is to continue for seven days together: neither shall any one of the new created serjeants be at a less expense, suitable to the solemnity of his creation, than two hundred and sixty pounds and upwards, whereby the expenses in the whole, which the eight will be at, will exceed three thousand two hundred marks. To make up which, one article is, every one shall make presents of gold rings to the value, in the whole, of forty pounds (at least) English money. I very well remember when I took upon me the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law, that my bill for gold rings came to fifty pounds. Each serjeant, at the time of his creation, gives to every prince of the blood, to every duke, and to each archbishop who shall be present at the ceremony, to the Lord High Chancellor and to the Treasurer of England, to each a ring of the value of twenty-six shillings and eight pence; to every earl and bishop, to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, to each Chief Justice, to the Chief Baron of the King's Exchequer, a ring worth twenty shillings; and to every other lord of parliament, to every abbot, and to every prelate of distinction, to every worshipful knight then and there present, to the Master of the Rolls, and to every justice, a ring of the value of one mark; to each Baron of the Exchequer, to the chamberlains, and to all the great men at court then in waiting on the King, rings of a less value, in proportion to their rank and quality: so that there will not be the meanest clerk, especially in the Court of Common Pleas, but he will receive a ring convenient to his degree. Besides, they usually make presents of rings to several of their friends and acquaintance. They also give liveries of cloth, of the same piece and colour, which are distributed in great quantities, not only to their menial servants, but to several others, their friends and acquaintance, who attended and waited on the solemnity of their creation: wherefore, though in the universities they who are advanced to the degree of doctors are at no small expense at their creation in giving round caps and other considerable presents, yet they do not give any gold or presents of like value, neither are at any expenses in proportion with a serjeant-at-law. There is not in any other kingdom or state any particular degree conferred on the practisers of the law *as such*, unless it be in the

kingdom of England. Neither does it happen that in any other country an advocate enriches himself so much by his practice as a Serjeant-at-Law. No one, be he never so well read and practised in the laws, can be made a judge in the Courts of King's Bench or the Common Pleas, which are the supreme ordinary courts of the kingdom, unless he be first called to be a serjeant-at-law; neither is any one beside a serjeant permitted to plead in the Court of Common Pleas, where all real actions are pleaded. Wherefore to this day no one hath been advanced to the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law, till he hath been first a student and a barrister full sixteen years. Every serjeant wears in court a white silk coif, which is a badge that they are graduates in law, and is the chief ensign of habit with which serjeants-at-law are distinguished at their creation. Neither shall a judge or a serjeant-at-law take off the said coif, though he be in the royal presence and talking with the King's Majesty. So that you will easily believe, most excellent prince, that those laws which are so honoured and distinguished beyond the civil laws, or those of any other kingdom whatsoever, and the profession whereof is attended with so much solemnity and magnificence, are in themselves exceeding valuable, excellent, and sublime, full of knowledge, equity, and wisdom."⁴

Dugdale gives us no older account of the creation of serjeants, but he records several precedents of these ceremonials, which are very interesting, but too long for me to transcribe. The first is the form of making three serjeants of the Middle Temple, on the 13th Nov. 1503, 19th Hen. VII. namely, Edward Elyot, Lewis Pollard, and Guy Palmys.⁵ The second precedent is the making of Rudhale, FitzJames, Porte, Faierfax, Spelman, Broune, Shelley, Willughby, Norwich, and Inglefield, in the 13th year of Henry VIII.⁶ The third precedent is the making of Whuddone, Meynell, Croke, Morgan, Pollard, and Coke, in the 1st year of King Edward VI.⁷ And the fourth is the making of Gawdye, Anderson, Shote, Aylofe, Baber, Wyndham, and Fenner,⁸ in the 19th and 20th year of Elizabeth.

But the document perhaps of most authority on this matter, is the "Memorial concerning Serjeants-at-Law, taken 4 Junii, anno 1635, for a precedent for posterity," made by Sir John Bramston, Chief Justice, and all the judges. It is as follows:—"For the serjeants at their creation, they come to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench the same day that they are to go to Westminster, in the hall of that serjeant's inn of which the Lord Chief Justice for the time being is. And the serjeant comes in a black robe, his ancient clerk bringing after him a scarlet hood spread upon his arms, and a coif upon the hood.

"Then, after the solemnity of a speech made by the Lord Chief Justice, and the pleading repeated, the Lord Chief Justice puts the coif on the serjeant's head, and ties it under his chin: and then he takes the hood and puts it upon his right side, and over his right shoulder. After this the serjeant goes and puts off his black robe, and puts on a party-coloured robe of black and murrey, and his hood of the same, so over his neck, with the tabard hanging down behind; and so goes to Westminster, his man carrying before him the scarlet hood, spread on his arms, and the cornered cap upon it. And all that year the serjeant, both in the term,

⁴ Fortesc. De Laud. cap. 50.

⁵ Dugd. Orig. Jurid. cap. 43.

⁶ Ibid. cap. 44.

⁷ Ibid. cap. 45.

⁸ Ibid. cap. 46.

Guildhall, Westminster, and circuit, ought to go in his party-coloured robes, and his men in party-coloured coats, unless upon a Sunday or holyday, and then in violet, with the scarlet hood.

"At all times when the judges sit at Westminster in scarlet, all the serjeants, as well he of the first year as the others, are to wear a violet robe, and a violet hood close over his neck, with the tongue hanging back and down behind.

"And at all grand days all the serjeants are to wear scarlet gowns and scarlet hoods, but no serjeant may pin their hoods, nor have used to line their gowns."^a

This document is perhaps rather too succinct to suffice, so I will give an account of these venerable ceremonials from the fullest of the precedents in Dugdale, namely that of the 13th of Henry VIII.

About three in the afternoon the serjeants were in their chambers at the inn of court to which they respectively belonged, and as soon as all the company had assembled in the hall, the new serjeants came in, and after a complimentary speech from the senior of the inn, they replied in the same strain, and "preye the company to be gode and kynd to theme, and they shall always owe their favors and love to theme; agayne gevyng a gret lawde onto the maners of the howse, wher through they have atteynid to ther konning and promocyon." "And after that doone, the newe serjaunts goo togedyr, oon of them takinge anoder be the arme, and goo forth toward the place whereas the serjaunts feest shall be kepte." Then they are received by the steward and comptroller (who, as it appears by another precedent, bore white wands), and have "spiced bredde, comfits, and oder godely conceyts, with ypocras." Then the serjeants return to their chambers. On the Saturday following all the judges and old serjeants come from Westminster and dine with the new serjeants, after which they depart, except the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, with his officers, who gives "a godely exortacion" to the new serjeants, and then hears them go through a certain exercise upon a writ. On the Sunday, the Lord Chief Justices, judges, and old serjeants, and a stately train of officers and servants in the new serjeants' liveries, go to a great chamber where the new serjeants are introduced, their servants bearing their scarlet hoods and their coifs, and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench gives them a "godely exortacion," after which they go through another exercise; "and after that done, the oldest newe serjaunt knelyth afore the Chieff Justice of the Kyng's Bench; and all the oder newe serjeaunts in one order knele down afore the oder justices, and every justice puttith upone the newe serjeants soo knelyng ther coyffs and ther scarlet hodes abowte ther nekkes."

Then, after "dewe curtesye," they all wash and sit down to dinner, each of the new serjeants having a carver standing before him—"and so dine with sober countenance and lytell communycacion." It would seem that the dinner must have been rather a dull affair, and by no means like a "grand day," or a Reader's feast of our own times.

"And after they have denyd (continues the precedent), they rise up and goe afore the justices, and make dewe obedience to them, and then stonde ageyne in lyke order as they did afore they satte downe. And afterward the justices arise and washe and give thankes unto the newe serjaunts for their gode dyner. And then the new serjeants make newe curtesie, gevyng thanks onto the justices for their peyne."

^a Dugd. Orig. Jurid. cap. 53.

"You will probably suppose that the ceremonies are now ended, but it is not so; for there is another stately procession on the Monday, the new serjeants "going soberly to Westminster," at nine o'clock, with great attendance of officers and servants, and then to Saint Edward, to offer, and then to *our Lady of Pewe*, where they offer again. They next proceed back to Westminster Hall, and stand before the judges in the Common Pleas. The old serjeants go to the Lord Chancellor and conduct him with the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Judges of the King's Bench to the Court of Common Pleas, where they all sit down.

"And after that they be sette, the Chieff Justice of the Comyne Place commandith two of the olde serjaunts to fetch the eldest of the newe serjaunts. And then those two old serjaunts goo and take the eldest of the newe serjaunts by the armys between them; and at the table coming forward, they three togeder make a lowe curtesie; and ageyn in the myddis of the hall a lyke curtesie; and, when they come to the barre, a lyke curtesie; and they come through a lane made mete and redy for them by the Wardeine of the Flete, and the seid marchall and their officers.

"And when they be soo at the barre, the seid eldest newe serjaunt soo brought to the barre seith after this manner:—'*My Lorde Brudenell, John at Style ad sue cye devaunt vous un breff de sc., envers Robert Downe, prid q'il soit demanda.*' And then the chiefest pronotare shall seye, '*Cye per attorney.*'" Perhaps I ought to explain that this means, "My Lord Brudnell (the Lord Chief Justice at that time), John at Style has sued before you a writ of, &c., against Robert Downe; I pray that he may be called." Then the protonotary says, "He is here by attorney." This was the form on commencing a suit: but we will return to our precedent.

"And then the seid eldest newe serjaunt shall declare upon his writte."
Here follow other formal proceedings in the suit which I will not trouble you with.

"And then he that dealith the ryngs for the eldest of the newe serjaunts shall rise up as he sittyth amonge the offyicers of the Comyne Place, and shall stonde upone the myddes of the borde of the Comyne Place, and ther make a lowe curtesie, and then he shall come and steppe upon the benche bytwene both the protonotaries, and there he shall knele down before my Lord Chaunceller, and seye that the said eldest of the newe serjaunts recommendith hym to his Grace, and sendeth hym a tokyne of his creasione, and kysse it, and delyver it to him: and in lyke manner he shall delyver a ryng to my Lord Treasurer, and anoder to my Lord Prive Seall, and anoder to the Chieff Justice of the Kyng's Benche, and anoder to the Chieff Justice of the Comyne Place, and so forth to the oder justices, protonotaries, and oder officers of the place." The same ceremony is then repeated in the case of each of the other new serjeants. "And when all that is doone, then my Lord Chaunceller shall geff them thanks for their ryngs, and a grete commendation, and hys solemne blyssing."

This conclusion, as well as the title of *his Grace*, used above, are explained by the fact that the Lord Chancellor at that time was the Archbishop of York, Cardinal Wolsey.

The serjeants, after this ceremony, return to their "wyffs and freends," and dine, waited upon by gentlemen of their inn of court. They then go into London in state, and offer at St. Thomas of Acres, in Cheapside, and the rood of the north door of St. Paul's, "and at St. Erkenwald's Shrine," and then "goo down into the body of the church, and ther they be appoyntid to their pyllyrs by the styward and countroller of the feste, which brought them thidder, with the

oder officers." The shrine of St. Erkenwald seems to have had some celebrity in former times, for we find it mentioned by Littleton as a place for performing a condition of a feoffment in mortgage. (Litt. sec. 842.) And Lord Coke, in his comment on that section says, "This Erkenwald was a younger sonne of Anna, King of the West Saxons, and was first abbot of Chertsey, in Surrey, which he had founded, and after Bishop of London, a holy and devout man, and lieth buried in the south isle, above the quire in St. Paul's Church, where the tombe yet remaineth that Littleton speaketh of in this place: he flourished about the year of our Lord 680." After these offerings, the serjeants go to the feast. On the next day they conclude their labours by again going to Westminster in state, and offering to our Lady of Pewe in the Abbey, and then they proceed to the Court of Common Pleas, for business.

You will allow that in those days it was a very serious matter to be made a serjeant.

In the precedent of the creation of the 1st of Edward VI. it is recorded that the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, were at the dinner in Lincoln's Inn Hall, and I doubt whether they were well pleased, for we are told that "ther dynner was not epicuryous, nor very sumptuous, but yet moderately, discretely, and sufficiently ordered, with a wyse temperaunce." By the bye, the lord mayor dined at the second table. The feast was not lively, for we are told of its being "*solempnely* finished," and in the precedent of the 19th and 20th Eliz. they are again said to have dined with "sober countenances and little communication."

Dugdale devotes a chapter to serjeants' feasts,* and there he relates how in the year 1469 Matthew Philip, lord mayor, with the sheriffs and aldermen, &c. being invited to the serjeants' feast in the hall at Ely House, his lordship took great offence at Lord Grey de Ruthyn, Lord Treasurer, being placed above him, and went home, making the aldermen dine with him. It seems that the new serjeants did not intend the lord mayor to be deprived of his usual state within the city, and they "were right sorry therefore, and had rather than much good (as they said) it had not happened."

Dugdale also mentions a serjeants' feast being held at Lambeth Palace, in the 19th Henry VII. where, among others, Robert Brudnell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and ancestor of the earls of Cardigan, was created; and a feast in the 23d of Henry VIII. at Ely House, at which the King and Queen dined, and the foreign ambassadors. Among the new serjeants was Thomas Audley, afterwards Chancellor. The serjeants held their feasts there for five days.

The bill of fare is enormous; including "24 great beefes, one ox, 100 fat muttons, 51 great veales, 34 porkes, 91 pigges, capons of greece 10 dozen, capons of Kent nine dozen and six, cocks of grese seven dozen and nine, cocks course 14 dozen, pidgeons 37 dozen, swans 14 dozen, larkes 340 dozen." Edward Neville was steward, and Thomas Ratcliffe controller.

A feast was kept at St. John's in the 32d of Henry VIII. "withall plenty of victuall," as indeed there had need have been, for there were amongst the guests all the members of both Houses of Parliament, the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the city.

We are not told whether these two last mentioned feasts ended "*solempnly*," or passed off with "sober countenances and little communication."

* Dugd. Orig. Jur. cap. 47.

At a serjeants' feast held in the Inner Temple Hall in the 2d and 3d Philip and Mary, A. D. 1555, there was a splendid array of "victuall," which you will find set down in Dugdale, and the table was ornamented with "a standing dish of wax, representing the Court of Common Pleas, artificially made, the charge whereof 1*l*." Here again we find a great supply of larkes and swans, besides every sort of beast, bird, and fish, with great quantities of claret wine.

I am afraid these records show our ancestors to have been guilty of that fondness for eating and drinking which is even now one of the defects of the English character.

Dugdale also gives copious accounts of rings and liveries of cloth given by the serjeants at their creation.^a

I think the giving of rings is derived from the civil law, and this is supported by Waterhouse, who says,^b "as women are wedded to their husbands by rings, and doctors to their profession by rings, so is the serjeant evidenced to be wedded to the law by his donation of rings." Waterhouse indeed proves, that the serjeants at their creation did something to please every one, "as they please the eyes of some with the show of their proceeding, the ears of others with the gravity and learning of their counts and speeches, the fingers of some with rings, the bellies of others with good cheer; so do they cloath the backs of sundry with grave and good livries."

It seems that the rings sometimes had mottos, but the date of the first introduction of the rings as well as of the mottos is doubtful. Serjeant Wynne conjectures that the latter began in the 30th year of Queen Elizabeth,^c and the former about a century previously.

As for the serjeants' robes, they are thus described by Dugdale,^d after citing Fortescue's account of them, "The robes they now use do still somewhat resemble those of the justices of either bench, and are of three distinct colours; namely, murrey, black furred with white, and scarlet: but the robe which they usually wear at their creation only, is of two colours, viz. murrey and mouse colour, whereunto they have a hood suitable, as also a coif of white silk or linnen."

The coif however forms the most distinctive part of a serjeant's dress. It is very ancient, and Serjeant Wynne says that it is commonly supposed that most of the serjeants and pleaders were clerks or religious men, who, being bound by their order to shave their heads, were for decency and comeliness allowed to cover their heads with a coif, which has been ever since retained. And such was William de Bussey commonly supposed to be, who was *Seneschallus et principalis Conciliarius Gulielmi de Valencia*, and, being accused of great crimes, and not able to acquit himself, loosened his coif, "ut palam monstraret se tonsuram habere clericalem," though that it seems did not serve his turn.^e

The hood was no doubt derived from the hood of the doctors of civil law, and perhaps the coif was invented after the example of those graduates, who received a cap on their creation.

Dugdale gives us a precedent of a formal discharge by the Crown to a serjeant at law, releasing him from the title of serjeant and wearing the vestures, especially naming the coif. It was granted by Queen Elizabeth in the 37th year of her reign to Thomas Fleming, who was then made Solicitor-General.^f

^a Dugd. Orig. cap. 48.

^b Waterh. on Fortesc. p. 554.

^c Wynne, Observations, p. 141, note; and see Modern Rep. p. 9.

^d Dugd. Orig. cap. 50.

^e Wynne, Observations, &c. p. 20.

^f Dugd. Orig. cap. 54.

The great expense of the creation of serjeants caused in some instances an unwillingness to receive that honour, which may however be partly attributed to political reasons making great lawyers desirous of not becoming servants of the Crown.

There is a remarkable instance of a compulsory creation of serjeants in the roll of Parliament 5 Henry V. n. 10. John Martin, William Babington, William Pole, William Westbury, John Ivyn, and Thomas Rolf, six grave and famous apprentices of the law, having writs delivered to them to take the state and degree of serjeants, returnable in Michaelmas term, they asked to be excused. When all the means which they had used could not prevail, they at the return of the writs in Chancery absolutely refused the same. A complaint was made against them in Parliament: whereupon by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal they were convened before the Parliament, and they appearing accordingly, were charged to take upon them the state and degree, under a great penalty. They prayed to be excused till Trinity term following, and promised they would obey then without further delay; which at last they did, and divers of them did afterwards worthily serve the kingdom in the principal offices of the law.^a

Dugdale says that the first instance of these special writs of summons that he had met with, to compel persons to take the degree of serjeant, was in the 6th year of Richard II., in the case of John Cary, Edward Clay, and John Hille. And after that several others had the like writs, but not of their own seeking.^b

Perhaps the greatest ornament of the order of serjeants is the privilege of those among them who are King's Serjeants to receive writs of summons, and sit as attendants on the Woolsack in the House of Lords.

The commencement of this privilege is unascertained, but Serjeant Manning gives instances of writs summoning serjeants to Parliament from the 10th of Edward III. when three King's Serjeants were summoned. He gives some instances where serjeants were summoned who were not King's Serjeants in the strict acceptance of the term.

One important duty the serjeants had in Parliament was to assist the lords and the judges in the trial of petitions. This appears by the Parliament rolls from the 21st of Edward III. In that year, the triers of the petitions seem to have been as usual appointed, and they were to call to their assistance the King's Serjeants, if necessary.

In the 28th of Edward III. fourteen triers are appointed to try petitions "assisted by the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Steward, the Chamberlain, and the King's Serjeants when it may be necessary."

This seems to occur again at the beginning of every subsequent Parliament throughout these rolls.

In the 11th Henry VIII. (1495) the triers are called the serjeants-at-law. They are not called King's Serjeants.

It is declared (20 Hen. VI.) that a clause added to an Act of Parliament by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the King's Serjeants-at-law, without the Commons, is bad.^c

It is laid down in Hatsell's Precedents, vol. ii. p. 28, that the King's Serjeants are attendants of the House of Lords. There are, however, instances of their being called assistants.^d

^a Wynne, Observations, p. 33. Dugd. Orig. cap. 41.

^b Wynne, Observations, *ubi sup.*

^c Manning, Serjeants' Case, p. 207, 208.

^d Macqueen, Pract. of the House of Lords, p. 46.

They now never take their seats, because, if they did so, they would be precluded, by an Order of the 13th May, 1742, from appearing at the bar of the House as counsel for any private person.

I will now conclude this account of the venerable degree of Serjeant-at-law, which has rather a melancholy interest to Antiquaries, as its privileges are now abolished in the Court of Common Pleas, by statute 9 & 10 Victoria, chap. 54, and there will in future be no serjeants created except as a preparation for the Bench, and perhaps Queen's Serjeants. In a few years this ancient order will be all but extinct.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE BOWYER.

Drawings of Ancient Buildings in India.

25th Feb. 1847. SIR WALTER JAMES exhibited, by the hands of the President, Drawings representing various Ancient Buildings at Cashmere, Lahore, &c. localities which, as Lord Mahon observed in his Letter accompanying them, "have so long been a *terra incognita* to the artist." These views were beautifully executed by the Hon. Charles Hardinge.

Terra Cotta Figure of Eros or Cupid.

25th Feb. 1847. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, F.S.A. exhibited a terra cotta Figure of Eros or Cupid, holding an apple (Plate XIX.); at his back are two square holes for the insertion of wings, as is the case in some of the Berlin terracottas. The strings of beads crossing the body are probably for the attachment of the wings. On the Statue called Icarus in the Elgin Room, British Museum, straps are used for the same purpose. The head is crowned with ivy. This attribute of Bacchus is frequently found combined with the type of Eros on the Vases of the Basilicata. This Figure was found in a tomb at Nola, in the vicinity of Naples.

Steel Shield of the Sixteenth Century.

25th Feb. 1847. R. PORRETT, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited to the meeting a Steel Shield of the Sixteenth century, intended for the armouries at the Tower of London, in addition to the four which he had recently laid before the Society.

Ancient Inscriptions from Baroda.

11th March, 1847. H. T. PRINSEP, Esq. lately Member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta,



Terracotta Figure of Eros in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton

exhibited to the Society through the medium of the President some very remarkable plates of Asiatic Inscriptions and other curious objects; the former obtained in 1839 from an excavation at Baroda in the province of Gujerat. A translation of these Inscriptions printed at the Bishop's College Press at Calcutta was annexed, from which their date appeared to correspond with the year 812 of the Christian era.

Cromlech and Obelisk at Locmariaker in Brittany.

11th March, 1847. WILLIAM BROMET, Esq. M.D. F.S.A. in a Letter to the Director, remarks, that having called attention to the somewhat exaggerated views of a Cromlech and Obelisk in Brittany, presented some years ago to the Society by the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, he now exhibits another Drawing of this Cromlech or *Dolmen*, as it is called in its neighbourhood; and also a Drawing of the Interior of the Cavern under the tumulus Gaur' Innis. The upper or table stone of the Cromlech, according to Dr. Bromet's own measurement, is twenty-one feet long, twelve broad, and four deep; it is supported by three vertical stones which are between five and six feet above ground; and there is another and shorter vertical stone, which, although not a supporter, was evidently erected for the purpose of its becoming so, should either of the three other uprights fail—a provision observed in similar Antiquities in Cornwall. The Obelisk, or *Menhir*, has long been in a fallen and fractured state; it consists of four pieces, altogether more than seventy feet long, and at its largest end fourteen feet broad, with an estimated weight of two hundred and fifty tons.

Celtic, Roman, and Saxon Weapons of War.

25th March, 1847. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a collection of Celtic, Roman, and Saxon Weapons of War, and a circular Shield, discovered in the bed of the Thames opposite London. For the sake of comparison, he laid at the same time before the Society some specimens of Roman and Saxon Weapons found in Berkshire.

Roman Inscriptions from Port Talbot.

29th April, 1847. GEORGE GRANT FRANCIS, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited the Moulds and Casts of three Roman Inscriptions on a stone discovered lately at Port Talbot near Aberavon in Glamorganshire. The only legible one was the following in uncial characters.

IMP C
MAGOR
DIANVS
AVG

(*Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antoninus Gordianus Augustus.*)

Further Notice of the Monument at Gavr' Innis in Brittany.

29th April, 1847. WILLIAM BROMET, Esq. M.D. F.S.A. in another Letter to the Director, communicated a further explanation of the Monument at Gavr' Innis in Brittany—together with some rubbings from those of its sculptured stones which he considered the most interesting.² A remarkable peculiarity in this Monument consists in the interior faces of several of its component stones being engraved with concentric curves resembling eels or serpents: and others with those instruments called celts, or small ovals pointed at one end, but so placed as to give an appearance of their being hieroglyphic characters. There are only two other instances of the kind on record, viz. one formerly near Gavr' Innis called the "*Pierres Plates*," now destroyed, and the one at New Grange, in Ireland. Another distinctive feature is a sort of staple made in the stone at about three feet from the ground, by three holes communicating with each other at the back, and indicating much friction by the internal smoothness, as if by the action of ropes passed through.

A new Notice of Shakespeare.

29th April, 1847. The following Communication was read from SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart. F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, accompanying a New Notice of Shakespeare:

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Middle Hill, 4th April, 1847.

In the same collection of records in which I found, about ten years since, the Marriage Bond of Shakespeare and the Autograph Signature of Thomas Lucy, Shakespeare's magistrate, I found also another notice of the illustrious Poet, which I now beg to forward for the amusement of the Society of Antiquaries, presuming that, however trivial the memorial of so great a bard may be, it will always obtain an interest among the admirers of the intellectual merit of this country.

Believe me, dear Sir Henry, very truly yours,

THOMAS PHILLIPPS.

In the name of God Amen. The 25th day of March Anno Dñi 1601 and in the 43rd year of the Raygne of our Soverayne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ierland, defender of the Faith, &c. I Thomas Whyttyngton of Shottre in the Parishe of Stratford-upon-Avon in the Countye of Warwycke, husbandman, being weke in body but of perfect memory (I thanke my Lord God) ordayne and make this my last Wyll and Testa-

² Dr. Bromet exhibited some additional *Rubbings* illustrative of the Cromlech at Gavr' Innis, May 6th, 1847.

ment in manner and form followyng. First, I bequeth my soull unto Almighty God, trustyng to be saved by the merits of Christes Passyon, and my body to be buryed in the churchyard of Stratford aforesayd.

Item I geve and bequeth unto the poore people of Stratford 40*s.* that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wyf unto Mr. Wylyam Shaxspere, and is due debt unto me, beyng payd to myne Executor by the sayd Wylyam Shaxspere or his assigns, accordyng to the true meanyng of this my wyll.

Item I geve to the said poore of Stratford 3*l.* to be distrybuted unto them within one moneth after my decesse. Item I geve and bequeth unto the poore of Old Stratford 6*s.* 8*d.* to be distrybuted to them where most nede shall requyre, at the oversight of my Executor and Overseers. Item I geve and bequeth unto the poore of Henley in Arden 30*s.* Item I geve unto Rychard Sutton of Shottre and his wyf 16*d.* Item I geve unto Thomas Selvester and his wyf 16*d.* Item I geve unto Jone Hemyngs the elder 2*s.* Item I geve to Margret Hemyng 4*d.* Item I geve to Jone Verneye, wyddowe, 6*d.* Item I geve to Mother Cole 4*d.* Item I geve unto Thomas Boyce, sonne to Arthur Boyce, my godson, 5*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* that I owe hym, and 20*d.* more. Item I geve to Thomas, sonne to Edward Cottrell, my godson, 12*d.* Item I geve and bequeth toward the repayre of the Church of Stratford aforesayd 3*s.* 4*d.* Item I geve and bequeth unto John Pace, of Shottre, the elder, with whom I sojorne, 20*s.* Item I give unto and bequeth unto the 7 children of the said John Pace 12*d.* apeece of them. Item I geve and bequeth unto Wm. Gilbard, *alias* Higgs, Minister in Stratford, 2*s.* This bequest done, detts payd, and legacies levyed, and my body honestly buryed, then I geve and bequeth all the rest of my goodes, moveable and unmoveable, in whose hands soever they be, unto Wylyam Whittington, my kinsman, who I ordayne and make my full and whole Executor of this my last wyll and testament; and I desyre my trusty frynds, John (Pace) aforementioned, and John Barber of the same Shottre, to be my Overseers of this my last wyll and testament, and they to have for theyr paynes therein to be taken 3*s.* 4*d.* apeece of them. Item I geve to Thomas Hathaway, sonne to the late decessed Margret Hathway, late of Old Stratford, 12*d.*

THOMAS WHYTTINGTON.

Tower of Keynsham Church, Co. Somerset.

29th April, 1847. The Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE, F.S.A. communicated the Copy of a Brief, relating to the Tower of Keynsham Church, in the County of Somerset; and a very detailed Copy of the Churchwardens' Accounts, shewing the several sums collected under the said Brief, and the monies laid out in the rebuilding of the said Tower, from the 14th January, 1632, to 1640. The Brief sets forth that the "fayre, large, and substantiall" Church was "most lamentably ruinated by reason of a most disasterous misfortune by tempestuous weather upon the 13th day of January, 1632; which continued in a most fearfull manner, being intermixed with hideous clapps of thunder and flashes of lightning, about sixe of the clocke in the afternoone of the same day; and by reason of the force thereof, in a moment threw down the steeple or spire of the

Tower, which, with the fall thereof, crushed down likewise the greatest and principallest parte of the body of the said church, chancell, vestry, pulpit, and seates, and defaced the pavement also; and the tower being raised from the top to the foundation." This manuscript was accompanied with a plan and views of Keynsham Church.

Discovery of a Roman Tomb at Cadiz.

13th May, 1847. Sir JOHN M. BRACKENBURY, who formerly resided for many years as the British Consul at Cadiz, exhibited through the hands of Sir Henry Ellis a gold Ring set with an Intaglio, found in a Roman Tomb at Cadiz during Sir John's residence there, about midway between the City and the Fortress of Puntales on the Bay of Cadiz.

Within the Tomb were three Urns; one was of baked earth; another of metal; and the third, in which this with four other Rings were found, was of a semi-transparent substance, which had the appearance of alabaster. These Urns were immediately broken by the youths who discovered them, in the hope of obtaining something of value from within.

Of the Rings, one held a Cameo, which was subsequently broken; an unpolished Emerald ornamented the second; and two others had a scorpion rudely engraved upon the gold.

The Ring now exhibited, the fifth of these, is exactly, both as to Ring and the Intaglio it holds, in the state in which it was discovered. The Intaglio represents an Urn, ornamented with a small figure of Victory in a Biga, trampling upon a warrior who has fallen upon one knee. Above the handles of the Urn, are two figures of Atlas bearing Globes on their shoulders.

Ivory Casket of the Fourteenth Century.

13th May, 1847. SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, Esq. of Norwich, F.S.A. exhibited an ivory Casket of considerable size, ornamented with bas-reliefs, probably of a date not later than the fourteenth century, and believed to be of continental workmanship. Mr. Stevenson describes it as one of those ivory caskets adorned with carvings which, though varying in form, size, and in artistic design, have yet various features of remarkable similarity that commonly mark them as emanating from a common origin, inasmuch as they graphically exhibit representations of subjects bearing reference to certain popular legends and favourite romances of the middle ages. An ivory Chest, formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr. Bowles, of Idmiston in Wiltshire, and afterwards to Gustavus Brander, Esq. very similar in size and general description to the present Casket was engraved by Carter in his "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting." The agreement however of this with Mr. Stevenson's Casket is general only as to subjects: several points of difference are so material as fully to show that they are distinct pieces of workmanship, and that one is not a copy of the other. Mr. Stevenson's letter was accompanied by a descriptive account of the basso-relievos on the front, back, ends, and lid of his Casket, viz.

On the right-hand end a youthful knight is represented in chain-armour, covered with a

surcoat, a long strait sword hanging from his waist-belt, with other characteristics which indicate the costume of the Norman period. With "beaver up," he accosts an aged monk, who holds a large key, and to whose right hand he joins his own, whilst holding up his left in courteous salutation; they stand near a castellated edifice, and in the back-ground is the knight's steed, also in chain-armour, standing beneath a tree. The *back* is divided into four compartments, each exhibiting a different subject; the first represents an armed knight, with vizor closed, and sword extended, defending himself against a lion: the second division shows the same hero crossing a fosse on "all fours" along his own sword, with ruffled waves below him, and spear-heads and sword-blades pointing at him from a cloud above: in the third division, the knight appears sleeping on a couch placed on wheels with four small bells under it; but the mysterious sword-blades still haunt him: in the fourth compartment are three females, elegantly attired, regarding the scene of the sleeping knight with apparent interest. The *end* to the left hand is occupied by two distinct subjects: in the first a youth robed is seen sitting with a bird on his finger, directing a damsel's attention from a dog on her lap to two crowned heads, one on the surface of some water, the other among the trees. The second group discovers a female of rank seated beneath foliage, holding a circlet, and resting her left hand upon a unicorn, which has been transfixed by a spear from a man standing by.* The *front* of the box or casket is similarly divided with the back, and bears, in the first compartment, an aged sage discussing a weighty book on a reading-desk, with a crowned youth: in the next design the sage is seen nearly on all fours, with a bridle in his mouth, bearing a female on his back, to the amusement of the youthful king whom he was before instructing, and who is peeping from the window of a tower; an evident allusion to the Troubadour tale of Alexander and his Tutor, or Love superior to Philosophy: the group of the third division has a dwarfish old man with a girl riding on his shoulders, followed by another bearded ancient, who is pushed along by an old woman: the fourth subject represents four damsels bathing at a sculptured fountain.

The *lid*, the chef d'œuvre of the casket, is adorn with four subjects, of which the first shews a knight in front of a strong fortress, shooting flower-headed shafts up at the battlements, from whence roses are hurled at him, and in the corresponding compartment the knight is scaling the castle, despite of the bunches of flowers with which the battlements are defended; between these compartments, the two central divisions represent a sequel to the same subject, namely, a tournament: two armed knights on barbed steeds are crossing their spears, the crest of one a bird, of the other a rose, and above, in an elegant gallery, are six figures, among whom the two "ladye-loves" shine pre-eminent. The casket is in excellent preservation, and on the whole forms a fine specimen of that branch of mediæval art, although the ornaments are not of extreme rarity.

Roman Tablet, in commemoration of a Gift of Torques and Armillæ.

3d June, 1847. WILLIAM BROMET, M.D. presented to the Society a Representation of an

* It will be recollected that unicorns were asserted to be so fond of spotless purity that they would repose their heads on virgins' laps, and suffer themselves to be taken and killed rather than leave them.

inscribed Roman Tablet in commemoration of an honourable gift of Torques and Armillæ, on which tablet are also depicted there Roman Standards. The original, in the public Gallery of Antiquities at Dresden (No. 461), has not, as Dr. Bromet believed, been published.

Monument of Lady Catherine Gordon, the widow of Perkin Warbeck.

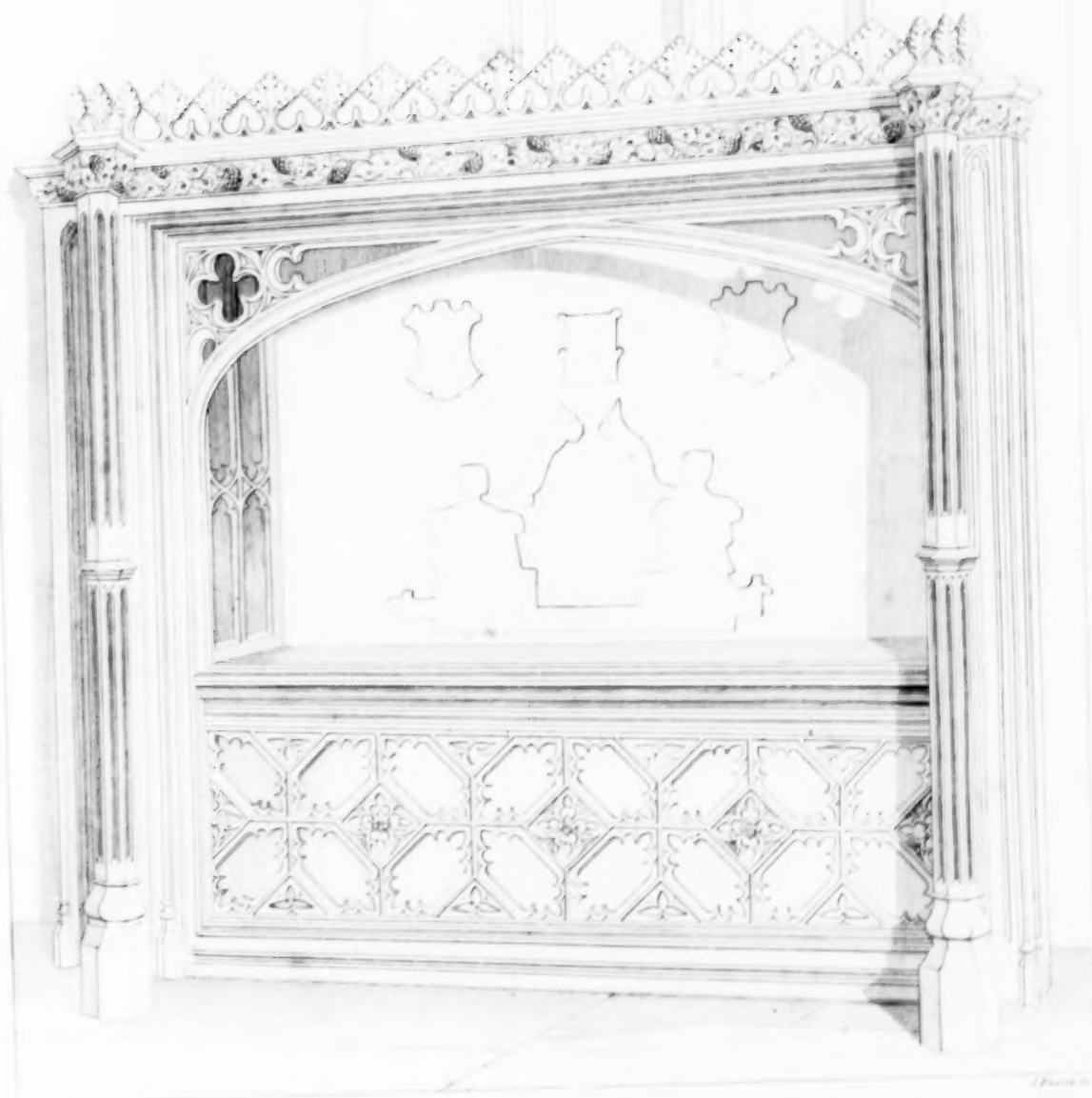
June 17th, 1847. The Rev. JOHN MONTGOMERY TRAHERNE, F.S.A. of Coedriglan, exhibited a drawing (Plate XX.) of the Monument of Lady Catherine Gordon in the chancel of Fyfield Church, near Abingdon, in Berkshire.

Lady Catherine Gordon, the widow of Perkin Warbeck, married secondly Sir Matthew Cradock, Knt., of the Place House, Swansea, Glamorganshire. In the Cradock chapel, St. Mary's church, Swansea, is a touch-stone tomb, erected as it should seem in the lifetime of Sir Matthew, with recumbent figures of himself and his lady, and the legend, "Here lieth Sir Mathie Cradock, &c. &c. &c. and my Ladie Katerin his wife." An engraving of this tomb will be found in the "Historical Notices of Sir M. Cradock, by the Rev. J. M. Traherne;" and Mr. Derrick, the architect, who furnished Mr. Traherne with the drawing, says, "It is a piece of masterly executed masonry, worked with the greatest care and finish, and was originally painted in party colours, and richly gilt. The brasses, which contained the armorial bearings and inscriptions, have been removed many years. I have indicated the exact forms of the sinkings which contained the brasses, and from the outlines I think they were figures in the attitude of prayer, with labels containing inscriptions: these are indicated by the forms in the lower part of the back of the recess."

The intentions of Sir Matthew were not carried out, for the personal charms of his widow attracted other admirers. She married thirdly James Strangways, Esq. whom she survived, and married fourthly Christopher Ashton, Esq. of Fyfield. Her will bears date 12th of October, 1537, proved 5th November, 1537. She desires that her "bodie be buried in the parishe church of Fyfield aforesaid, in such place as shall be thought necessarie and mete by the discretion of my said dearly beloved husband" (Christopher Ashton). The monument consists of a richly-ornamented arch in the perpendicular style; portions of the painting and gilding remain. The brasses, which probably represented Ashton and his wife, with their armorial bearings, have disappeared long ago. Ashmole notices this tomb in his *Antiquities of Berkshire*, vol. i. p. 99. "On the north side of the chancel," he says, "is a large hollow square cut in the wall, arched at the top, and in the middle is a ledge of stone. The pillars on either side, as also the arch, are wrought with ancient tabernacle-work, being all painted with a deep blue colour, and gilt. This is called the Lady Gordon's monument."

Picture at Chelsea representing in compartments the life, death, and funeral of Sir Henry Unton.

June 17th, 1847. SAMUEL SHEPHERD, Esq. F.S.A. communicated in a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis an Account of a singular Picture, painted on walnut-wood panel, lately discovered at Chel-



Monument of Lady Catherine Gordon in Fyfield Church Berks

Published by the Council of Antiquaries of London, April 1855

sea, in the roof of an old house known by the name of "Box Farm," and having the name, and the date of 1686, inscribed on a small stone tablet in front. The painting is five feet four inches in length, and two feet six inches high, representing, in several compartments, the life, death, and funeral of Sir Henry Unton, Ambassador-Leiger of Queen Elizabeth, who died in 1596.

This communication was accompanied by the exhibition of three tracings from the picture. In one division there is a nurse with an infant and attendants; in another, a festive scene, with mummers and musicians; in a third, a part of Oxford; and in others, scenes from the story of his life abroad; and then his death in a different portion,—the body brought over in a barge, then carried towards its last resting place, a splendid funeral, and a representation of the monument, now in Farringdon church.

In the centre is the portrait of Sir Henry, very richly attired; on one side is a figure of Death with an hour-glass; on the other Fame with her trumpet, and a coronet. The whole picture is very highly finished, and seems to be the work of Nicholas Hilliard, a painter in the style of Holbein, who flourished during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is now in the possession of Thomas Clater, Esq. of Whitehead's Grove, Chelsea. Sir Henry Unton was knighted for his bravery at the siege of Zutphen. He was twice Ambassador to the Court of France, where he distinguished himself by sending a spirited challenge to the Duke of Guise, for speaking disrespectfully of his royal Mistress.

Seal of Coenwlf King of Mercia.

Nov. 18th, 1847. Sir HENRY ELLIS laid before the Society casts of the two sides of a leaden Seal or Bulla purchased at the sale of Walter Wilson, Esq. July 26th, 1847 (Lot 445), English, and apparently of the Saxon period. The lead is somewhat decomposed, and the seal appears to have been attached to some Instrument, in the manner of the seals appended both in early and later times to the Papal Bulls.

This Seal is stated to have been brought from Italy, and had formerly been successively preserved in the Torlonia, the Capranesi, and Troubetzkoy Collections. It was brought to London in May last. It appears to have been the Seal of Coenwlf, King of Mercia, who reigned from the year 796 to 819. It is valuable as probably being unique.



It bears on one side the inscription :

✠ EOENVVLF REGIS.

On the other,

MERCIORVM.

The original is now deposited in the British Museum.

Entrenched Camp on Wimbledon Common.

November 18th, 1847. A Letter was read from WILLIAM ROOTS, Esq. M.D., F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, containing some remarks upon the short Memoir by the late Alfred John Kempe, Esq. printed in the Appendix to the XXXIst Volume of *Archæologia*, pp. 518—521, relative to an entrenched Camp still visible on the south-west angle of Wimbledon Common, closely adjacent to the hill of Kingston.

Dr. Roots stated that from his earliest days he had been in the habit of visiting this spot, sometimes alone with Caesar's Commentaries in his hand, and sometimes with friends; and had as often enjoyed the antiquarian reverie of believing that he was standing on the very spot where Caesar once stood, calculating on his best means, prior to the hazardous attempt of crossing the Thames in the valley below. And that this, he had no doubt, was the spot alluded to by Caesar, after his march of 80 miles from the Kentish coast, as the "uno omnino loco, quo Flumen transiri potest." Dr. Roots adds, that it is well known and generally accorded, that this was the first and only part of the Thames, from its estuary, that was fordable. He next criticised Mr. Kempe's belief, expressed in his letter before alluded to, that "There is no decided ground for supposing that the Romans often deviated from the square form of castrametation which their military writers have described." The camp at Wimbledon being circular, it was left in doubt by Mr. Kempe whether it might not have been originally British. Dr. Roots quotes Hyginus, who lived in Augustus's time, and who states that the Romans had long departed from their ancient system of castrametation as described by Polybius, and were in the habit of making their camps sometimes rectangular, sometimes triangular, sometimes *circular*, and frequently oval; and, in short, contrary to their former and accustomed square regularity, they adapted them to the form which circumstances and localities rendered most advantageous at the moment. Lastly, Dr. Roots referred to the great number of Roman relics, and particularly of a warlike character, which have been so frequently taken up on the actual spot, or in close contiguity to it, as an additional corroborative proof of the certain presence there, at some time or other, of a Roman army; the sword-blades, spear-heads, and missile hatchets found in the bed of the river too at Kingston give additional strength to his belief that the camp in question was closely connected with the conflict which ensued on Cæsar's passage of the Thames.

Account of Wells or Pits, containing Roman remains, discovered at Ewell in Surrey.

November 25th, 1847. HUGH WELCH DIAMOND, Esq. F.S.A., communicated the following Account of a recent discovery at Ewell, in Surrey, of some Wells or Pits containing Roman Remains, in a Letter to Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

MY DEAR SIR,

I presume to address to you a short Account of some remarkable Roman Remains lately discovered at Ewell; you having kindly favoured me with your presence at one of my visits, are thereby enabled to judge of the correctness of my observations, and, should you deem them deserving of attention, may I beg the favour of you to lay them before the Society of Antiquaries at their next meeting. A workman of my friend Mr. William Brown being employed in digging chalk, discovered, at about a distance of twenty feet from the surface, a vessel, which was stated to be perfect; but, expecting it might have some valuable contents, he immediately broke it with his pickaxe, and to his disappointment found it to contain nothing but mould, mixed with charcoal. This being mentioned to Mr. Brown, he consulted with Sir George Llewellyn Glyn, the proprietor of the land; and on the following day, in Sir George's company, the shaft or pit in the chalk, filled with mould, was carefully emptied of its contents. Since that time three more shafts have been thoroughly examined, at the last of which you were present: we have also opened the remains of two others which had been previously covered over; as were two more, of which we could discover no traces.

The one which you assisted in the examination of, although of less depth than the others, shewed the same characters as the rest; the contents of all being similarly arranged.

These Pits (See Pl. XXI.) are situated on what has been the slope of a hill, with an aspect towards the west. They are sunk in the solid rock chalk, and vary in depth and width; being from 12 to 37 feet deep, and from 2 feet 2 inches to 4 feet in diameter.

The cavities contained the following objects, commencing with the mouth of the shaft, and proceeding downwards:—

1st. Large animal bones, of animals such as are used for food, as the heifer, sheep, stag, and swine.

2nd. Samian ware of various patterns; some pieces forming a perfect vessel, and others being mere solitary fragments; several being mended with lead,—a frequent practice with the Romans.

The potters' marks are in several very legible, and consist of the following makers' names:—PATERCI. MA.—OF. PATERCI.—VITALIS.—OF. RUFI.—URBANUS TIBERIUS.—SOLLUS, and others.

3rdly. A fine rich mould, apparently mixed with animal matter, containing the shells of the oyster, muscle, and snail. The last pit contained also apple-pips and cherry-stones, a small bronze ring, the bones of a cock, and of a rabbit or hare, and the entire skeleton of a large dog, of old age, as was shown by his worn teeth; the bones being in most perfect preservation, and

not in strict anatomical apposition, excepting the head, which was severed from the body and placed about a foot from it. In the corresponding layer in other pits, as well as the bones of the dog, were placed tiles, fragments of glass, some of which were quadrangular, and classed by Mr. Aconman, in his *Archæological Index*, as funeral. There were also portions of decayed iron, sufficient remaining to show that they comprised parts of the trappings of man or horse.

4. Fragments of amphore and other vessels of light-coloured ware, corresponding, I think, to that which has been described as the "olla" of the Romans, "*Vas vinarium anplum et ventriculosum*," the "*vesicle olla*" of Persens, vessels which were chiefly used at the "*epule funebres*," as well as other vessels, which I believe to be the "*simpurum*" and "*simpulum*" of the ancients.

5. Vessels of dark coloured ware, of various patterns, textures, and ornaments. Several of these were perfect; large portions of charcoal and scoria from an intense fire were mixed with the earth in which they were embedded; and in every pit about an equal quantity of iron nails, and minute bones of mice, frogs, and toads. In one was found, quite at the bottom, an iron rod, 2 feet 7 inches in length, ornamented at each end, and similarly terminating; also a piece of iron having a cavity much resembling a modern pipe. The centre of another pit contained several round flat stones, one of which had evidently been reduced to roundness. They have been considered to be sling-stones, but with what accuracy I am not able to judge. An iron hammer was also found, and two pieces of oak about 18 inches long, sharpened at each end, resembling stakes.

Amongst the black ware a few portions of *burnt* human bones were found, the animal bones all being *unburnt*.

One of these Vases is so remarkable that I am desirous of calling the attention of the Society especially to it. It is of perfect Roman form, composed of a thin material, of a bright green colour, with stripes of white or pale yellow laid on it, BEING PERFECTLY GLAZED INSIDE AND OUT, apparently the same as in a piece of *modern pottery*. Its antiquity, however, is incontestable, and some of the most competent judges have pronounced it to be at least coeval with the other remains. I took it with my own hand from the soil, in which it was firmly impacted, at a depth of about eighteen feet from the surface, after working a long time up to the spot: our only means of opening these pits being by cutting a trench, so as to lay open the whole side of the shaft. Dr. Faraday has given me his valuable assistance, and has kindly favoured me with the following account of his analyses.

"MY DEAR SIR,

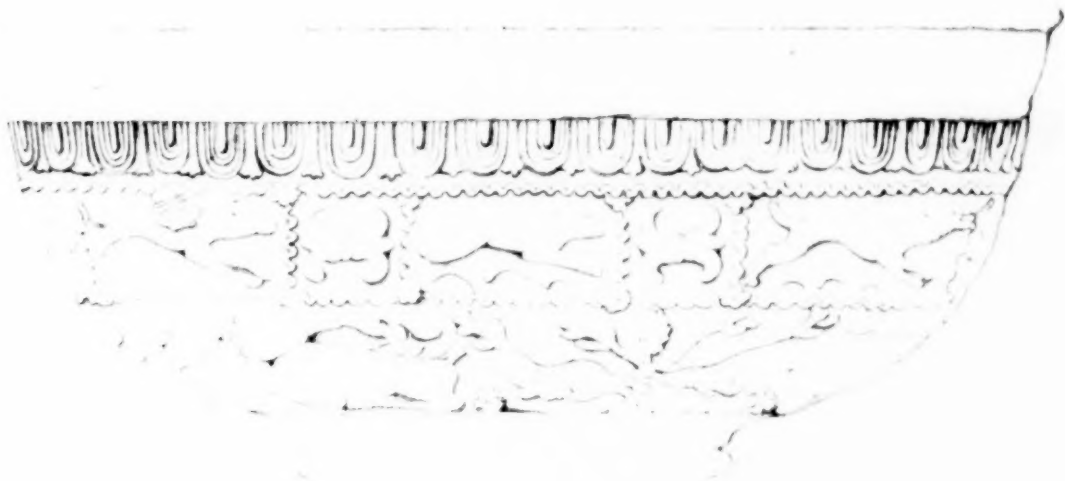
Royal Institution, Nov. 1847.

"I have removed a little of the surface of the glaze from a place at the bottom of the vessel outside, where it was thick, and find it to be, as you suspected, a lead glaze. There is abundance of *lead* in it, with silver also, derived perhaps from the vessel itself, or perhaps added as part of the glaze.

"Ever truly yours,

"M. FARADAY."

L. H. W. DUNCAN, Esq.



Two of the vessels are, I think, very remarkable, and of great antiquity, forcibly calling to mind the passage in the book of Proverbs :

“ A potsherd covered with silver dross.”

The arrangement which I have attempted to describe was in two of the deepest pits repeated three times over.

Having thus given a detail of the articles found, the object and use of these pits are to be considered. The discovery in England of similar receptacles is not novel; they have been found in London repeatedly; in the Isle of Thanet, and several other parts of North Kent; at Winchester; and one has lately been discovered at Chesterford in Essex, by the Honourable Mr. Neville. That similar shafts have been discovered in this neighbourhood may be concluded by the following passage from Manning and Bray's History of Surrey.

“ On a personal visit to Woodcote with Mr. Dallaway in 1811, we were told by a countryman that there had been three wells, which were filled up. What he called wells might perhaps be store-houses for grain.”

Nearly all of these appear to me to have been examined very imperfectly, and not to have excited that attention which such interesting deposits ought to have invited.

The various designations which have been bestowed on these pits I feel assured are quite unsatisfactory, and no adequate explanation of their use has yet been assigned.

The general appellation has been “rubbish holes,” but this is liable to several objections:—

First. The evident traces of human remains, all of which have been subject to the ceremony of cremation.

Secondly. Their uniformity of arrangement.

Thirdly. Their construction; the peculiarities of which are their great depth and small diameter, which leads to the inference that they were intended to protect the contents deposited within them.

Fourthly. The great number in so small a space, where it is evident that one aperture would, for such a purpose, have sufficed.

And lastly. The absence of any article being found entirely restricted to domestic use.

In a recent conversation with a gentleman who has been present at many excavations in the immediate vicinity of Roman Camps and Stations in Cumberland, he observed, that in such places he has always found the soles of sandals and various other things of domestic use.

Other antiquaries have considered that these are wells, an opinion that will not bear the test of examination; some being sunk only to a depth of twelve feet, alone is sufficient to negative such an idea, and particularly in this locality, where within a very short distance rises a spring, from which Ewell no doubt derives its present name, and from which water rises so abundantly as to constantly turn several mills.

The Hon. Mr. Neville, in his recent account of the researches at Chesterford, which he has conducted with so much care, appears to have fallen into this error; as the spot where the “rubbish hole” was found was very unlikely for such a purpose, he asks what could have been the object of the Romans “in incurring the labour of sinking a well in one of the most elevated parts of the station?”

Having stated these objections to the popular designations of the remains under notice, I may be permitted to say a word on the customs of the Romans in respect of the dead.

The rich were interred with vain and costly ceremonies, which have been too often and ably described to need any repetition. But the poor, the prodigal, and the malefactor were all consigned to one common place, their bodies not being always subjected to the ceremony of cremation, but were interred in *puticuli* within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the cities, a foul and pestilential practice, which has been too successfully imitated in our metropolis.

The Esquiline mount became so obnoxious to Rome that Augustus abolished the odious custom, and gave the locality to his favourite Mæcenas, who converted it from a plague-engendering charnel house, into a pleasant and healthy garden, an occurrence which is fully detailed by Horace in his Satires. (Book i, sat. 8.)

Infants who had not lived forty days were denied the rights of cremation, being deposited in a distinct locality, which was called *suggrundarium*.

Although the Romans and their auxiliaries were often buried in the places where they died, yet it was a frequent custom after cremation to send home the ashes of the deceased, of which we have a memorable instance in the Emperor Severus, who when dying ordered his attendants to bring the Golden Vase which was to contain his ashes to be sent to Rome, there to be deposited in the Tomb of the Antonines. That it was a custom frequently practised may be concluded from the following passage of Ovid :

“Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ.

Sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.”—*Trist. Eleg. iii.*

If therefore conjecture may be allowed in the absence of ascertained facts, I am inclined to hazard the opinion that the remains of individuals from other countries located in Britain (and we have abundant evidence that it was the practice of the Romans to employ strangers of the province in which they were so located,) were often sent home to their relations and friends in urns or coffers, or the urns which contained these remains of the deceased were placed in some appropriate spot in the neighbourhood; when the vessels consecrated to the solemn ceremonial of cremation were afterwards designedly broken, and deposited in places specially prepared and carefully protected from the chances of desecration.

“Et qui nocturnus Divum sacra legerit.”—*HOR. Lib. i. sat. 3.*


Such places I believe are those now under consideration.

On inspecting the various vessels found, (of which I have exhibited but a very small selection, as I think the drawings, which have been carefully executed by Mr. Archer, give a most accurate resemblance of their variety, being all executed of the exact size of the originals,) it will be found that they are not only broken, but actually smashed, apparently with violence. This breaking of vessels appears to me to be an especial mark of humility, and frequent allusion is made to it in the Scriptures; Psalms ii. 9; Isaiah xxx. 14; Jeremiah xix. 110; Revelations ii. 27; also in various other passages, particularly in Ezekiel xxiii., “Thou shalt even drink it and suck it out, and thou shalt break the sherds thereof.”

All Kent and Surrey were densely populated by the Romans, and we have many traces of their location in Ewell and its neighbourhood. In Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. i. p. 666, is an account of three Roman Coins found in a garden at Ewell.

Sir George Glyn, whose marked kindness and courtesy I must here acknowledge, informs me that his father had a large quantity of Roman coins, found in the immediate neighbourhood. He has himself kindly shown me his own collection, amongst them a fine second brass of Antoninus Pius; reverse, "Britania," which was lately found in his own garden.*

I have myself obtained from the workmen on the adjoining farm the following specimens of Roman money:

Large Brass	{	Vespasian	Rev. <i>Pax Augusti.</i>
		Commodus	Rev. Detrited.
		Maximinus	Rev. The Emperor standing, holding a figure of Victory.
Second Brass	{	Nero	Rev. Roma.
		Caracalla	Rev. A figure standing between four standards.
		Magnentius	Rev. The Monogram 

and many small brass of a later period, all tending to show that for a very long period the Romans were stationed here. When this is considered in conjunction with its central position in regard to other localities, as is evident from the map of the adjacent country prepared by Mr. Arrowsmith, whose name is a guarantee for its accuracy, I think it may with as much probability as any of the other sites which have been indicated be the *Noviomagus of the Itineraries*.

In conclusion I may mention that about fifteen years since a very large quantity of human bones were discovered, mixed with accoutrements, on the adjoining farm; but the proprietor of the land felt great repugnance to disturbing these relics, and a mound which was raised over them he had then carefully levelled. The spot having since yearly been ploughed over, no traces of its existence can be discovered, although I have caused search to be made.

I beg Sir, to offer you, for the public collection of antiquities over which you so ably preside, the remains here gathered together, and thanking you for your presence and encouragement in the pursuit of them,

I am, my dear Sir, your very faithful and obliged servant,

HUGH W. DIAMOND.

Ivory Diptych.

Dec. 9th, 1847. The following Letter from JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, in illustration of an Ivory Diptych believed to be of the 14th Century, was read:

* See Akerman's Coins of the Romans relating to Britain, p. 34.

MY DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries an Ivory Diptych of very beautiful workmanship, now belonging to a lady resident in London.

Each leaf is cut from a solid piece of ivory, measuring 7 inc. in height by 3 inc. in width, and now united by silver hinges, which seem to have been supplied in the last or preceding century.

The carvings are arranged in four principal compartments, but there are more than four subjects. The first compartment contains both the Annunciation and the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth. In both of these subjects the Virgin carries a book in her left hand.

In the lower division of the first leaf is the Virgin, standing, bearing the infant Saviour on her left arm. She is now crowned, and holds a lily in her right hand. The infant holds up his right hand in benediction, and bears a globe in his left. On either side of the Virgin is an angel, in robes, and without wings, holding a candlestick. The candles are now lost.

The upper subject of the second leaf is more difficult of explanation. It is divided by a trefoil arch, on the summit of which is seated a male figure, his breast partially exposed, but with a robe covering his left shoulder and arm. His right hand is extended forward, and his left raised and expanded, as if receiving the instruments of the Passion, which are presented by the two figures standing on either hand, one of which holds the cross, the other the spear (apparently, its head being broken off), the nails, and a handkerchief or banner. The two remaining figures are kneeling, and are probably the Virgin (she is crowned) and Saint Joseph. The person enthroned in the centre may have been intended to represent the Godhead.

In the lower division of this compartment, beneath the trefoil arch, are six smaller figures, four of which are in sitting, recumbent, or kneeling attitudes, and the two in the centre are engaged, one in raising the lid from a tomb, and the other stepping into it. This would seem to represent the visit of Mary Magdalene and the Apostles to the Sepulchre after the Resurrection.

The fourth compartment represents the Crucifixion, in the customary manner, with Mary and John, but with the somewhat unusual addition above of the sun and moon, each partially covered by clouds.

The best judges to whom this work of art has been shown suppose it to have been executed about the middle of the 14th century, and it would perhaps be difficult to find a more highly finished specimen of the art of carving in ivory at that period. The relief of the figures is very great; their attitudes and disposition, though conventional, are elegantly rendered, the expression of the features particularly pleasing, and the draperies are executed with the usual depth and decision of medieval sculpture.

By way of illustration I also exhibit another ivory carving which has for some years been in the possession of Mr. Nichols, my father, in which the same design is repeated, with some additions, which has been already described as occupying the second compartment of the Diptych. The Virgin is here attended by six angels. Besides the two bearing candles, there are two placing a crown on the Virgin's head, and two more above waving censers. This design was no doubt what was called the Coronation of Our Lady. In the Inventory of the Church of Salisbury occurs this, "Item. One tabernacle of ivory, with two leaves, gemmels and locks of silver, containing the Coronation of Our Lady."

I am, dear Sir Henry, yours faithfully,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Account of a Group of Tumuli on Berkhampton Down, Wilts.

Dec. 16th, 1847. John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. communicated to the Society a letter which he had received from RICHARD FALKNER, Esq. dated Devizes, 25th of September, 1847, descriptive of a Group of Tumuli on Berkhampton Down, not hitherto, as Mr. Falkner believed, sufficiently noticed by the antiquary. Referring to the Ordnance Map of Wiltshire, Sheet XIV. he says, "The Barrows I am about to describe will be found in the triangle made by the old road from Bath, approaching the present turnpike road from Devizes to Marlborough; Wansdyke forming the base. They are placed in a line passing from the south-west to the north-east, and surrounded by a fosse of a very unusual shape, 20 feet across and 3 in depth. The ground covered by them is 80 yards in length and 47 yards broad in the widest part. The Tumulus at the south-east end of the inclosure is the largest, the diameter of the base being 63 feet, and its height 10 feet. The one at the other end is not so high, but, as it slopes into the fosse, its base is not many feet less. Between them is a Barrow of much smaller dimensions, and the three are connected together by slight bands of earth, with a fosse on each side, running a short distance up the Barrows." Mr. Falkner's communication to Mr. Akerman was illustrated by a drawn sketch taken from the south, a ground plan, and some sections. The singular arrangement of these mounds, their difference in size, and other circumstances, led Mr. Falkner to the conclusion that this spot was the resting-place of three members of a Celtic family, who perhaps fell together in some hostile attack, or otherwise died about the same time: and it would seem they were persons of distinction, whose place of sepulture was in after times visited with ceremony, there being an approach to the ground 260 yards in length, formed of a vallum and fosse, still quite perfect, commanding a fine view of the Barrows throughout its course. This letter was accompanied by short notices of two other groups of Tumuli: one about a mile to the east of the triple Barrow just described, close to the turnpike road; the other situated in one of the deep hollows of the Chalk Downs, not far from Silbury Hill, and remarkable from the length of the approaches.

A second communication from Mr. Falkner to Mr. Akerman was read, accompanying a drawing of what has been either part of a Torques, or one of the coils of an Armilla, or Armlet, found in the autumn of 1844 on St. Ann's Hill, near Devizes. The sketch was the actual size and shape of the original; the material of which was fine gold, weighing rather more than 24 ounces troy. In form and character of workmanship it strongly resembled one of the gold bracelets found near Egerton Hall, in Cheshire, in 1831; and which is engraved in the XXVII. Volume of the *Archaeologia*, p. 401.

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